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HISTORICAL GRAMMAR
OF
INSCRIPTIONAL PRAKRITS

Deccan College Dissertation Series

3

HISTORICAL GRAMMAR
OF
INSCRIPTIONAL PRAKRITS

By

M. A. MEHENDALE

DECCAN COLLEGE
POSTGRADUATE AND RESEARCH INSTITUTE
POONA

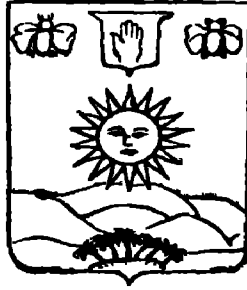
HISTORICAL GRAMMAR OF INSCRIPTIONAL PRAKRITS

By

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POONA

1948

PREFACE

August 17, 1939 saw the reopening of the old Deccan College as the Deccan College Postgraduate and Research Institute providing facilities for research to young graduates. I had the good fortune of joining this Institute since its very inception as a research scholar and of remaining there for about four years until I finished my thesis for the Ph.D. degree. It was a happy coincidence for me to have Dr S M KATRE, the Institute's present Director, as my research guide, and it was he who suggested to me the theme of the present work as a subject for Ph D thesis and enabled me to complete my work on it

When the present work was submitted to the University of Bombay for the doctorate degree, it comprised the study of only the Prakrits in the Brāhmī inscriptions. Subsequently when the thesis was approved for the degree, the study of Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions and the early Lena inscriptions from Ceylon was added to it before the copy was sent to the press for publication. It was then intended also to include a complete index verborum to the present work. But it was found that the addition of such an index would much increase the extent of the work, which even as it stands has run into some 400 pages. The cost of publication also having far exceeded the normal expectation it was decided to drop the index verborum but give the subject index in a general way

It is, however, planned to make good this defect by bringing out later another volume, serving as a companion to the present one, giving the texts of the inscriptions and a complete etymological and comparative index verborum. This second volume would bring together the texts of all Prakrit inscriptions, save those of Aśoka, the Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions, the Barhut inscriptions and the Udayagiri and the Khandagiri inscriptions which are easily available at one place in the works of HULTZSCH, KONOW, and BARUA. True, the versions of Aśoka's Minor Rock Edict discovered at Kopbal and Yerrāgudi are not to be found in HULTZSCH's edition. But that affords little justification for publishing the whole group once more. Taken together, these two volumes will have given full treatment to the subject of Inscriptional Prakrits.

The corrigenda to the present work gives only important corrections. It was found out by me at a very late stage that the press had not sufficient types to show short or long \sim and the mistakes due to this shortage have crept in at many places. Thus in all these cases where I had intended to mean short or long (\sim), the printing shows only long (-). I crave the indulgence of readers for not having corrected such mistakes in the corrigenda.

Before I conclude it is my pleasant duty to acknowledge my debt to various persons and institutions. First and foremost, I have been laid under heavy obligations by His Highness the Maharajasaheb of Baroda by his kind consent to allow me to dedicate this work to him. The Government of Baroda have always sought to champion the cause of Oriental learning and the dedication of this Volume to His Highness is an humble token of that benevolent patronage.

Next, I feel an altogether different pleasure in acknowledging my debt to Dr. S. M. KATRE. Not only do I owe him the suggestion to carry on research in this fruitful field but I am also indebted to him for his guidance and valuable advice throughout the period for which I was engaged on this work. It is indeed difficult for me to give an adequate expression to my deep sense of gratitude to Dr KATRE.

I am also indebted to all scholars who have earlier worked in this field and have done much to decipher and interpret the Prakrit inscriptions. It is on the labour of these savants that I have built up the present edifice.

I take this opportunity to express my thanks to the Librarian and the Library staff of the Deccan College Research Institute for the help they gave me in getting on loan many books from outside libraries.

So far as the printing of the work is concerned I am glad to express once more my indebtedness to Dr KATRE for his kind consent to include the publication in the Institute's Dissertation Series. But for this arrangement I am doubtful whether the work would have appeared in a book form for many years to come. I have also to express my sincere thanks to Mr M. M. PATKAR for all the troubles he has taken in seeing the work carefully through the press.

In conclusion I have pleasure in acknowledging my indebtedness to the University of Bombay for the grant-in-aid received by me from the University towards the cost of publication of this work.

Nasran :

Date 6th October, 1947

M. A. MEHENDALE

ABBREVIATIONS

<i>ABORI</i>	Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Institute
<i>A: Gr</i>	Altindische Grammatik, by J. WACKERNAGEL
<i>Amara</i>	Amarāvati Inscriptions.
<i>Aś</i>	Aśokan Inscriptions
<i>b</i>	Bairāt Minor Rock Edict.
<i>Banav</i>	Banavāsī Inscriptions
<i>bb</i>	Barābar Cave Inscriptions
<i>BDCRI</i>	Bulletin of the Deccan College Research Institute
<i>bh</i>	Bairāt Bhābrū Minor Rock Edict.
<i>Bhatt</i>	Bhattīprolu Inscriptions
<i>Bhar</i>	Bharaut Inscriptions
<i>Bodh</i>	Bodhgayā Inscriptions
<i>br</i>	Brahmagiri Minor Rock Edict
<i>BSOS</i>	Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies
<i>CII</i>	Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum
<i>Centr Gr</i>	Central Indian Group of Inscriptions
<i>Cop Pl</i>	Copper-Plate Inscriptions
<i>D</i>	Dhaulī Rock Edict
<i>d</i>	Dhaulī Separate Edict
<i>EI</i>	Epigraphia Indica
<i>EZ</i>	Epigraphia Zeilenica
<i>G</i>	Girnār Rock Edict
<i>H</i>	Hemacandra
<i>IA</i>	Indian Antiquary
<i>IHQ</i>	Indian Historical Quarterly
<i>Ind Cul</i>	Indian Culture.
<i>J</i>	Jaugaḍa Rock Edict
<i>i</i>	Jaugaḍa Separate Edict
<i>JAOs</i>	Journal of the American Oriental Society
<i>JASB</i>	Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal
<i>JBBSAS</i>	Journal of the Bombay Branch Royal Asiatic Society
<i>JBORS</i>	Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society
<i>Jogī</i>	Jogīmārā Inscription
<i>JPASB</i>	Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal
<i>JRAS</i>	Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society
<i>jtr</i>	Jatinga-Rāmeśvara Minor Rock Edict
<i>K</i>	Kāśī Rock Edict
<i>kb</i>	Allahabad Kauśāmbī Pillar Edict (Minor)
<i>Khairi</i>	Khairigarh Inscription
<i>Kolh</i>	Kolhāpur Inscription
<i>kpb</i>	Kopbāl Rock Edict
<i>Kq</i>	The so-called "Queen's Edict" at Allahabad
<i>ksb</i>	Allahabad Kauśāmbī Pillar Edict
<i>L</i>	Luders' List of Prakrit Inscriptions
<i>M</i>	Mānsehrā Rock Edict
<i>Mahāsth</i>	Mahāsthān Inscription
<i>Majav</i>	Majavālī Inscriptions
<i>Math.</i>	Mathurā Inscriptions
<i>Matṭ</i>	Matṭepāḍ Inscription
<i>Mbh</i>	Mahābhārata
<i>Mi</i>	Delhi-Mīrāth Pillar Edict,

MIA	Middle Indo-Aryan
Mj	Majumdar's Number of Sāñci Inscription
Mk	Maski Minor Rock Edict
Mth	Mathia Pillar Edict (Lauriya-Nandangarh)
Nāgar	Nāgarjunikonda Inscriptions
Nānāgh	Nānāghāt Inscriptions.
ng	Niglivā Pillar Inscription
NIA	New Indian Antiquary
N.W	North-Western India
OI A	Old Indo-Aryan
PI-E	Primitive Indo-European
Piprā	Piprahwa Inscription
Pittal	Pittalkhora Inscriptions
QJMS	Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society
Rdh	Radhia Pillar Edict (Lauriya-Ararāj)
rm	Rummindei Pillar Edict
Rp	Rāmpūrvā Pillar Edict
ru	Rūpnāth Minor Rock Edict
S	Shāhbāzgarhī Rock Edict
s	Sahasrām Minor Rock Edict
Sailar	Sailārwaḍi Inscription
Sāran	Sāranāth Inscriptions
sc	Sāñci Minor Pillar Edict
sd	Siddāpur Minor Rock Edict
Silah	Silaharā Inscriptions
S Ind Ins	South Indian Inscriptions
Sitā	Sitābengā Inscription.
Sk	Sanskrit
sn	Sarnāth Minor Pillar Edict
so	Sopārā Rock Edict
Sohga	Sohgaura Inscription
SPAW	Sitzungsberichte d Preuss Akad d Wiss
T	Delhi-Toprā Pillar Edict
Udaya	Udayagiri and Khandagiri Inscriptions
V	Vararuci
Yr	Yerrāgudi Rock Edict
ZDMG	Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenlandischen Gesellschaft

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istic family or outside it helped to solve many of the shelved linguistic riddles. The school of Junggrammatiker which was founded at this stage largely contributed to give this science a shape which it held till recently.

But as days rolled on the 'Jung' became old and their methods antiquated. As the discovery of Sanskrit helped the early linguists to strike at the comparative approach, the fortuitous discoveries of Hittite and Tocharian heralded the advance of Historical Linguistics.³ This science had then come of age and had particularly outgrown that stage when all brains were directed towards the reconstruction of PIE forms. The new historical approach to the study of languages lays emphasis not merely on the comparative study but also on the chronological and the regional one. The knowledge of PIE which we have today is based on the faulty method of comparing documents belonging to different centuries and countries. Torn as this data is of wide gaps both in chronology and geography, the structure of PIE built on it does not correspond to a synchronic state. Historical linguistics seeks to rectify this defect. It will not now suffice to cite parallels from different languages, comprising a particular family, it is now almost imperative to give the date and geographical location of this parallel. All future work based on this point of Historical Linguistics should thus be primarily directed towards the fixing of the chronology of a given linguistic family.

§2 *Importance of Prakrit Inscriptions* In spite of the efforts of a band of scholars working in the east and west in the field of MIA, a comprehensive linguistic grammar of this family has not yet been attempted. Even the monumental work of PISCHEL suffers from the absence of Pāli and inscriptional Prakrits. "What is needed today to place MIA grammar on a sound foundation is a very comprehensive linguistic grammar of all dialects which strictly belong to the MIA field, namely the three types of non-classical Sanskrit (Jaina, Buddhist and Epic Sanskrit), the Prakrits of the inscriptions from Aśoka downwards, the religious Prakrits (Pāli, Ardhamāgadhī, Jaina Mahārāṣṭrī and Jaina Śaurasenī), the Prakrits found outside India as in the Prakrit Dhammapada or the Kharoṣṭhī Documents, the Prakrits found in Classical Sanskrit plays and in the Prakrit lyric poetry (Mahārāṣṭrī) and finally in Apabhramśa and in the grammatical and rhetorical literature."⁴ Of all these sections the importance of Prakrit Inscriptions, which form one part of the MIA field, to the study of Historical Linguistics can never be overrated. They are very widely scattered all over India and range from about the middle of the third century B.C. to the end of the fourth century A.D. The all important advantage which they easily yield is that they can be definitely localised in point of place and very much approximately in point of time. And once the venue of these inscriptions and their period are ascertained it would be easy to scrutinise them in their space-time context.

With the meagre advance made till today in the laborious task of publishing

3 Importance of these languages to the study of Indo-European grammar is shown by the remarkable results arrived at by BENVENISTE in France and KURYLOWICZ in Poland. They are revolutionary especially in theories of PIE vocalic system cf. E. BENVENISTE, *Origines de la formation des noms en indoeuropéen* I. Paris, 1935, J. KURYLOWICZ, *Etudes indo-européennes* I. Krakow 1935.

4 S. M. KATRE, Presidential Address to the Philology and Indian Linguistics Section, 9th All-India Oriental Conference, Trivandrum, 1937. *Proceedings and Transactions*, pp. 1165-90.

critical editions of Prakrit works, the importance of Prakrit inscriptions will be still more felt from a different angle. Similar attempts based on Historical Linguistics if applied to literary remains will be seriously hampered in the absence of definite chronology of Prakrit writings. As long as the literary works in Prakrit have not been critically edited this vast literature will remain an uncultivated field. It is a piece of good fortune, however, that scholars like ALSDORF in Germany and P. L. VAIDYA, Hiralal JAIN, and A. N. UPADHYE in India have started to supply this badly felt need.

There is also one more factor, and certainly of not less significance, which adds to the value of Inscriptional Prakrits. Literary compositions, since they are usually written by accomplished writers and are meant for the advanced classes in society, do not perfectly reflect the language of the people. On the other hand the very nature of a very large number of Prakrit inscriptions which are donative guards them from this defect. They were essentially recorded by the people and for the people which naturally led them to be of the people. The dialects, or at the least the dialectal variations recorded in them are, therefore, the best available representatives of the living forms of speech which were current in different regions of India in those days. It is not, however, intended to suggest that these inscriptions, especially the long ones written in an artificial style, are altogether free from literary influences.

§3 *Distribution of Prakrit Inscriptions* It has been already noted above that these inscriptions are widely distributed both in point of time and place. It will not be out of place here to give the details of these inscriptions from the point of their distribution. Leaving aside the inscriptions of Aśoka whose geographical locations are well known, all the rest can be conveniently divided into four groups viz the Western, the Southern, the Central and the Eastern.

I PRAKRIT INSCRIPTIONS IN THE WESTERN GROUP

It may be noted that almost all of them come from the districts of Mahārāṣṭra

1	E. Khandesh Dt.	Pittalkhorā	2nd cent. B.C.	7
2	Nasik Dt.	Nāsik	1st cent. B.C. to	
			1st or 2nd cent. A.D.	25
3	Thana Dt.	Vakālā	3rd cent. B.C.	5
4	Bombay	(i) Padaṇa	1st cent. A.D.	10
		(ii) Kaṇherī	1st or 2nd cent. A.D.	25
5	Kolaba Dt.	(i) Koṇḍāne	2nd cent. B.C.	1
		(ii) Kuḍā	2nd or 1st cent. B.C.	25
		(iii) Kōl	1st cent. A.D.	3
		(iv) Mahād	2nd cent. A.D.	3
6	Poona Dt.	(i) Bhājā	2nd cent. B.C.	8
		(ii) Beḍṣā	2nd cent. B.C.	3
		(iii) Kārle	2nd cent. B.C. and	
			1st or 2nd cent. A.D.	49
		(iv) Nānāghāt	2nd or 1st cent. B.C.	
			and 1st cent. A.D.	9
		(v) Junnar	1st cent. B.C. to	
			1st cent. A.D.	34
		(vi) Śailārwaḍi	1st cent. A.D.	1

7. Bhor State	: Nādsur	2nd cent. B C	2
8 Satara Dt	. Karāḍ	1st cent B C.	1
9 Kolhapur State	. Kolhāpur	. 2nd cent B C	1
10 N Canara Dt	: Banavāsī	2nd cent A D	1
11. Aurangabad Dt	: Ajaṇṭā	. 2nd cent B C	3
(Nizam's Dominions)			
[12 Kaṅgra Dt	. Paṭhyār	3rd cent B C	1]
(Punjab)		As this find-spot lies in the North it is not shown in the map	

II PRAKRIT INSCRIPTIONS IN THE SOUTHERN GROUP

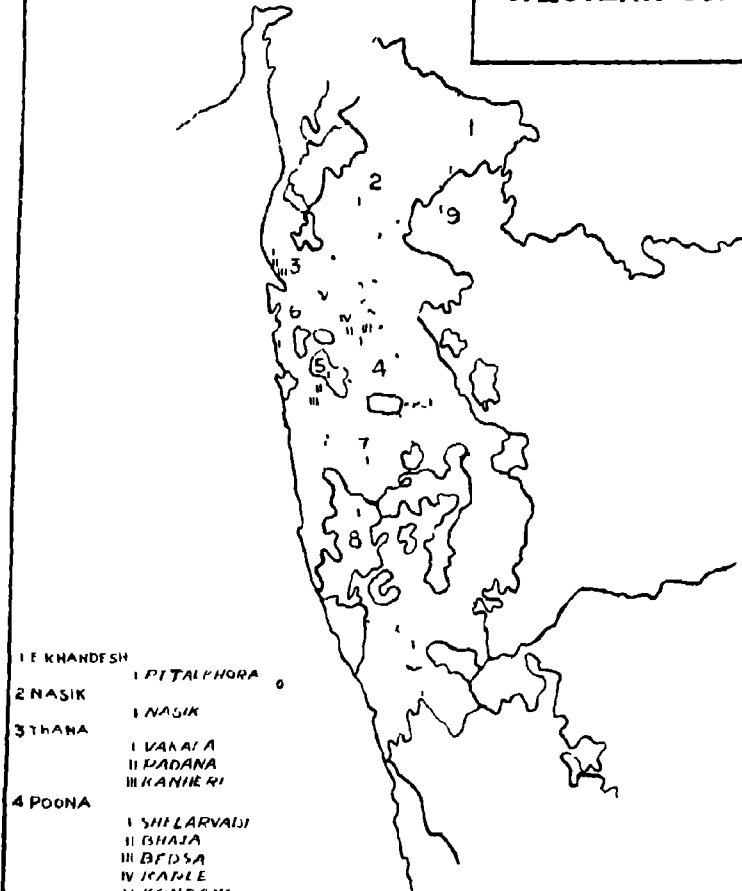
This group comprises the Telugu and the Kannada districts

1 Godavari Dt	(i) Kodavolu	2nd cent A D.	1
	(ii) Elūrā	3rd cent A D	1
2 Kistna Dt	(i) Bhaṭṭiprolu	3rd cent B C	11
	(ii) Amarāvati	2nd cent B C and 1st or	
		2nd cent A D	180
	(iii) China	. 2nd cent A D	1
	(iv) Jagayyapeṭa	2nd cent A D	3
	(v) Mayidavolu	3rd cent A D	1
	(vi) Koṇḍamudi	3rd cent A D	1
3 Guntur Dt	(i) Dharaṇikōṭa	2nd cent A D	1
	(ii) Gurzāla	. 2nd cent A D	1
	(iii) Maṭṭepāḍ	2nd cent A D	1
	(iv) Nāgārjunikōṇḍa	3rd cent A D	48
	(v) Gunapadeya	3rd cent A D	1
4 Bellari Dt	(i) Ādōṇi	2nd cent A D	1
	(ii) Hīrahaḍagalli	3rd cent A D	1
5 Shimoga Dt	Malavalli	2nd cent A D	2
(Mysore State)			

III PRAKRIT INSCRIPTIONS IN THE CENTRAL GROUP

1 Muttra Dt (U P)	(i) Mathurā	3rd cent B C and	
		1st cent A D	15
	(ii) Parkham	2nd cent B C	1
2 Bhilsā Dt	(i) Bhojpur	2nd cent B C	3
(Gwalior St)	(ii) Besnagar	2nd cent B C	7
	(iii) Andher	2nd cent B C	6
3 Bhopal St.	(i) Sāñci	2nd cent B C	827
	(ii) Satdhāra	2nd cent B C	2
	(iii) Sonārī	2nd cent B C	7
4 Akola Dt (C P)	. (i) Bāsīm	4th cent A D	1
5 Bhandara Dt (C P)	. (i) Pauni	1st cent A D	1
6 Rewah St	. (i) Kevatī Kuṇḍa	2nd cent B C	1
	(ii) Silharā	. 1st cent A D	7
7. Nagod St.	: (i) Bharauṭ	. 1st cent B C.	217

MAP
SHOWING THE DISTRIBUTION
OF
PRAKRIT INSCRIPTIONS
IN THE
WESTERN GROUP



- 1 KHANDESH
 I PITALKHORA
 2 NASIK
 I NASIK
 3 THANA
 I VAKA/A
 II PADANA
 III KANHERI
 4 POONA
 I SHILARVAJI
 II BHAJA
 III BODSA
 IV KAPLE
 V KONDANE
 5 BHOR STATE
 I NADISUR
 6 KOLABA
 I AUDA
 II MAHAD
 III KOL
 7 SATARA
 I KARAD
 8 KOL STATE
 I KOLHAPUR
 9 HYD STATE
 I AJANTA
 10 KANARA
 MYS STATE
 I BANAVASI

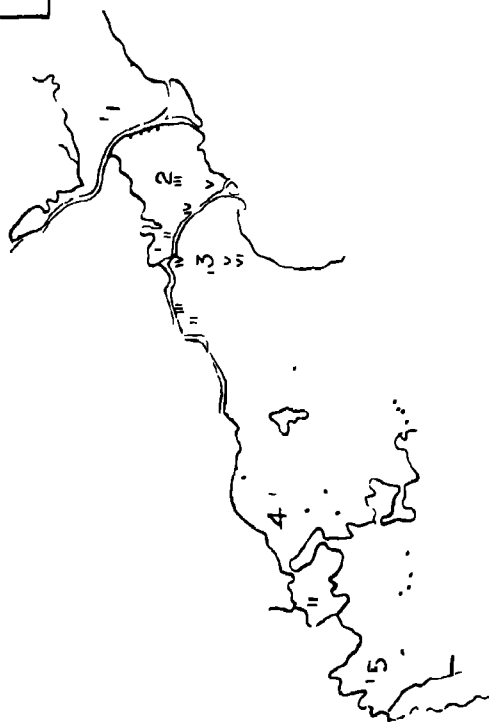
MAP

SHOWING THE DISTRIBUTION
OF

PRAKRIT INSCRIPTIONS

IN THE

SOUTHERN GROUP



1 GODAVARI

2 KISTNA

3 GUITUR

4 BELLARY

5 SHIMOGA

1 AODA

1 JAGAYAPETA

11 AMARAWATI

11 FLORE

11 KONDMODI

11 BHATTIPIROLU

1 MAYFADOLU

11 MAGABUNI KONDA

11 GUNTALA

11 DHARNIKOTA

11

1 ADONI

11 HIRAHADAGALLI

1 MALAIALLI

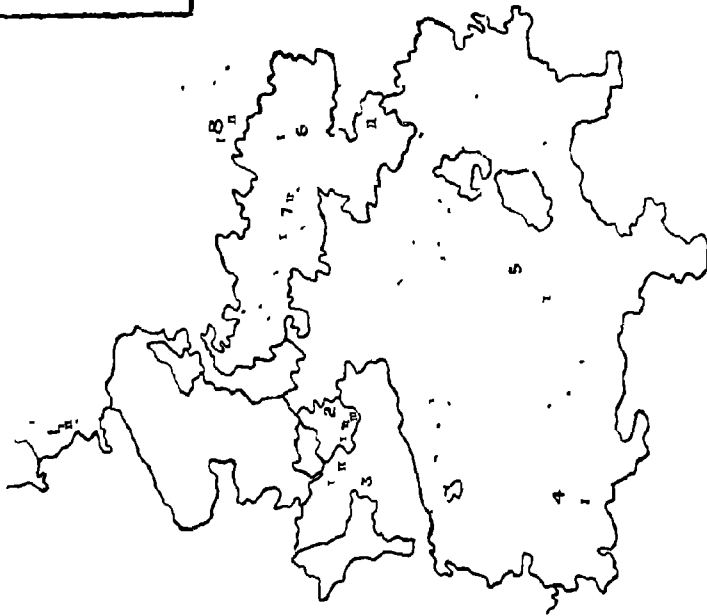
MAP

SHOWING THE DISTRIBUTION
OF

PRAKRIT INSCRIPTIONS

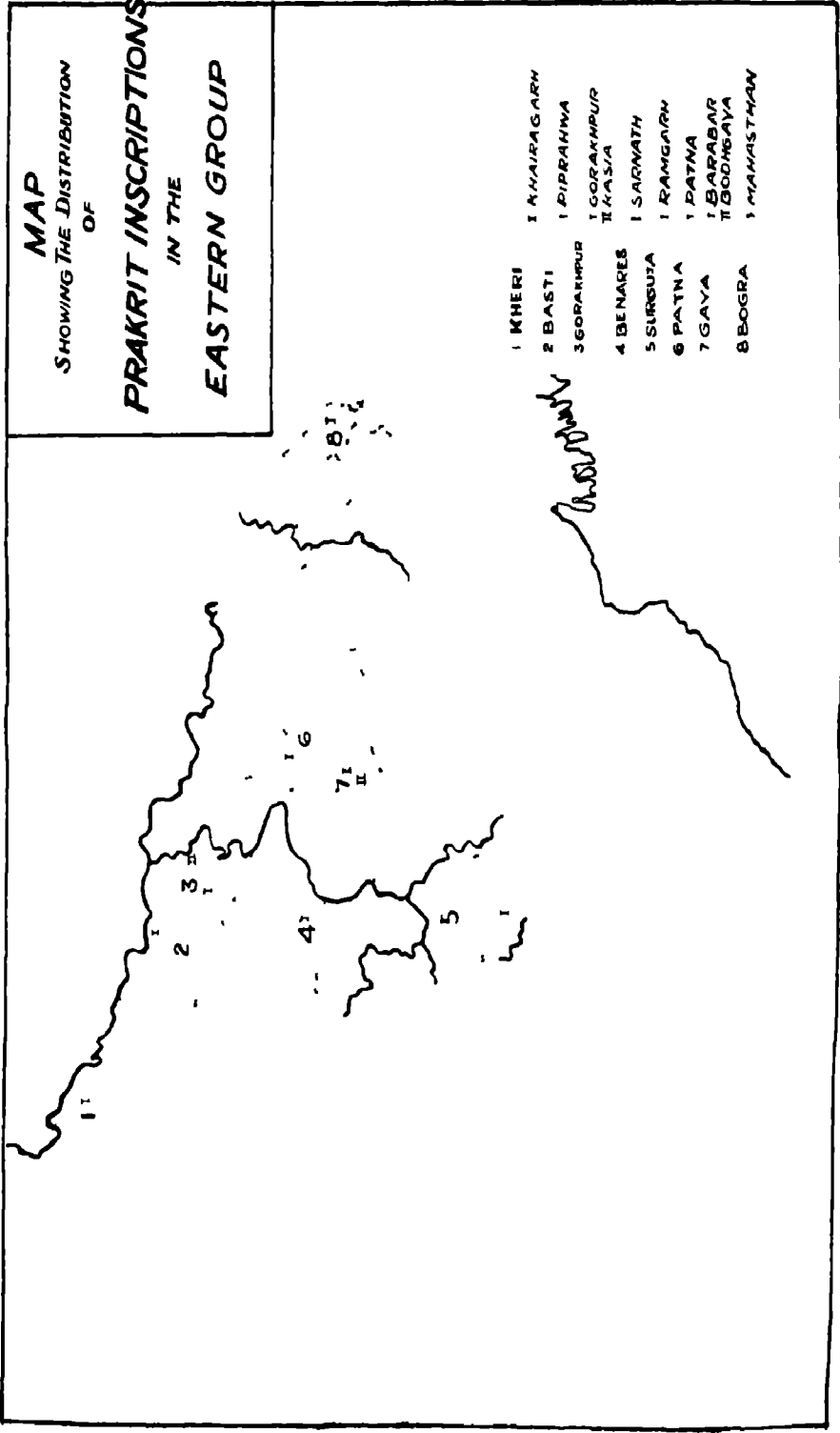
IN THE

CENTRAL GROUP



- 1 MUTTRA
- 2 DHILA
- 3 SHOPAL
- 4 AKOLA
- 5 SARNADARA
- 6 SRENAN
- 7 NAGOD
- 8 BALLAHABAD
- 9 MATHURA
- 10 PACHMAN
- 11 BALAMBAR
- 12 BHOGPUR
- 13 BANDHER
- 14 SASTHARA
- 15 SOHAR
- 16 DASIN
- 17 PAUNI
- 18 KOTINUNDA
- 19 SSLAHARA
- 20 NAGOD
- 21 STHARAIT
- 22 GSAM
- 23 SHITA.

See p. xvi.



8	Allahabad Dt (UP)	(i) Kosam (ii) Bithā	1st cent. B C : 1st cent. A D	3 1
IV PRAKRIT INSCRIPTIONS IN THE EASTERN GROUP				
1	Kheri Dt (UP.)	: Khairigarh	: 4th cent. A D	1
2	Basti Dt. (UP)	Piprahwa	: 3rd cent. B C.	1
3	Gorakhpur Dt (UP)	(i) Sohgauna (ii) Kasiā	: 3rd cent. B C 1st cent. A D	1 1
4	Benares Dt (UP)	Sarnāth	: 2nd cent. B C	5
5	Surguja Dt (Chhota Nagpur)	Rāmgarh	3rd cent. B C	2
6	Patna Dt (Bihar)	Pāṭṇā	1st cent. A D	2
7	Gaya Dt (Bihar)	(i) Bodhgaya (ii) Barabar	: 3rd cent. B C. 3rd cent. B C	10 2
8	Bográ Dt (Bengal)	Mahāsthān	3rd cent. B C	1
9	Puri Dt (Orissa)	Udayagiri and Khaṇḍagiri	2nd cent. B C	14

§ 4 *Difficulties encountered in the study* Despite the advantages of the inscripational Prakrits noted above, their study at the present stage bristles with difficulties. To begin with we have not as yet before us perfect transcriptions of these inscriptions which could be readily relied upon. The wide progress which the science of palaeography has made since the advent of the twentieth century is easily reflected in the scholarly works of HULTZSCH, BARUA and N G MAJUMDAR.⁵ But in spite of these efforts, limited as they are in their scope, there yet remains a very large number of inscriptions which awaits critical study by eminent palaeographers. A glance at the list of inscriptions prepared by LUDERS will convince any one of this fact. At least a hundred of the inscriptions listed by him are characterised as 'not read' and more than this number have been so badly edited at a time when the art of deciphering had made little progress, that the earlier they are revised the better it will be for the students. It is high time for the department of Archaeology in India to undertake this work with the help of established Research Institutes.

These inscriptions which are either not read so far or badly read deprive the student of a fairly large material from his study. But even when the reliable texts of these inscriptions are made available one will have to handle them after having made sufficient allowance for the scribe's ignorance of the language or his negligence. It is not at all uncommon to find mistakes being committed in inscribing the votive inscriptions of our own days. The emperor Aśoka who probably initiated this inscripational activity in India was perfectly aware of this drawback for he expressly put down the following in his fourteenth Rock Edict: "In some instances (some) of this (i.e. rescripts on morality) may have been written incompletely, either on account of the locality, or because (my) motive was not liked, or by the fault of the writer (*lipīkarāparādha*)". The mistakes in inscribing the inscriptions are very likely to occur especially in putting down the lengths of vowels and the marks for anusvāra. As the detailed analysis of these inscriptions will bear out, such lapses are frequently met with. The conclusions, therefore, that are drawn from this material especially in the two respects noted above are likely to remain open for correction at all times.

5 Cf. their works on Aśoka, Barhut, Udayagiri and Khaṇḍagiri, and Sāñci inscriptions.

The distribution of these inscriptions in various geographical regions is not at all even. As the above paragraphs discussing the geographical distribution of the inscriptions will bear out the collective material derived from different groups varies enormously. Then again their chronological distribution in a particular group is far from satisfactory. Though the inscriptions on the whole cover a wide period of about seven centuries, when they are divided according to their dates the material afforded by different centuries is awfully unequal. This puts in our way a serious hindrance, for it is rather risky to compare the linguistic tendencies noted from meagre material available in a particular region at a particular period with those which are based on abundant material available in a different period at a different place. Worse difficulties are encountered when in a certain region not a single inscription is available in a given century. Thus the absence of later inscriptions in the Eastern group precludes the possibility of comparing the linguistic changes introduced in that group at a later stage.

If a study of these inscriptions is undertaken with a view to making a detailed inquiry into the verbal system of the dialects preserved in them one is bound to meet with utter disappointment. Though these inscriptions afford enough material for phonetic study, they definitely lack in the variety of morphological forms. This is especially due to the fact that a very large number of these inscriptions is donative in character. No verbal form is required in Sanskrit or Prakrit to express the idea that 'a pillar, a tank, or a *śūpa* (is) a gift of some one'. The discussion pertaining to verb forms in the following chapters cannot, therefore, compare with the one centering round Phonology or the Declensional system.

Lastly, mention must be made here of the difficulties which one has to face in determining the dates of Prakrit inscriptions. Most of the inscriptions are not properly dated in the regnal years of the kings and hence their dates have been determined—sometimes keeping a ridiculous margin of a century or two—on palaeographic grounds. And even when they are dated in the regnal years, scholars are not unanimous in fixing the dates of these kings. In a historical study based on the regional and chronological division this difficulty naturally forms a serious handicap. If further historical research compels us to change the dates assigned to the inscriptions at present, it will also upset the consequent chronological conclusions of linguistic changes.

§ 5 *The method of treatment* The present work is limited to the study of Prakrit inscriptions in Brāhmī and Kharoṣṭhī from the earliest times to the fourth century A.D. As the study of Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions was undertaken at a very late stage it is added to this work by way of last chapter. The linguistic treatments found therein are referred to in the chapter on Conclusions and also in the Summary of Important Results in the Introduction. This work, however, leaves out of account the legends on coins, as they are very short and principally contain proper names only. It also excludes the inscriptions in the Mixed dialect which will have to be studied separately.

The inscriptions of Aśoka have an importance of their own in the study of MIA languages. They offer to the students of Indian Linguistics a remarkable specimen of a linguistic survey recording the dialectal variations current in the different regions of the great Mauryan Empire. They have, therefore, attracted the attention of a band

of savants who have for long exercised their brains in deciphering and interpreting them. Their efforts have culminated in the work of HULTZSCH who published in 1925 the revised edition of these inscriptions in the first volume of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*. With all respect for the sincere efforts of the scholars who have worked on Aśokan inscriptions before and after the publication of HULTZSCH's work it must be said that so far no attempt was made to undertake a comprehensive study of the linguistic material contained in these inscriptions from a comparative stand-point. Even the linguistic treatment of HULTZSCH in the discussion of the grammar of all these different edicts has been comparative only with relation to Sanskrit. He has failed therein to take a comprehensive view of the dialectic differences found in them. The first step then in the study of Prakrit inscriptions would be to make a regional study of these inscriptions and then compare the results of these regional studies with one another. The method of approach accepted here is very much on the lines indicated by S M KATRE in his lecture delivered at the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute on the 15th of February 1940. "The first and the foremost manner" observed the learned lecturer in his discourse, "in which this problem may be attempted, in the absence of definite chronology of Prakrit writings, is to take up the dated Prakrit inscriptions found in all parts of India, covering a wide extent both geographically and chronologically, study the characteristics of the different dialects from these two points of view and then link up the results in a comparative summary."⁶ The first chapter of the present work is therefore devoted to the study of Phonology and Morphology of Aśokan inscriptions with a view to pointing out regional tendencies wherever possible. The rest of the Prakrit inscriptions have been next divided into four major groups, namely the Western, the Southern, the Central and the Eastern. Each group is then taken up singly and the inscriptions comprising that group have been arranged chronologically and studied in detail with regard to Phonology and Morphology. This study in Regional Linguistics in its time sequence will help in delineating the linguistic conservations and innovations introduced in a particular region at an earlier or later date. The first part of the work includes such regional studies of Aśokan inscriptions and of the four groups mentioned above in five chapters. Each chapter opens with the introductory remarks and relevant description of the inscriptions included in that group. The detailed analysis which follows these remarks consists mainly of two divisions, viz. Phonology and Morphology. In Phonology the different treatments of vowels and simple and clustered consonants in all their positions are dealt with. The processes of palatalisation and cerebralisation are discussed under separate articles. The scarcity of paper has prevented the author from citing examples more than just the necessary. In arranging these examples from different regions their chronological order is strictly adhered to, starting from the earliest available illustrations in that group. A word here about the method of giving references would not be out of place. In the case of Aśokan inscriptions references are given only to the versions in which a particular form occurs. In the case of other inscriptions, as they have been variously edited it has been found convenient to give references not to the actual journey numbers where they

6 S M KATRE, "New Lines of Investigation in Indian Linguistics" *ABORI* 20:276-92. Also cf. by the same author "Some Problems of Historical Linguistics in Indo-Aryan", *Bhāratiya Vidyā* 2:220-9.

are published but to their number in LUDERS' List with the short form L indicating LUDERS. The inscriptions at Sāñci which have been lately edited by N. G. MAJUMDAR and were not previously listed by LUDERS have been referred to with their number in MAJUMDAR'S (M) list. All other inscriptions not included in LUDERS' List bear full references to their publications. The superior number which will be found on the top of this reference indicates the line number of the inscriptions.

In the studies on Morphology the declensional system of the nouns comes first. The nouns have been divided according to their endings in Sanskrit and their terminations are then studied. Next comes the study of Pronouns and Numerals where full forms of the words have been cited as examples. In the end comes the treatment of verb forms both conjugational and non-conjugational.

The second part of the present work consists of the three chapters beginning with Chapter VI. Chapters VI and VII are devoted to Synoptic Tables based on the results of the regional studies dealt with in the first part. Having studied the inscriptions in a particular group from a chronological point of view it now remains to compare the results, at a given point of time, over all regions. The Synoptic Tables are therefore so arranged as to give to the reader an idea of linguistic tendencies in various regions in successive periods. The method of arrangement as usual follows the chronological order of these inscriptions. Barring a few exceptions, since the inscriptions of Aśoka are the earliest dated records in India the Synoptic Tables begin with them at every stage. The tendencies noticed in other Prakrit inscriptions have been put below them, in a chronological order.

The Synoptic Tables are thus prepared while laying proper emphasis on these two factors—time and place—so essential for Historical Linguistics. They will help the students to see where for example the voicing of intervocal *-k-* first took place. It could also be seen where this intervocal *-k-* was preserved for some time and then a tendency appeared to voice it to *-g-* or weaken it to *-y-* or drop its occlusion altogether. On comparing such tendencies in different regions it may be possible for us to fix hypothetically the movements of linguistic changes. It is true that these inscriptions were not recorded with a definite purpose of including all linguistic phenomena and hence they are not expected to yield a complete grammar of the different dialects. Even then the influence of a particular region over others with regard to a given linguistic innovation which is actually recorded cannot be overlooked. Chapter VIII is devoted to derive such conclusions wherever possible.

The chronological study of all Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions (with the exception of those of Aśoka) comes at the end of the present work as Chapter IX. It deals with all the inscriptions included by Sten KONOW in *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum* Vol II, Part I. The method of study is the same as adopted in the case of the Brāhmī inscriptions in the present text. The north-western Prakrit of these inscriptions shows some peculiar developments which are not met with in the rest of the inscriptional Prakrits but which in certain cases find parallels in the language of the Kharoṣṭhī documents from Chinese Turkestan. All these similarities or dissimilarities as the case may be have been duly noted in the footnotes to this Chapter with references to section numbers from T. BURROW'S work on these documents (Cambridge, 1937).

There are also a few cave and rock inscriptions in Brāhmī from 2nd century B.C. and 2nd cent. A.D. in Vessagiri and other places in Ceylon. Some of the features of

this Prakrit like the loss of aspiration in aspirate stops and gen. sg term *-ha* are quite interesting and all these have been indicated at proper places in the footnotes to Chapter III dealing with the Southern group of inscriptions.

§ 6. *Previous work in the field of Prakrit Inscriptions*. Roughly speaking a century has elapsed since scholars undertook to decipher these inscriptions. The honour of revealing the mystery of the Brāhmī alphabet goes, as is well-known, to James PRINSEP. Numerous scholars have since come forward to decipher and interpret the Prakrit inscriptions. It is not necessary to recount here in detail the history of the discovery, decipherment and interpretation of each of the Prakrit inscriptions. The Bibliography which LUDERS has added in his list will easily point out the labour which has been already spent on the inscriptional Prakrits. Thanks to the efforts of scholars like PRINSEP, CUNNINGHAM, BUHLER, BURGESS, SENART, HULTZSCH, Bhagwanlal INDRAJI, Rajendralal MITRA, FLEET, and FRANKE, we have now before us the authoritative transcripts of a fairly large number of inscriptions. The Bibliography which is attached to this work includes some of the articles and books which were published in respect of Prakrit inscriptions since LUDERS brought out his list in 1910. Numerous new inscriptions have been edited for the first time⁷ and some of the old ones included in the LUDERS' List have been revised by learned scholars and epigraphists like K. P. JAYASWAL, D. R. BHANDARKAR, R. D. BANERJI, H. LUDERS, V. S. SUKTHANKAR, J. Ph. VOGEL, B. M. BARUA, R. C. MAJUMDAR, N. G. MAJUMDAR, V. V. MIRASHI, D. C. SIRCAR, Ramaprasad CHANDA and Madho Sarup VATS. This list, however, does not include scholars who have worked in the field of Aśokan inscriptions. It could be seen from the Bibliography that the inscriptions of Khāravela have in recent times attracted the attention of many a scholar. They have been published in a book form by B. M. BARUA in 1929. Only two other groups have been similarly brought out in book form, the inscriptions at Barhāt by B. M. BARUA and K. G. SINHA and the inscriptions at Sāñci by N. G. MAJUMDAR.

But the attempts of all these scholars were directed towards the decipherment and interpretation of these inscriptions. No doubt some of the editors have also favoured us with writing some linguistic notes. But all these efforts are limited in their scope inasmuch as they are principally meant for bringing out a particular group of inscriptions. No attempt has been undertaken so far to deal comprehensively at one stretch with the material afforded by these inscriptions for the study of MIA languages. As has been already remarked, even PISCHEL's *Grammatik der Prakrit Sprachen* omits these inscriptions, with the exception of only a few copper-plate grants from the South. The present attempt is therefore aimed at dealing with this whole material from a comparative stand-point of Historical Linguistics and thus it marks an advance over the previous work done in this field. It not only consolidates the material made available by early researchers but also views it from a comparative angle not arrived at so far. For the first time in the field of MIA languages this attempt is made to fix up the movements of linguistic changes.

§ 7 *Summary of Important Results*. A detailed discussion on the conclusions which could be deduced from the space-time context study of Inscriptional Prakrits

⁷ All these have been pointed out in the introductory remarks at the beginning of Chapters II to V and in the Appendix.

forms Chapter VIII of the present work. It is intended here to summarise only the important results.

PHONOLOGY

I. VOWELS The Sk vowels, with the noted exceptions of *ɾ* and the diphthongs *aɪ* and *au*, are usually preserved in the Inscriptional Prakrits. The vowel *ɾ* normally becomes *a-* in an initial syllable in the West and *i-* in other regions in the 3rd cent. B.C. In the subsequent inscriptions it tends to be *a-* in all regions. In the non-initial syllables it generally becomes *-a-* at all places and at all times. The change of the vowel *ɾ* to *u* is noted mostly in the nouns of relationship in all regions, except in the East and the Centre where it tends to become *i*.

The Sk short vowels *a*, *i* and *u*, though mostly preserved, are sometimes lengthened to *ā*, *ī* and *ū* respectively in a metrically long syllable. It must be noted that on the whole this tendency is less evident in these inscriptions. The orthography of Prakrit inscriptions allows a single consonant to serve the purpose of a double one. It does not, therefore, enable us to say with precision whether the assimilated conjunct following this long vowel was pronounced as a single or double consonant.

The Sk long vowels are also normally preserved. Yet the reverse process by which the long vowels are shortened before a consonant cluster is more in evidence and especially so in the case of the vowel *ā*. Whereas the change *ā* > *a* is noted often in the West, the change *ī* > *i* is frequent in the East, Centre and the North. The long vowels are also sometimes shortened before case terminations and when they stand at the end of the first member of a compound. They are sometimes shortened in mistake too.

II. SIMPLE CONSONANTS The simple consonants, with the exception of sibilants and the semi-vowel *ɾ*, are almost rigorously preserved in their initial position. In their medial position, however, they undergo a few changes which are, more often than not, tendential in their character. Among these is found a tendency to voice unvoiced intervocal stops or sometimes change them to *-y-* which constitutes a very important step in the evolution of MIA and NIA⁸.

The voicing of intervocal surds unaspirate is usually seen first in the non-Western and non-Southern regions whence it has travelled in other directions. As could be seen from the Synoptic Tables (Ch. VI) the speed with which this tendency has influenced other regions varies with different vocables.

Examples showing the voicing of intervocal surd aspirates are not numerous and with the exception of *-th-* > *-dh-* come forth from later inscriptions. The change of *-th-* to *-dh-* is a characteristic which appears only in the non-Western regions. The voicing of *-kh-* to *-gh-* and *-h-* to *-ḍh-* is, however, seen in the West also together with other regions.

The change of intervocal stops to *-y-* was started mostly in the 3rd and 2nd cent. B.C. Even in this case the weakening of intervocal stop, if we may say so, is first instanced almost in all cases in the non-Western regions. It is only in the case of *-d-* becoming *-y-* that the tendency is first noticed in the West and then in the South and Centre.

⁸ For the middle stage of spirantisation of intervocal stops cf. S. K. CHATTERJI, *Origin and Development of Bengali Language*, p. 252 ff.

The devoicing of intervocal sonants is a peculiar characteristic and it would be well to remember that its sphere of operation is mostly restricted to proper names. Though the devoicing has first appeared in a few instances in the East and the North-West, it obtains a relative frequency in the South at a later date.

The changes that are noted above do not affect the class of labials. The change of intervocal *-p-* to *-v-* has come to the west perhaps from the East. This change which appears in the N-West from the 1st cent B C is very frequent there.

The semi-vowel *-y-* is medially changed to *-j-* first in Northern and Eastern India and thence it descends to the West and the South. In the initial position, however, the change is first noticed in the South though at a later date in the 2nd cent A D.

The semi-vowel *r* is changed to *li* in the regions other than the West, North-West, and the South (where, however, sometimes we find *-l-*), in the inscriptions of Aśoka. Later on this regional distinction—barring of course a few exceptions from the East and N-West—is not maintained in the inscriptional Prakrits.

The three Sanskrit sibilants are almost invariably⁹ merged into the single dental sibilant. It is only the N-Western inscriptions of Aśoka and the later Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions which preserve the distinction between the three sibilants. The presence of *ś* and *ṣ* in the Kālsī edicts of Aśoka in the North and the Bhaṭṭiprolu casket inscriptions in the South is attributed by scholars, not as much to the knowledge of the distinction between the sibilants on the part of the speaker of the dialects, as to the ignorance of the scribe. The palatal *ṣ* is found only in a few inscriptions of the East in later period. Then again the preservation of *ś* in certain cases and the change *s* > *ś* is observed in the Ceylonese inscriptions.

Unlike most of the phonetic changes noticed above, the loss of intervocal consonants is first met with in the Western inscriptions almost in all cases. This tendency occurs in the N-West almost in all cases from the 1st cent A D. It has only slightly affected the inscriptions of Central and Southern India. The tendency is not met with in the East at all in the early inscriptions. It must be noted that inscriptions following the 1st cent A D are not available in this region.

Palatalisation The clusters *ty*, *ts*, *dy* and *dhy* are usually palatalised to *c*, *ch* (or *tś*), *j* and *jh* respectively (the single consonants stand for the double ones) at all times and in all regions. The guttural *k* is palatalised in the East and Centre even in the 3rd cent B C. As regards the treatment of the cluster *kṣ* the inscriptions of Aśoka divide themselves into two groups—those in the West and the N-West show the palatal *ch* and the rest *kh*. Later on this distinction is not evident as *kh* alone is found in the N-West and *kh* and *ch* appear in all other regions. The cluster *ry* is palatalised to *j* only in the South and the Centre.

*Cerebralisation*⁹ The dentals under the influence of *r* or *ṛ* are cerebralised in all inscriptions of Aśoka, save those in the West (only *rdh* is cerebralised so early as that in the West). The influence is observed in the West mostly from the beginning of the Christian era. The dentals *t* and *th* in combination with *s* are however, cerebralised at all places since the earliest times. The dental nasal *n* is initially cerebralised with some frequency in the N-West from the 1st cent A D, but in other regions it occurs only in rare cases. In the medial position it is increasingly cerebralised from

⁹ For cerebralisation in the eastern dialect see CHATTERJI, *Origin and Develop of Bengali Lang* p 483 ff.

the Aśokan inscriptions downwards. The wholesale change of $n > n$ is observed only in the 4th cent. A.D. copper-plates of Central India. It may be noted here that the cerebral nasal n is usually changed to n in the non-Western inscriptions of Aśoka. Later on, however, n is preserved even in these regions.

A peculiar trait of the N-Western Prakrit which does not appear in any of the Brāhmī inscriptions is the change of intervocal consonants into fricatives which are represented in writing by the addition of r (or in a few cases y).¹ These fricatives appear mostly in the 1st or 2nd cent. A.D., but in some cases in the 1st cent. B.C. also. The following are the fricatives that appear in these Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions: $-k(r)-$, $-g(r)-$, $-<-k-$ or $-g-$, $-d(r)-$, $-<-t-$, $-d-$, $-t(r)-$, $-d(r)-$, $-m(r)-$, $-g(r)-$, $-<-y-$, (r) , $-vḥ(r)-$, $-<-v-$, $ś(r)$, $-ṣ(r)-$, and $-s(r)$, or $-s(y)-$.

III CONSONANT CLUSTERS The consonant clusters are usually assimilated to the stronger of the two consonants coming together. Some of them are dissolved by svarabhakti and a few which are formed with r and s are preserved. Such clusters where r or s precedes the dental are preserved mostly in the West and the North-West in the inscriptions of Aśoka. Later on, except in the North-Western Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions, they are assimilated to the stop in the West as in other regions. Later N-Western inscriptions, however, preserve $-st-$ and in the case of $-ṣṭh-$ and $-sth-$, besides assimilation, they also preserve them as $-st-$.

Later N-Western inscriptions not only preserve clusters with r and sometimes with sibilant, but also those with y . Thus the clusters $-ky-$, $-ly-$, $-lhy-$, $-py-$, $-śy-$, $-sy-$ and $-sy-$, are no doubt sometimes assimilated or dissolved but they are also very often preserved.

Where a consonant precedes r such clusters as kr , gr , tr , dr , pr , vr and sibilant + r are sometimes preserved in the Western and North-Western inscriptions of Aśoka and the later Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions. This tendency to preserve the clusters with r which forms one of the characteristics of the Western inscriptions of Aśoka is exemplified, though in fewer instances, even in the later inscriptions of this region. On the other hand this tendency becomes more and more strong in the N-West so that later inscriptions show preservation of rg , $rgḥ$, $rlḥ$, rd , $rdḥ$, ry , kr , gr , tr , dr , pr , br , $śr$, and sr . It is worth noting that such clusters with r are sometimes preserved even in Central India usually from the first cent. B.C.

Similarly the clusters with v and with sibilants are sometimes preserved in the Western and the N-Western inscriptions of Aśoka. The cluster $-sv-$ is medially preserved even outside this Western and N-Western zone in the Aśokan age. But for a few instances of preservation, all these clusters are normally assimilated in all Brāhmī inscriptions of later centuries. But in the N-Western Kharoṣṭhī such clusters as $-lv$, $-rv-$, $śv$ (as $śp$ or $śv$), sv and kv are sometimes preserved.

Among the clusters with nasals those with $ñ$, $ṇ$, n and m show some peculiarities. Normally such clusters are assimilated to the nasal or the stop as the case may be and the anusvāra in the assimilated form is sometimes left out in writing. It is only the Prakrit portion of the 4th cent. A.D. copper-plates of Basim that preserves the clusters with nasals obviously under the influence of Sanskrit.

In the inscriptions of Aśoka the clusters $ññ$, ny and ny are assimilated usually to the palatal nasal $ñ$ in the Western and N-Western (also Southern) regions but to the dental nasal elsewhere. They are also palatalised in the later Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions. In later centuries the Western and non-Western regions indicate mutual influ-

ence. The tendency in favour of dental *n* in the non-Western regions is noticed even in the assimilation of the cluster *ṇ*. The preservation of the cerebral *n* in the assimilation of *ṇy* is a characteristic peculiar to the two distant corners viz. the N-West and the South in the inscriptions of Aśoka. Later on it is found even in the West. But the earlier treatment of palatalisation is the only one preserved in the later Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions.

In certain instances the cluster *ṇ* is cerebralised to *n*. As this tendency is evinced in the N-West and the South in the same century viz. the 3rd cent B.C. it would not be wrong to presume that the tendency was brought into play in those regions without mutual influence. It has of course spread over other regions in later centuries, though in the N-West itself it is found very rarely later on.

MORPHOLOGY

I DECLENSION The declensional system of the inscriptional Prakrits, as of the Prakrits of the grammarians, is very much simplified through the processes too well-known to require a detailed description here. Thus, for example, the dual is altogether lost and the bases ending in consonants are mostly transferred to the *-a* stem. In many instances, however, the forms of these bases originally ending in consonants but now brought over to the *-a* class do not follow the declensional system of that class but are directly derived from the corresponding Sk. forms with the necessary phonetic changes.

As the termination in most cases are the same in all regions, except in the Aśokan inscriptions, there is not much to be summarised in this respect. The regional differences in the terminations which could be discerned in the Prakrits of Aśokan inscriptions are mostly obliterated in the following centuries so that almost in all cases the Western influence over other regions is vividly borne out. Thus the nom. sg. term of the *māś* nouns ending in *-a* is *-o* in the Western and *-e* in the non-Western inscriptions of Aśoka. But in later inscriptions only the term *-o* is found in all regions. It may be noted, however, that the term *-e* is the normal one in the Ceylonese Prakrit, and is to be found, though less frequently, in the N-Western Prakrit. Similarly the loc. sg. term is *-e* or *-mhi* in the West and *-si* in other regions in the earliest Prakrit inscriptions. But later inscriptions normally show the term *-e*, though the Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions show a variety of terminations. The *-s-* of the gen. sg. *māś* is sometimes turned into fricative in the N-Western Prakrit.

In the Instrumental and Genitive sg. and the Gen. pl. terminations the nasal *n* is only sometimes cerebralised, generally after *r* and *ṣ* as in Sk., in earlier inscriptions and sometimes even where Sk. does not require it, in later inscriptions. In a majority of cases the cerebralisation is first noticed in the West, N-West and the South mostly round about the beginning of the Christian era. It is noticed in the Centre in very late inscriptions but never in the East. The North-Western Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions, however, continue to give both *-n-*, and *-ṇ-*.

Then again the instr. sg. term *-e* of nouns ending in *-a* is a noteworthy feature of the N-Western Prakrit which is not found elsewhere.

Similarly the dat. pl. ending noticed in the 1st or 2nd cent. A.D. Vihāragala Rock inscription of Ceylon is noteworthy. The usual ending that we get for dat. pl. in Brāhmī and Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions is *-hi*. But the Ceylonese inscription gives the

term. *-hiya* (cf. *satehiya*, EZ III. 165^a) which seems to have come from < **-bhīyah* < *-bhīyah*.

The forms of nouns ending in *-ṛ* in the Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions are more or less derived from the corresponding Sanskrit forms so that they give an appearance of semi-tatsamas.

The *-y-* of the term *-ya* and *-ye* which appear for dat sg mas and instr, dat, gen, and loc sg fem. is very often dropped in the Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions so that we get the ending *-a*, or *-e*.

II PRONOUNS The conclusions in Chapter VIII of the present work are generally drawn where the space-time context study enables us to indicate the movements of linguistic peculiarities. As the pronouns do not tend to show anything of the kind no conclusions are deduced from their study. A few words, therefore, may be put here on some peculiar forms noticed in them. Almost all plural forms of the first personal pronoun are derived from the base *amha-*. The rest of the forms are the same as those used in Sk. The use of *mahiya* as gen sg in the Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions may however be noted. Similarly the nom pl form *maye* found in the second separate edict of Aśoka at Dhauli and Jaugada is quite peculiar. It is derived by HULTZSCH (cf. CII Vol I (new edn) p. cvi) from Sk. *vayam* under the influence of inst sg *mayā*.

The forms of the second personal pronoun are derived from the base *tuṣhaka-* or from corresponding Sk. forms. The examples are quite few.

The bases for the third personal pronoun are the normal ones viz *sa-* and *ta-* and though in most cases the Prakrit forms correspond to the Sk. ones, some of the gen pl forms of masculine are derived from the analogous application of the term *-nam* of the nouns. The other peculiar forms are *se* (or *sa*) and *tissa* in the gen sg masculine. The use of nom sg mas forms in the Neuter which is noticed in the Aśokan inscriptions may be regarded as archaism for it is never noticed later on.

The forms of the demonstrative *etad-* are similarly derived from the base *eta-* or *esa-*. Under the peculiar forms we may notice the gen sg *etisa* and *etesa*, the loc sg *etesi*, the use of *ete* in the nom pl neut and the gen pl forms with the term *-nam* (or *-na*).

The pronoun *idam* is not so simple. First of all the form *iyam* is used in the sg of all the three genders. The base *ima-* is evident even in the nom sg mas and neut and in the forms of instr, gen, and loc. Still more interesting is the form *ina* in the nom sg neut in a Nāsik cave inscription (L 1147^a). In later Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions besides *imam* we get *isa* or *ise* as loc sg.

The normal base for the relative pronoun is *ya-*. It also gives the base *a-* with the occasional loss of initial occlusion, and *ja-* with the change of *y- > j-*. Even here the nom sg mas forms are used for the neuter in the earliest inscriptions. The loss of occlusion is an Eastern peculiarity almost confined to the inscriptions of Aśoka.

Among the pronominal adjectives the important ones are *sarva* and *anya*. The former affords the base *sava-* and the latter *amāna* (in the West) or *amna* (in the East). The terminations applied to these bases are those used for the *-a* stem and not those which are peculiar to them in Sk.

III VERB FORMS: While narrating the difficulties encountered in the study of Inscriptional Prakrits it has been already pointed out above that the number of verb

forms we come across is very small. As the terminations are more or less the same at all stages no remarks have been added with regard to them in Chapter VIII on Conclusions. It has been, therefore, found necessary to add a few remarks here.

In general the observations which are usually made with regard to the Prakrits of the grammarians apply to the Inscriptional Prakrits. Thus the variety of forms is lost, the dual number disappears as in declension and the middle voice has almost gone. Nothing can be said as regards the forms indicative of the past tense as their number is quite meagre. The forms that we generally get are of the Present Indicative, Imperative, Potential, (Imperfect, Aorist), Future—Active and Passive, Participles, Infinitive and Gerund.

Of the ten classes of verbs found in the old system normally we meet with only two classes. The *-a* class includes a large number of them. The second is the *-e* *-aya* class which includes usually the causatives and sometimes also some simple verbs. It must be noted that *-aya* is preserved in many cases. The system of inflection is the same for both of them.

The terminations for the Present are the same as in Sanskrit (with the loss of visarga) and as they are tabulated in the Synoptic Tables there is nothing to add about them. In causal the *-p-* of the suffix is sometimes changed to *-v-*. The terminations of the third sg middle is *-te* but in passive we find *-ti* except in the West.

The change *-i->-d-* in the 3rd sg term of the Present and Imperative appears in later Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions. The change of *-th-* to *-dh-* in the Imperative second person plural termination is met with only in the 4th cent. A.D. inscriptions of Central India. The termination *-ru* of the third person plural in the Imperative which is found in one of the Girnar Edicts of Aśoka is noteworthy. It may be compared with the term *-rim* for 3rd pl middle of the Present in the 2nd cent. A.D. Kharoṣṭhī inscription.

The terminations of the potential show a large variety, most of them being of the type *-yā*, *-eyā*. Sometimes we also get *-va* (in the sg.) and *-evā* (in the plural) in Aśokan inscriptions. The use of *-ti* in third pers sg in this mood is peculiar to the N-Western and Northern inscriptions of Aśoka and later Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions. It is not met with in later inscriptions elsewhere. These later inscriptions on the other hand change *-yy-* of the termination to *-jj-*.

As the middle voice is dropped in these Prakrits, most of the Present Participles are of the active type ending in *-ala* or *-anta*. When we get the middle participles they are formed by the addition of *-māna* or *-mīna*. It may be noted that a few forms of this type are found in the West and the South even in later centuries.

The Past Passive Participles as usual end in *-ta* or *-na*, both of them sometimes being cerebralised in the 2nd cent. A.D. inscriptions of Western and Southern India. In the North-Western Kharoṣṭhī, however, *-i->-d-* or *-d(ṛ)-*.

The Potential Passive Participles have the familiar endings, viz *-ya*, *-lavya* (> *-tava* or *-tavya*), and *-mīya*. There is nothing peculiar about them except that in the second cent. A.D. in the South we get a term *-jja*.

The normal terminations for the Absolutives are *-tā* and *-ya*, only the Girnar edicts giving *-tpā* (> *-tvā*). The later inscriptions in the South give the terminations *-tūna(m)* or *-tūna(m)* which could be noticed earlier in the Calcutta-Bairāt rock inscription of Aśoka (cf. *abhiyādetūnaṃ*). The Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions give *-ta*, *-ya*, or *-cam*. The 4th cent. A.D. Copper plates of Central India give only *-tā*.

The forms of Infinitive are rarely met with outside the inscriptions of Aśoka. The terminations in the West are *-tu* and *-tave* and in other regions we get only *-tave*. The Eastern forms of the 2nd cent. B.C., however, show *-tum*, but the North-Western form of the 1st cent. A.D. preserves *-tave*.

§ 8. INSCRIPTIONAL PRAKRITS IN THE LIGHT OF PRAKRIT GRAMMARIANS¹⁰.

The grammars of Prakrit languages were written at a very late stage when the different languages described in them had already assumed a literary form, when they were more or less standardised by usage and were, therefore, no longer in the process of formation. The inscriptional Prakrits, on the other hand, were inscribed centuries before the school of Prakrit grammarians came into vogue and we may assume, *prima facie*, that they reflect the gradual process by which most of the tendencies noted by later grammarians came into play. As could be seen from the chapter on Conclusions or the summary of the results given above this assumption is amply borne out by the chronological study. The austere forces of conservation have always reined the revolutionary forces of innovation in the history of all languages and their influence in the development of inscriptional Prakrits cannot be missed. It is on account of this impact of one process over the other that most of the phonetic changes noticed in the inscriptions are rather of a tendential character, the number of instances exemplifying a particular change however getting multiplied with the march of time. As the present study is limited to the end of the fourth cent. A.D., rarely do we meet with any change of a sweeping nature.

Yet it would be interesting to view the reflection of these inscriptions in the light of Prakrit Grammarians. Though these grammars enumerate a large number of Prakrits in reality they treat of three or four principal Prakrits in detail. Of these we may leave aside Pañśācī, the problem of the original home of which is not yet solved beyond doubt. Among the rest Māhārāṣṭrī may roughly correspond, geographically speaking, to the group of Western Inscriptions, Śaurasenī to the Central and Māgadhi to the Eastern group. We have at present no knowledge of a Prakrit deriving its name from a Southern country and thus correspond to the Southern Inscriptions. The purpose of the present analysis is to see how far the linguistic variations noted by later grammarians in the literary Prakrits have a historical bearing and this can be achieved by comparing the principal characteristics of the different Prakrits with those of the corresponding group of inscriptions noted above.

PHONOLOGY

I VOWELS : The treatment of the vowel *ɾ* is not so specifically dealt with by grammarians as to point to any regional difference between them. Yet a dialectic division has been made by some of the modern scholars who point out that the *a* (< *ɾ*) treatment is predominant in the West and the South and the *i* (< *ɾ*) treatment in other regions¹¹. In the study of Prakrit inscriptions we find that the *a* treatment is the principal one in the Western and *i* in the non-Western inscriptions of

10. The following discussion takes into account only Vararuci and Hemacandra as the most representative figures in the group of Prakrit grammarians.

11. J. BLOCH, *La Formation de la Langue marathe*, §31, S. K. CHATTERJEE, *Bengali Language*, §137, PISCHEL, *Gr Pkt Spr* §§49-51, GEIGER, *Pāli Gr.* §12. All these are quoted by WOOLNER, *Int. to Pkt* §60.

Aśoka. Later inscriptions from all parts, however, tend to show the *a* treatment.

As regards the change in the quantity of the vowels before consonant clusters though Hemacandra expresses himself in a definite manner in the Sūtras 1.43, 84, and 292, Vararuci is astonishingly silent about it "Are we therefore to interpret" asks COWELL in his edition of the *Prākṛta-Prakāśa* by Vararuci (p. 186, second issue) "the silence of Vararuci as evidence that the principle in question grew up gradually in Prākṛit, and only became fully recognised in later times?" Colour is definitely lent to this statement by the study of Inscriptional Prakrits Hemacandra makes only a qualified statement in laying down that short vowels are lengthened before consonant clusters (1.43 and 292). But according to him the change of long vowels to short ones in similar circumstances is of a sweeping nature (1.84) Now the presence of many long vowels before assimilated conjuncts in Prakrit Inscriptions clearly points to the fact that this tendency had the widest application noted by Hemacandra only in later days Even here the dialectic distinction is not made by the grammarians and it is not so clearly evident in the inscriptions either

II. CONSONANTS It is mostly in this sphere that the dialectal variations have been recognised by grammarians The elision of intervocal single consonants is a singular characteristic of Māhārāṣṭrī (V 22, H 1177) Now in the Inscriptional Prakrits the elision is definitely first met with in some examples of the Western India, and thus the elements of a tendency later on exaggerated in Māhārāṣṭrī literature are found in the earlier inscriptions of the corresponding region The change of *-l-* to *-d-* (also *d-*) and *-lh-* to *-dh-* is one of the salient features of Śaurasenī (V. 123, H 4260-2 and 267) and Māgadhi (H on 4302). In the Prakrit inscriptions though the change of *-l-* > *-d-* is noticed even in the West and North-West together with other regions, the voicing of *-lh-* > *-dh-* is a feature altogether absent in the West Its presence in other regions, therefore, seems to have developed into the Śaurasenī and Māgadhi characteristic

In the treatment of the palatal *j* and the semi-vowel *y* it may be gathered that the later usage does not quite correspond to the earlier tendencies The grammarians prescribe that intervocal *-j-* is dropped and sometimes *-y-* is developed in its stead in Māhārāṣṭrī (H 1177, 180), but it is invariably changed to *y*, both initially and medially, in Māgadhi (V 114, H 4292) Among the inscriptions, the Western, North-Western, and Central inscriptions also change *-j-* > *-y-* In the East, on the contrary intervocal *-j-* is preserved in all inscriptions With regard to *y* it is laid down that whereas it is preserved in Māgadhi (H. 4.292), it is changed to *j-* or *-j* in other languages (V 231, H 1248) In the inscriptions we do notice its preservation in the East and its change to *-j-* or *j-* in other regions

The cerebral nasal *ṇ* is preserved in all literary Prakrits except Paisāci where it is changed to *n* (V 105, H 4306) As this feature distinguishes all other Prakrits from Paisāci it may be worth while to note that the Aśokan inscriptions too divide themselves in two parts in this respect, those in the West, N-West and the South¹² show *-ṇ-*, and the rest *-n-* Later on, however, many inscriptions in the West and N-West show *-n-* and those in the Centre and East show *-ṇ-* Thus in this respect the preservation of *-ṇ-* witnessed in literary Prakrits is not borne out by the inscriptional Prakrits The tendency in favour of *-n-* may, however, be seen in the very late

12. Ceylonese inscriptions of all times preserve *ṇ*. •

inscriptions e.g. of the fourth century A.D. Copper-plates of Central India (for the change of $n > \eta$ see below under cerebralisation).

The change of r to l in all positions forms a principal characteristic of Māgadhi according to the grammarians (H 4288). This change is optional in Śaurasenī, more frequent in Ardha-Māgadhi and a few instances have been pointed out where it occurs even in Māhārāṣṭrī (V 2.30). This account of the semi-vowel r is definitely borne out by the inscriptions of Aśoka which point out that l was substituted for r in the court language of Magadha but not in the West and the N.-West. Later inscriptions from the East and especially those of Khāravela, however, point to r and not to l . Only the Piprahvā vase inscription, the Sohgaura Copper plates and the Jogimārā cave inscriptions from the East change r to l .

The three Sk sibilants are merged into the single dental s in all Prakrits except Māgadhi (V 243, H. 1260, for Paisācī cf H 4309). The Māgadhi of the grammarians, on the contrary, accepts the palatal $ś$ instead of the dental s (V. 11.3, H 4288). It is in this respect that the Eastern language of the inscriptions is at variance with the statements of the grammarians. Not only the inscriptions from non-Eastern India (except N.-West) but even the Eastern inscriptions of Aśoka possess the dental s and not $ś$. The notable exception in later centuries is formulated by the Jogimārā cave inscription in the East which not only preserves $ś$ but changes s to $ś$ as is laid down by later grammarians. The Kālsī edicts of Aśoka situated in the Dehra Dun district of the United Provinces no doubt point to $ś$ ($< s$) but they even preserve $ṣ$ or change s to $ṣ$. This confusion has been usually attributed by scholars to the ignorance of the scribe.¹³ Even if we were to discard the ambiguous evidence of Kālsī edicts, which are again more Northern than Eastern, the Jogimārā inscription definitely points to an Eastern dialect with a palatal $ś$ in its alphabet which, though not elevated to the status of a court language of Magadha, was current in an area adjacent to it.

Palatalisation of a few single consonants and mostly of dentals in combination with y is a feature common to all Prakrits, both of the grammarians and that of the inscriptions. The distinction in the treatment of the cluster $kṣ$, which was turned to ch in the Western and the N.-Western inscriptions and to kh in the rest of the inscriptions of Aśoka, was obliterated in the later Prakrit inscriptions themselves (so that Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions show only kh or preserve $kṣ$) and naturally it is not mentioned by grammarians. A few other peculiarities may be, however, pointed out. We have already seen that Māgadhi changes j to y and as a corollary to it the cluster dy is not changed to j but to yy in Māgadhi (H 4292). The Eastern inscriptions, however, have nothing in common with Māgadhi in this respect as they preserve j and palatalise dy to j (i.e. j). The treatment of the cluster ry is varied but here we are concerned with the one by which $ry > j$ or j . This treatment for the cluster is prescribed for Māhārāṣṭrī and Śaurasenī by Hemacandra (224, 4266). But as Māgadhi has y and not j , it becomes yy in this language (V 11.7 and H. 4302) and optionally in Śaurasenī (H 4266). Now palatalisation of ry is no doubt observed in very late inscriptions but without this distinction. The treatment of the cluster $ry > y$ noticed in Prakrit inscriptions is also not a result of the change of j to y .

13 Similar confusion is witnessed even in Southern inscriptions of Bhaṭṭiprolu. The Ceylon inscriptions also preserve $ś$ or change it to s and correspondingly preserve s or change it to $ś$.

The cerebralisation of dentals under the influence of *r*, *ṛ*, or a sibilant is noticed by the grammarians as a common feature to all Prakrits without any special dialectic distinction. Cerebralisation is also noticed in the inscriptional Prakrits of all groups with this difference that in certain regions it appears at an earlier or a later date. The cerebralisation of *n* to *ṇ* in all positions is, however, a later development of the literary Prakrits not noticed so strongly in inscriptions. Though Hemacandra allows option for the change *n* > *ṇ* in the initial position (H 1 228-9), Vararuci makes the change essential in all positions (V. 2 42). It is again in this respect that the Paisācī Prakrit remains out of the group on account of its preservation of the dental *n*¹⁴. Coming to the Inscriptional Prakrits we find that *n* is preserved in all inscriptions of Aśoka except those at Koptāl in H. E. H. the Nizam's Dominions, where *n* > *ṇ*- and *-n* > *-ṇ*-. The later inscriptions from the 2nd cent. B.C. generally show both *n* and *ṇ*. It may be said, perhaps, that the preference for the dental is shown in the Central and Eastern groups, and for the cerebral in the rest. It is only in such late inscriptions as of the 3rd and 4th cent. A.D. that a sweeping change of *n* to *ṇ* is noticed. The change which was thus steadily creeping in saw its culmination in later Prakrits. Even in terminations we find both *-n*- and *-ṇ*- in inscriptions up to 2nd cent. A.D. The stage reflected in the literary Prakrits which know of only cerebral *ṇ* in terminations is reached perhaps in the 3rd and 4th cent. A.D. inscriptions.

In the treatment of the cluster *-ññ-* the literary Prakrits make a difference. It is cerebralised to *-ṇṇ-* in Māhārāṣṭrī and Śaurasenī (V 3 44, 12 8; H 2 42), but palatalised to *-ññ-* in Māgadhi (H 4 293)¹ and Paisācī (H. 4 303-4). Now the palatal treatment is not noticed anywhere except the Western (and sometimes N-Western) inscriptions of Aśoka. The North-Western and the Southern Aśokan inscriptions show *-n-* which then prevails over all regions. But in the north-west itself it is the *ñ* treatment which appears in later Kharoṣṭhī. The Central, Eastern and Northern inscriptions of Aśoka, however, point to *-ṇṇ-*. Thus the later treatment in Māhārāṣṭrī and Śaurasenī is no doubt reflected in Prakrit inscriptions of Western and Central India. Unfortunately, however, later instances beyond the Aśokan inscriptions are not available from the Eastern group so that we cannot say whether the Māgadhi treatment of *-ññ-* has any historical background.

The change of intervocal sonants to surds both aspirate and unaspirate forms the salient characteristic of Paisācī (and Cūlikā Paisācī) Prakrit (V 10 3, H 4 307, 325). This tendency is sporadically met with in the inscriptional Prakrits mostly in all regions (except perhaps the Central). What again strikes the reader is that in many cases (e.g. *-g-* > *-k-*, *-gh-* > *-kh-*, *-j-* > *-c-*, *-ḍ-* > *-t-*) the origin of this change was situated in the East. Its appearance in other regions simultaneously with the East in some cases in the inscriptions of Aśoka may be attributed to the Eastern influence. After the days of Aśoka later inscriptions from South India¹⁵ point to slightly frequent instances of this change, though mostly in proper nouns. Then again the Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions give a few instances of the change *-g-* > *-k(ṛ)-* and *-ḍ-* > *-t-* or *-t(ṛ)-*.

III. CONSONANT CLUSTERS : The principle of assimilation which has simplified

14 We have already seen that in Paisācī *n* > *ṇ* (V 10 5, H 4 306)

15 A few instances of the change *-g-* > *-k-* are found in Ceylonese inscriptions of 2nd cent. A.D.

Sk clusters is common to both literary Prakrits as well as inscriptional Prakrits. A few peculiarities, however, may be discussed below.

(i) *Clusters with stops*. The change of the cluster *-cch-* > *-śc-* noticed in Māgadhi (H 4295) is not witnessed in inscriptions from any region. The clusters with sibilant + stops are sometimes preserved in Māgadhi. Thus *-tṭ-* and *-ṣṭh-* > *-ṣṭ-*, and *-sth-* and *-rṭh-* (this cluster however is formed with *ṛ* and not a sibilant) > *-st-* (H 4290-1)¹⁶ Now the clusters *-tṭ-* and *-ṣṭh-* always become *-t-* and *-ṭh-* (or *-th-*) in Prakrit inscriptions (in very few instances *-ṣṭh-* > *-st-* in later Kharoṣṭhī). The cluster *-sth-* either becomes *ṭh* or *th*. It is preserved only in the earliest inscriptions in the form *ṣṭ-* and *-st-* (< *st* and *sth*) but not in the Eastern inscriptions as one may expect from its being a Māgadhi characteristic but in the Girnar inscriptions of Aśoka. Later Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions also preserve at times clusters with sibilants + dentals. The cluster *-rṭh-* also becomes *-th-* or *-ṭh-* in Prakrit inscriptions. It is preserved only in the Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions.

(ii) *Clusters with the semivowel y*: Some of the peculiarities have been already noticed above in the discussion on palatalisation. The cluster *ry* presents a number of treatments. It is mostly dissolved by anaptyxis into *-riy-* or assimilated to *-y-*. Some of the later inscriptions also show the loss of *-y-* in *-riy-*, so that we get *-ry-* > *-ria-* (< **-riy-*) and then by metathesis *-ira-*. In a few cases we also get the treatment *-ry-* > *-ṛ-* and in fewer cases still *-ry-* > *-riṭ-*. Now almost all these treatments have been noticed by later grammarians (cf *-ry-* > *-ria-* V 320, H 2107 also 67; *-ry-* > *-ṛ-* V 318-9, H 263-4, *-ry-* > *-ara-* and *-riṭ-* together with *-ṛia-* in the treatment of *āścarya-* H 267). What is noteworthy in these treatments is that the treatment of *-ry-* > *-riy-* is not noticed by grammarians. They have, on the contrary, added one more highly advanced treatment, that of *-ry-* > *-(e)ra-* which is not exemplified in inscriptions. The clusters with sibilant + *y* are always assimilated to the sibilant or dissolved by svarabhakti in inscriptional Prakrits. Its change to *-h-*¹⁷ besides *-ss-* noticed in the literary Prakrits is not found in inscriptions beyond a few questionable forms.

(iii) *Clusters with the semivowel ṛ*. It is enjoined by the grammarians that the clusters with *ṛ* are to be assimilated. They notice the optional preservation of *ṛ* only in the cluster *dṛ* (V 33-4, H 279-80). Now we know that the clusters with *ṛ* are often preserved in the Western and N-Western inscriptions of Aśoka. Later on the Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions of N-West preserve many clusters with *ṛ* and in other inscriptional Prakrits, though this tendency is not so strongly evident. Stray preservation of such clusters as *-kr-*, *-gr-*, *tr-*, *-lṛ-*, *-dṛ-*, *pr-*, *-pr-*, *br-*, *śr-*, *sr-* and *-sr-* are definitely met with. It appears that by the time the literary Prakrits were formulated even this stray preservation gradually tended to disappear except in the case of *-dṛ-*.

(iv) *Clusters with the semivowel v*. A dialectic variation in the treatment of the cluster *rv* is noticed by Hemacandra. Whereas it is assimilated to *-vv-* in other Prakrits, it is also sometimes dissolved into *-rav-* (or *-lav-*) in Śaurasenī and Māgadhi (H 4270 and on 4302). Now the Prakrit inscriptions following those of Aśoka assimilate *-rv-* > *-vv-* in all places except N-West. In the Western and N-Western

¹⁶ The preservation of many other clusters with sibilant + stops is noticed in Māgadhi cf H 4289.

¹⁷ The change *s* > *h* in the gen. sg. term. is observed in the Ceylonese inscriptions.

Aśokan and later N.-Western Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions the cluster is either preserved or assimilated to *-v-*. In the East and North, however, it is either assimilated to *-v-* or dissolved into *-lvv-*. The Māgadhī feature, therefore, seems to be an Eastern archaism not recorded in later Prakrit inscriptions

(v) Clusters with sibilants : The treatment of the cluster *kṣ* to *kh* or *ch* is already noticed above under palatalisation. Further it needs mention here that the occasional treatment of *-kṣ-* > *-sk-* noticed as a feature of Māgadhī (V 116; H 4 297) is never met with in any Prakrit inscription. Even the original *sk* or *ṣk* is assimilated to *kh* or *k* at all times (with only a few exceptions from the N.-West)

(vi) Clusters with nasals

(a) Clusters with the nasal *ñ* : The treatment of the cluster *ñ* > *nm* or *ññ* is already discussed above. A curious treatment of this cluster by which it is sometimes changed to *j-* or *-j-* in literary Prakrits (V 35, H 283) is not found in the inscriptions. The cluster *-ñj-* is assimilated to *-ññ-* according to Hemacandra in Māgadhī (cf H 4 293). In the inscriptional Prakrits the cluster is always represented as *-mj-* or *-j-*. It is only in a few instances from the N.-Western inscriptions of Aśoka that it is assimilated, as in Māgadhī, to *-ñ-*.

(b) Clusters with the nasal *n* and *ṇ* : The clusters *ny* and *ṇy* are always assimilated to *ññ* in Māgadhī and Pāṣāṇī according to Hemacandra (cf 4 293 and 4 305). It is assimilated to *-m-* in other Prakrits. Now this treatment of *-ññ-* is never noticed in the East in the inscriptional Prakrits. It is first noticed in the West and the South and then in the N.-West and Centre. On the contrary it is assimilated to *n* or dissolved into *my* in the Eastern inscriptions.

(c) Clusters with the nasal *m* : The cluster *-tm-* is mostly changed to *-pp-* in Māhārāṣṭrī and to *-pp-* or *-tt-* in other Prakrits (V 348, H 251 seems to allow both forms in Māhārāṣṭrī). In Aśokan inscriptions the cluster is preserved as *-tp-* in the Western and Southern groups but assimilated to *-t-* in other regions. But later Kharoṣṭhī shows *-tm-* > *-tv-*, *-t-*, *-p-*. The change of *-tm-* > *-tp-* in the West seems to have further developed into *-pp-* in Māhārāṣṭrī and other Prakrits.

MORPHOLOGY

The dialectal variations in the declensional and the conjugational systems of the inscriptional and literary Prakrits are not many. Hence there is not much for us to investigate in order to ascertain the correspondences between the literary and inscriptional Prakrits.

The nom. sg. term *-e* in Māgadhī (V 11 10, H 4 287) of the stems in *-a* is definitely reflected in the Eastern dialect of the inscriptions of Aśoka. But for a few inscriptions like those at Jogimārā and Pātnā, most of the Eastern inscriptions of later period show the Western term *-o* instead of *-e*. It is really unfortunate that inscriptions following the beginning of the Christian era are not available from Eastern India, for it prevents us from gleanings the approximate date when the dialect of the Jogimārā cave inscription became recognised and fully developed into literary Māgadhī.

The nom. sg. neut. term. *-e* found in the Eastern dialect of Aśokan inscriptions is

not met with later on either in the Prakrit inscriptions¹⁸ or literary Prakrits even including Māgadhi. The term *-am* is regularly used for this purpose.

The nom. acc. pl neut, the inst sg, and the gen pl of some stems in inscriptions show both a dental and a cerebral nasal in their terminations. In the literary Prakrits all that remains is the cerebral *n*.

The optional term. *-āha* for gen sg and *-haṃ* for gen pl in Māgadhi (V. 11.12 ; H. 4 299, 300) are never witnessed in any of the Prakrit inscriptions¹⁹.

The instr, dat, abl, and gen sg terminations of the fem nouns always preserve *-v-* in the terminations *-yā* or *-ye* in the Inscriptional Prakrits. It is only in a few instances of a later date in the Brāhmī inscriptions but very often in later Kharoṣṭhi inscriptions that this element of *-y-* is lost. The literary Prakrits, on the other hand, never preserve this *-y-* of the terminations. They are again definitely richer in terminations, and especially so in the ablative case, than the Inscriptional Prakrits.

The nom sg of stems in *-i* or *-u* ends in *-ī* or *-ū* in the Inscriptional Prakrits. The literary Prakrits always show the long *-ī* and *-ū*.

Among the stems ending in *-r* a noteworthy feature of the Inscriptional Prakrits and which never figures in the literary Prakrits is the gen sg. ending *-u* coming directly from Sk *-uh* in such forms as *pituh* or *mātuh*.

In the declension of the consonantal stems the inscriptional Prakrits keep up many Sk forms with the necessary phonetic changes. In the literary Prakrits, but for a few exceptions, almost all of them are declined like the corresponding stems ending in vowels. Thus for example the instr and gen sg forms of *-at* stems in inscriptions end in *-ā* and *-o* (besides *-sa*) respectively, instead of *-ena* or *-ssa* as in literary Prakrits. In the declension of *-an* (and *-in*) stems, however, even the literary Prakrits partially preserve the forms of the corresponding Sk declension.

In the pronominal declension, too, there is not much to distinguish the literary dialects among themselves. The peculiar form *hage* used in Māgadhi for the nom. pl of the first personal pronoun is not noticed in the inscriptions. Such inscriptional bases as *aphāka-* and *tuphāka-* are not met with in literary Prakrits. The nom sg of the third personal pronoun appears in Māgadhi as *še* but as *se* in the Eastern dialect of Aśokan inscriptions. (The Kālsī edict gives all the three forms *se*, *še*, and *ṣe*). The use of the term *-naṃ* for the gen pl forms appears both in the inscriptional and literary Prakrits.

CONJUGATION. As has been already remarked there is little to notice in the sphere of verb forms from the point of view of dialectal variations in the literary Prakrits. The change of intervocal *-t-* > *-d-* in third pers sg termination is noticed in Śaurasenī and Māgadhi (H 4 273-4, H on 4 302). This intervocal *-t-* is however lost in Māhārāṣṭrī which then gives term. like *-i*, *-u* etc. It is preserved only in the Pāṣāṇī Prakrit (H 4 318-9). These are all later phonetic developments which are altogether absent in the terminations of inscriptional Prakrits. It is only in the N-Western Prakrit that we get both *-ti* and *-di* and *-tu* and *-du* and in the 4th cent AD copper-plates of Central India the change *-th-* > *-dh-* in the imperative second pers pl term as is done in Śaurasenī and Māgadhi.

18. It is seen in the Ceylonese inscriptions which give *-e* also for nom. sg mas. The use of *-e* for neuter in north-west is rather doubtful.

19. The gen. sg *-ha* is quite common in Ceylonese Prakrit.

The formatives of the participles in the literary Prakrits differ among themselves only in this respect that whereas intervocal *-i-* > *-d-* in Śaurasenī and Māgadhi, its occlusion is lost in Māhārāṣṭrī. As is noted above this stage of phonetic development is not noticed in the inscriptional Prakrits except for the exceptions noted from the N.-West. The other point which deserves notice is that whereas *-n-* in the formatives of the middle participles is preserved in the inscriptions it is changed to *-ṇ-* in the literary Prakrits.

The terminations of the absolutives are rather confused in the literary Prakrits. The term *-tāna(m)* and *-tāna(m)* which is so common in the later inscriptions from South India figures in all literary Prakrits with the usual change of *-i-* > *-d-* in Śaurasenī and Māgadhi (H. 4271 and H. on 4302). The term *-tā* which is noted by Hemacandra in his commentary on the sūtra 2.271 in the treatment of Śaurasenī language is noticed in the corresponding group of inscriptions in the 4th cent A.D.

It will thus be apparent that it is only in SOME RESPECTS that the distinguishing characteristics of later literary Prakrits are based on the tendential innovations introduced in the earlier inscriptional Prakrits. The above treatment also brings out the fact that the literary Prakrits mark a definitely later stage over the one reached at the end of inscriptional Prakrits in the development of the Middle Indo-Aryan languages.

§ 9. POLITICAL HISTORY OF THE PERIOD : The long period from the middle of the third century B.C. to the end of the fourth century A.D. in which the Prakrit inscriptions are scattered has witnessed the rise and fall of more than one dynasty in India. The Northern and the Western parts of India were even under the sway of some foreigners like Greeks and Śakas for some time. It will, therefore, be of some advantage to narrate here in brief the chequered political history of India during this period as the different phases in the political history may have had something to do with the linguistic history of the period.

Our linguistic history begins with the inscriptions of Aśoka, the great Maurya Emperor of Magadha, who took reins of the vast empire sometime between 277 B.C. and 261 B.C. His dominions were very extensive, stretching from the confines of the realm of Antioch II Theos, King of Syria in the North-West to the Chittaldroog district in the Mysore State in the South, and from the Arabian sea in the West to the frontiers of Bengal in the East. No doubt, for some time after Asoka's death which occurred in 232 B.C., Mauryas continued to rule over Western and Eastern India. Yet soon after Aśoka the glory of the Maurya empire was engulfed by the rise of some indigenous powers as also by the attacks of outsiders who came in from the North-Western pass of India.

The dynasty of the Śungas was established by Puṣyamitra who assassinated the last Maurya emperor Bṛhadratha in c. 187 B.C. His dominions extended in the South to the river Narmadā and included the cities of Pāṭaliputra, Ayodhyā, Vidiśā (and perhaps Jālandhara and Śākala). The kings of this dynasty continued to rule at any rate in Central India upto 75 B.C. The rule of the Śunga emperors, though brief, marks an important epoch in Indian history. It witnessed great activity in the domains of religion, literature and art. "In the history of these activities the names of three Central Indian Localities stand pre-eminent Vidiśā (Besnagar), Gonarda and Bhārhut. Inscriptions at Vidiśā (and Ghosundī) testify to the growing

importance and wide prevalence of the Bhāgawata religion. . . . Gonarda was the traditional birth-place of the celebrated Patañjali, the greatest literary genius of the period. Bhārhut saw the construction of the famous railing which has made the sovereignty of the Śungas (*Suganam raja*) immortal." ²⁰

The rule of the Kāṇvas which followed this period, when Devabhūti, the last Śunga king, received his tragic end at the hands of Vāsudeva, lasted only from 75 to 40 B.C. Sātavāhanas who are represented to have dislodged them apparently in Eastern Malwā do not seem to have occupied Magadha proper.

In the two centuries which followed the end of the Maurya rule there rose two great kingdoms in India, that of Khāravela in the Kalinga and of Simuka in the Deccan. The former belonged to the Ceta dynasty and flourished in the second or first century B.C. He humbled the kings of Uttarāpatha and his power was felt even in Tamil country. Simuka was the first king of the Sātavāhana dynasty and flourished in the first century B.C. His son Śātakaṃṇi, styled as the lord of Dakṣiṇāpatha, raised the status of Sātavāhanas to paramount sovereigns of Trans-Vindhyan India. "Thus arose the first great empire in the Godāvarī valley which rivalled in extent and power the Śunga empire in the Ganges valley and the Greek empire in the land of the Five Rivers" ²¹ The capital of Sātavāhana empire was Pratuṣṭhāna, the modern Paṭhan, on the north bank of the Godāvarī in the Aurangābād district of H. E. H. the Nizam's Dominions.

The Scythian rule in Northern India was at this time carried on by three main groups of Satraps viz the Satraps of Kāpiśa and Abhisāraprastha, the Satraps of the Western Punjab and the Satraps of Mathura. King Kaniska completed the Kuṣāna conquest in Upper India and ruled over a wide realm which extended from Kāpiśa, Gandhāra and Kāśmīra to Benares. The Kuṣāna kings flourished in the first and second centuries A.D. Though the dynasty began with the Buddhist king Kaniska it ended with the Śaivite Vāsudeva I. The works of, Aśvaghoṣa, Nāgārjuna, and others and the development of Śaivism and the allied cult of Kārttikeya, of the Mahāyāna form of Buddhism and the cults of Mihira and Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa prove that the period was of great literary and religious activity. Most of the inscriptions of this period which are found at Mathurā are in Mixed dialect and not in pure Prakrit.

The successors of great Kuṣānas in Mathurā and certain adjoining tracts were the Nāgas. Their rule over a considerable portion of Northern and Central India in the third and fourth centuries A.D. is attested by epigraphic evidence.

When the principal Scythic dynasties continued to rule in the North, a Satrapal family of the Kṣaharātas extended their power to Western India and the Deccan. Eight cave inscriptions discovered at Nāsik, Junnar and Kārle prove the inclusion of a considerable portion of Mahārāṣṭra in the dominions of Nahapāna, the greatest of the Kṣaharāta Satraps. His influence probably extended from Mahārāṣṭra and North Konkan to Kāthiāwār, Mālāwā and the District of Ajmere. The rule of this Satrapal family prevailed in the first and second century A.D.

Gautamīputra Śātakaṃṇi, who is described in a Nāsik inscription as the "uprooter of the Kṣaharāta race", restored the rule of Sātavāhanas in the Deccan early in the second century A.D. His rule extended over Mahārāṣṭra, Kāthiāwār, Central

20. H. C. RAYCHAUDHARI, *Political History of Ancient India*, p. 331.

21. RAYCHAUDHARI, *op cit.* p. 326.

India, Berar, and East and West Mālwā. The possession Vejayanti in the Kanarese district is specially referred to in a Nāsik inscription of year 18. The earliest Sātavāhana king whose inscriptions have been found in the Andhra region is Puṣumāyi, Gautamīputra's son. The Prakrit inscriptions of Sātavāhana kings are found at Nāsik, Nānāghaṭ, Sāñci, Kārle, Kaṇheri, Amarāvati and Čina

The greatest rivals of the restored Sātavāhana rule in the second cent. A.D. were the Śaka Kṣatrapas of Ujjain. The dominion under their command included East and West Mālwā, Kāthiāwār, some part of Western and Central India etc. They were finally destroyed by the Guptas in the fourth cent. A.D.

In the latter half of the 2nd cent. A.D. Sātavāhanas lost their power over Mahārāṣṭra to the Ābhīras and over the Kistna, Guntur and Bellary districts to the Ikṣvākus and Pallavas

The Ikṣvākus are known from the inscriptions found at Jagayyapeṭa in the Kistna district and Nāgārjunakoṇḍa in the Guntur district. The most well-known rulers of the family of the Eastern Deccan are Camtamūla, Śrī-Vīra-Puṇisadata and Eḥuvula Čāmtamūla II

Following the Sātavāhanas, the most important dynasty to rule in the South was that of Pallavas. The first great Pallava king Śivaskandavarman is known from the inscriptions at Mayīdvolu and Hirahadagalli. About the middle of the fourth cent. A.D. Samudragupta invaded South India and administered a severe blow to their power.

The early years of the fourth cent. A.D. witnessed the establishment of Gupta dynasty at the hands of Candragupta I in 320 A.D. His son Samudragupta who ruled upto 380 A.D. brought a large territory in the North under his control. In the South he only made his power felt by vanquishing his contemporaries but did not annex their territories to his empire. As the period under present survey terminates with the end of the fourth cent. A.D. it is not necessary to narrate here the operations of the later Guptas.

The contemporaries of the early Guptas in the fourth cent. A.D. were Vākātakas who were then a predominant power in the regions between Bundelkhanda and Kistna. The earliest reference to Vākātakas occurs in a certain inscription of Amarāvati. The copper-plates of Vākātaka king Vindhyaśakti II containing some portions in Prakrit have been lately discovered at Basim in Central India.

The above summary is narrated from the point of view of the territory held by each dynasty in a particular period. The chronology is mainly based upon the conclusions arrived at by RAYCHAUDHARI in his *Political History of Ancient India*. It is not intended here to undertake a comprehensive attempt to show how changes in dynasties were or were not responsible for linguistic changes. Yet a general indication showing the possibility of the political and cultural supremacy of the invaders affecting the language of the people may be thrown out in this direction. It will be seen from the brief narration above that after the fall of the Maurya Empire, Magadha did not loom large over the political horizon till the rise of the Guptas. This is perhaps the reason why most of the inscriptions in Eastern (and Central India) in later centuries are not impressed by the dialectal peculiarities of the East noticed in the inscriptions of Aśoka. On the contrary they show to a large extent the influence of Western tendencies. Thus the change of *r > l* and the nom. sg. term *-e* of mas. nouns ending in *-a* which may be regarded as the *sine qua non* of the language

current in the Magadha in the 3rd cent. B.C. are conspicuous by their absence in the inscriptions round about Magadha in later centuries. With the not very accurate readings of inscriptions at hand and the chronology of some of the events not altogether settled, the time does not seem yet to be ripe for the discussion of this point in all further details. Moreover in some cases it is possible that the phonetic habits of the people themselves were responsible for some very divergent changes in the fixed norm.

**HISTORICAL GRAMMAR
OF
INSCRIPTIONAL PRAKRITS**

CHAPTER I

COMPARATIVE STUDY OF ASOKAN INSCRIPTIONS

§ 1 INTRODUCTORY. The inscriptions of Aśoka offer to the student of Indian linguistics a remarkable specimen of a linguistic survey of Indo-Aryan languages as they were current in the great Maurya Empire during the 3rd century B.C. This unique feature has been responsible for attracting the attention of many distinguished scholars working in the field of Middle Indo-Aryan linguistics. Though it is difficult to name all these scholars in these few introductory remarks, mention may be made of the following who have very greatly contributed towards deciphering and interpreting these inscriptions: PRINSEP, SENART, BUHLER, JOHANSSON, FRANKE, SMITH, GRIERSON, MICHELSON, THOMAS, HULTZSCH, BLOCH, LUDERS, JAYASWAL, CHARPENTIER, WOOLNER, D. R. BHANDARKAR, D. C. SIRCAR, TURNER, and B. M. BARUA. The publication of these inscriptions by HULTZSCH in the revised edition of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol I, in 1925 has brought the study of Aśokan inscriptions to a very high level, incorporating within itself the linguistic and palaeographic researches of more than three generations of scholars. I have based my phonological and morphological study of these inscriptions entirely on the readings adopted by HULTZSCH.

But even this work of HULTZSCH fails to attempt a comparative approach to the linguistic material afforded by these inscriptions. His excellent summaries of grammars are valuable in themselves, no doubt, but their drawback is that they deal with individual dialects and do not give a comparative idea to the reader. In the following discussion, therefore, the whole material is rearranged on a comparative basis in order to show at every stage what linguistic features marked the different dialects of the period. Thus a comprehensive attempt is made here, perhaps for the first time, to reduce, wherever possible, the entire material to certain regional correspondences in so far as the treatment of the different vowels, consonants—simple and clustered—, and the declensional and conjugational forms are concerned. While doing this, in the section on Phonology only the linguistic changes have been exemplified, the instances of preservation being omitted. It may be noted that these changes again are not of universal character but show only certain tendencies of pronunciation. In the section on Morphology, however, all the different endings have been exemplified.

Besides the inscriptions included by HULTZSCH in his edition, I have incorporated in this study the additional material afforded by the recently discovered versions of the minor rock edict at Kopāl¹ in H. E. H. the Nizam's Dominions and at Yerrāgudi² in the Kurnool district of the Madras Presidency. I have, however, not been able to include the fourteen rock edicts discovered in the Kurnool district, as none of them is published so far though many years have elapsed since the announcement of their

1 Ed. by R. L. TURNER. *The Gavimaṭh and Pāḷkigunḍu inscriptions of Aśoka*, Hyderabad Arch. Ser. No. 10, 1932.

2 D. C. SIRCAR *IHQ* 7. (737) 817 ff. B. M. BARUA, *IHQ* 4. 113 ff., 13. 132 ff. K. P. JAYASWAL, *IHQ* 9. 583 ff.

discovery by the Department of Archaeology in India. This material, when published, would be of immense importance inasmuch as the south Indian Aśokan material is rather scanty in comparison with the north Indian material

I have not added here any remarks as regards the find spots³ of the Aśokan inscriptions. They are now too well-known in the world of scholars to need repetition here.

PHONOLOGY

I VOWELS

§ 2 In common with the other MIA languages the Sk. vowels are well preserved in these inscriptions, the notable exceptions being those of the vowel *ṛ* and the diphthongs *ai* and *au*

§ 3. Treatment of the vowel *ṛ* in a metrically short syllable .

(1) In its initial position this vowel generally tends to become *a-* in G even when combined with a labial In K and to a certain extent in M, *ṛ-* either becomes *a-* or *i-* so that in a few cases we actually get two parallels for a Sk word, one indicating the *a-* and the other the *i-* treatment In S, *ṛ-* generally becomes *i-* and in a few cases *a-* It becomes *u-* when combined with a labial D J Pillar and Minor Rock inscriptions agree with the treatment found in K, except that in the latter *ṛ* > *u-* in combination with a labial

Sk <i>ṛtā-</i>	G <i>kātā-</i>	K <i>kaṭa-</i>	S <i>kiṭa-</i> <i>kiṭra-</i> <i>mṛuga-</i>
<i>mṛgā-</i>	<i>maga-</i>	<i>miga-</i>	
M <i>kaṭa-</i> <i>kiṭa-</i> <i>mṛga-</i>	D,J <i>kaṭa-</i>	PE <i>kātā-</i>	MRE <i>kaṭa-</i>
	<i>miga-</i> Sk <i>prthivī-</i> > <i>puṭhavi-</i>	Sk <i>sṛmarā-</i> > <i>sīmala-</i>	Sk <i>mṛṣāvāda-</i> > <i>muṣāvāda</i>

It must be noted that S and sometimes M do not in all cases change the vowel *ṛ* to *a-*, *i-*, *u-* but also preserve the consonantal character of the vowel *ṛ* in semi-tat-samas⁴ Then again in G we get *śṛnāru* from Sk $\sqrt{śr}$ -*nu*, but this is due to the influence of the other forms of the root $\sqrt{śru}$ - (cf HULTZSCH, p. LVI). Other parallels are *śuneyu* K, *śṛuneyu* S, *suneyu* MRE

(ii) In the penultimate position it appears that the change *-ṛ-* > *-i-* is fast disappearing in the edicts which showed it in the initial syllable and the change *-ṛ-* > *-a-* is tending to be normal Under stress accent it becomes *-i-* in all groups.

3. These will be clear from the Map No 1.

4. Cf. for this type of change, WACKERNAGEL, *AltGr. I* §29. p. 33.

Sk.	G	K	S
<i>vyāpṛta-</i>	<i>vyāpata-</i>	<i>viyāpaṭa-</i>	<i>vaṇaṭa-</i> <i>viyapaṇa-</i>
<i>etādṛṣa-</i> <i>īdṛṣa-</i>	<i>etārisa-</i>	<i>heḍisa-</i>	<i>ediṣa-</i>
M	D, J	PE	MRE
<i>vaṇaṭa-</i> <i>viyapṛta-</i>	<i>viyāpaṭa-</i>	<i>viyāpaṭa-</i>	Sk. <i>prakṛti-</i> > <i>pakṛti-</i>
<i>ediṣa-</i>	<i>ediṣa-</i>	<i>hedisa-</i>	

(iii) Most of the words where we get the vowel -ɾ in its final position are those expressive of human relationship and in such cases it becomes -i or -u.

Sk	S, M	K, D, J	PE	MRE
<i>bhrṣṭi-</i>	<i>bhratu-</i> <i>bhata-</i> M	<i>bhāti-</i>		
<i>pṛi-</i>	<i>pṛi-</i> <i>pṛi-</i>	<i>pṛi-</i> <i>-pṛi-</i> D	<i>pṛi-</i>	<i>pṛi-</i> , <i>pṛi-u</i> ⁵

§ 4 The vowel ɾ in a metrically long syllable .

(i) In the initial position the vowel generally becomes *a-* in all edicts, with this difference that when combined with a labial it becomes *u-* oftener in other edicts than in G

Sk	G	S, M	K
<i>vṛkṣá-</i>	<i>vṛacha-</i>	<i>rucha-</i>	<i>lukha-</i>
<i>vṛddhi-</i>	<i>vadhi-</i> (<i>vudha-</i> Sopārā)	<i>vadhi-</i> S <i>vadhri-</i> M	<i>vaḍhi-</i> (<i>vadha-</i>)
D, J	PE	MRE	
<i>lukha-</i>		Sk <i>adhī-kṛtya</i> > <i>adhī-gīcyā</i> <i>vadhi-</i>	
<i>vadhi-</i> <i>vaḍhi-</i>	<i>vadhi-</i>		

The Sk root √*drkṣ-* gives two bases *√*dakkha-* and *√*ḍikkha-* from which we get √*dakha-* (S, M, K, D, J, MRE) and *dekha-* (D, J, PE) The form *diseyā* in bh is derived from Sk *dṛśyate* by KERN and HULTZSCH

(ii) In the penultimate position we get the same treatment as in the case of the initial syllable

Sk	G	K	S M	D, J	PE
<i>ānṛnya-</i>	<i>ānāṇna-</i>	<i>ananiya-</i>	<i>ananiya-</i>	<i>ānāṇna-</i>	Sk <i>apakṛsta-</i> > <i>apakatha-</i>
<i>nivṛtti-</i>		<i>nivuti-</i>	<i>nivuti-</i>	(<i>anāvuti</i>)	Sk <i>nīṣṭṣṭa-</i> > <i>nīṣṭha-</i> (due to assimilation).

5 At yr -ɾ > -ū- before term under the influence of gen .pl cf -*pṛiṭsu*.

§ 5 Treatment of Sk *ai* : In all positions and in all versions Sk *ai* > *e*.

Sk. *kaivarta*- > *kevaṭa*- PE

The dat. inf term. *-tava* > *-tave* everywhere

The diphthong *-ai* which is the result of the sandhi becomes *-i-* at sn. cf. Sk *ekaka*- > *ikika*- At sn Sk *éka*- > *ika*-. Therefore the second *-i-* in *ikika* may be due to assimilation or due to sandhi peculiarity

§ 6 Treatment of Sk *au* In all positions and at all places Sk *au* > *o*

Sk. *paūtra*- > *-poṭra*- G, M *-pota*- S, G, K, D, J *poṭika*- T, sc

Sk *paurāna*- > *porāna*- Mysore group *porāna*- yr

In bh we get the form *galava*- (HLZ *gālava*-) comparable with Sk *gaurava*-. The Aśokan form is to be derived directly from the base **gara*- which appears in Sk *gāriyas*- and *garīṣha*-

§ 7 Treatment of Sk *-aya*- (and *ay-*).

Sk *-aya*- (and *-ay-*) is usually contracted to *-e*-; but it is sometimes preserved without any regional distinction.

Sk *pūjayati* > *pujetī* S,M,K, *pujetayā*- G (< Sk *pūjayitavyā*-), *pujayati* G.

Sk *ā\ñā-paya*- > *a\ṇapaya*- S,M,br, *a\ṇape*- S,M, *ā\ṇapaya*- D,J,Kb, *ā\ñapaya*- G, *a\ṇapaya*- K

Sk **trayadaśa*- > *trādasa*-⁶ G, *tedasa*- K, D, J, *todaśa*- S (? Acc to HLZ)

Sk *Ujjayinī*- > *Ujeni* d

§ 8 Treatment of Sk *ava* :

Sk *ava* generally becomes *o* in Aś inscriptions. When *ā* > *o* > *ava* in Sk conjugation, in Aś inscriptions we get either *ava* or *o* ✓

Sk *avarodhana*- > *orodhana*- K, D, J, T

Sk *bhavati* > *bhavati* G, *hoti* G, So, S, M, K, D, J, d., PE, sd

§ 9 Treatment of Sk *a* in a metrically short syllable

The Sk vowel *a* is preserved in an overwhelming majority of cases There are, however, a few changes which it undergoes.

(i) Change *a* > *ā* is observed in the following cases :

Sk *ca* is sometimes represented as *cā* in K, D, J, PE and MRE Similarly we get *nā* twice in K for Sk *nā*⁷

Sk *rāti* The form in S, M, G and So is *rati*, but in K *lāti*. TURNER points out that this latter form might be an example of the preservation of initial *ā*- cf *rāḍi* 'play' **rānti* Similarly the form *uyāma*- in K is shown to be a case of medial preservation of long *-ā*- (< Sk *udyāma*-)⁸

(ii) The change of *-a* > *-i-* is found in Sk *madhyamā*- > *majhima*- in K, d, j and PE (but *majhama*- in G) This change is due to the presence of the palatal semi-vowel *y* In the future form the same change occurs in *vaḍhisti* in MRE

6. TURNER explains this form to have come from Prim Ind **trayedaśā* < IE **treyez-dekm* cf BSOS 4,363

7. It is worthwhile to note that in RV X 34.8 also we get *nā*

8. Cf BSOS 4,364 For a few apparent changes *a* > *ā* cf MEHENDALE, BDCRI 3,233 In Sk *ātyāyika*- < *ācāyika*- S, M, G, *atīvāyika*- K, D, J, the change seems to be due to assimilation. We may also note Sk *krīṣṇatā* > *kṛṣṇatā* K.

(iii) The change of *a* > *ū* is noticed in *tūlanā* (< Sk. *tvarāṇḍ*-) and *tulā* (< Sk. *tvarā*-) in d and j respectively,⁹ in *munisa*- (< Sk. *mānuṣa*- or *maruṣya*-) in D, J, PE and MRE,¹⁰ and in *muta*-¹¹ (< Sk. *matā*-) in K, S, M, Ksb, Rdh, Rp.

Sk. *uccāvaca* > *ucāvaca*- Major RE due to assimilation (G gives *ucavaca*- also).
 ✓ Sk. *udapāna* > *udupāna*- in M, K, D, J, T On the basis of this correspondence the change *-a* > *-u*- may be explained away as due to assimilation. But it is also possible to derive *udu* < Sk. *-uḍu*- 'water'. The Sk word *uḍu*- probably goes back to *ṛḍu*- 'sweet or pleasant'. Cf *ṛdupḍ*- *Rgveda* VIII 77.11 'drinking what is sweet or pleasant'

Sk. *auṣadhā*- (< *oṣadhi*-) The forms that are obtained are *oṣuḍha*- in S and *osuḍha*- in G, K, D and J, however, give the form *osadha*. HULTZSCH observes that the change *-a* > *-u*- noticed in S and G is due to the preceding vowel *o*. Commenting on this derivation TURNER¹² observes that an earlier hypothetical form **oṣṛdha*- or **oṣṛdha*- would explain the presence of *-u*- or *-a*- in the different forms. But we have already seen that intervocalic *-ṛ* > *-a*- (and not *-u*-) in G and *-i*- or *-a*- in S. The suggestion, therefore, made by TURNER does not seem to be acceptable.

The change of Sk. *ca* > *cu* in Kpb is explained by TURNER to be due to contamination with *tu*. Cf *Gavimṭh* and *Pāṭk Inscriptions*, p. 10

(iv) The change of *a* > *e* in *meṇati* S (Sk. *manyate*) is probably due to the influence of the palatal *y* in the following syllable. (Cf HLZ p. lxxxiv) Similarly Sk. *śālyaka* > *-seyaka*- Rdh, Mth, Rp and *-sayaka*- T, Ksb (cf HLZ p. cx1). The form *sayame*- (Sk. *samyama*-) only at M is either due to preceding *y* or is a mistake.

(v) Initially *a*- is dropped in *pi* < Sk. *api* in all versions. For a few other instances of initial elision cf Sk. **ahakam* > *hakam* K, D, J, PE, MRE, in the west and north-west, however, we get *aham*. Similarly Sk. *arghanti* > **araghanti* > **raghanti* > *laghanti* PE. In compounds, Sk. *-ādhyaksa* > *dhiyakhā*- K, *-jakhā*- G, M, *-dhiyacha*- S. We may also cite the instance of Sk. *asmi* > *sumi* MRE.

(vi) In the final position the vowel *-a* is preserved in many cases. In a few cases, however, it is dropped or is changed to *-ā*, *-e* or *-o*.

1 The Vowel *-a* > *-ā* in compounds as,

Sk. *sāra-vṛddhi* > *śālā-vadhi*- K, but *sāra*- G, *śāla*- K, *sala*- S, M

Sk. *ardha-trika* > *adhātīya*- br, sd, but *adhātīya*- in other MRE. The

change here may be due to the simplification of the following cluster

2 It becomes *-ā* also when the final consonant is dropped. The change occurs mostly in the north and the east

Sk. *yāvat* > *āvā* Rdh, Mth, in other edicts we get *-a* at the end

Sk. *samyak* > *samyā*- D, J, K, *saṁma*- S, *samyā*- G, M

3 In some cases the final *-a* is lengthened even when there is no loss of final consonant

Sk. *āha* > *āhā* K, D, J, PE, yr *āha* G, K, J, PE and br and sd

9 It may be noted that in Vedic times the word *tvar-* was pronounced as **tuar-*. Hence **tuarāṇā* > *tūlanā* or *tulā*. Similarly in PE we get *suve* < Vedic *svah*.

10 The change here appears to be due to analogy with *purisa* < Sk. *pāruṣa*-.

11 Due to the presence of *m*. The vowel *a* is preserved in *mata*- at k, d, j, T, M.

12 BSOS 4.363.

Sk *yātra*¹³ > *yatā* K; other edicts, including K, give forms with -a at the end

Sk *ātha* > *athā* yr

The change is sometimes observed in the terminations of declension

Sk. *bhayēna* > *bhayenā* PE

Sk. *jānapadasya* > *jānapadasā* K,T *jānapadasa* G,D,PE

4 The loss of visarga · The visarga at the end is lost in these inscriptions and the preceding vowel -a sometimes undergoes the following changes.

(i) Change -ah > -ā .

Sk *Magah* > *Magā* G, *Makā* K, *Maka* S,M

(ii) Change -ah > o This is generally found in G,S.

Sk *yāsah* > *yaso* G,D,J *yašo* or *yaśo* K, *yaso* M.

Sk *vāyah* > *vayo* PE

(iii) Change -ah > -e is generally met with in edicts other than G and S

Sk *jānah* > *jane* S,M,K,D,J,PE, but *jano* S,G

Sk *-priyah* > *-piye* everywhere, but *priyo* or *piyo* S,M,G

§ 10 Treatment of the vowel *a* in a metrically long syllable · The vowel, though mostly preserved, becomes *ā* in a few cases¹⁴

Sk **rājū-ka-* > *rājūka-* G, yr, *rajuka-* S,M, *laṣūka-* K,D,PE

Sk *vaktavya-* > *vātāā* bh, but *vātava-* S, *vataṣya* G, *vataṣya-* M,K, D,d,j, and Mysore group

Sk *pūnarvasu-* > *punāvasu-* PE

Sk *anyātra* > *ānata* K, but *anata* K,D, *añatra* S,M,G, *aminata* D,J,PE

The change of -a > -ī in a metrically long syllable is found in Sk *grhasṭha-* > *gihṭha-* K,T, but *gahṭha-* K,M, *gharasta-* G, and *grahṭha-* S The fact that both the forms with -ī- and -a- are found in K shows that this treatment is dependent upon the corresponding change of r- > a- or ī-

§ 11 Treatment of the vowel *i* in a metrically short syllable The vowel is overwhelmingly preserved Yet it undergoes the following few changes

1 Change *i* > a- due to dissimilation is observed in ·

Sk. *pīlīkā-* > *kapīluka-* T, Rdh, Mth, Rp, but *kīpīlīkā-* Ksb.

Sk *prthivī* > *-puṭhavī-* d It must be noted that the Sk vowel -i- which becomes -a- is a svarabhakti vowel

2 Change (v)*i* > u- is observed in such cases as

Sk *dvitīya-* > *duṭīya-* ng, kq

Sk *svid* > *su* d, j

3 Change *i* > e- may be witnessed in Sk *tri-daśa-* > *tredaśa-* M, *tedasa-* K, D, but *tidaśa-* s¹⁵

13 In Vedic Sk we get the form *yātrā* also.

14 Besides the instances noted above also cf *sāva* (< Sk *sārva-*) at K other versions including K show short *a* ; Sk *dāksīna-* > *-dākhīna-* T M, Ksb, Rp, but *-dakhīnā-* Rdh, Mth, Sk *āgatya* > *āgāca* rm, ng, Sk *pranapti-* > *panāti-* K, but *panati-* D, *paṇati-* M, *pranati-* S

15 For G *traidasa* cf. *supra* §6,

4. The vowel *i* is often lengthened in prepositions, suffixes and before the loss of final consonant or visarga.

Sk. *pratibhāga* > *paṭibhāga* G, *paṭibhāga* K.S. T almost invariably gives *paṭi-* for Sk. *prati-*.

Sk. *-abhikāra* > *-abhikāra* G, *-abhikāla* D, *-abhikara* S.M, *-abhikala* K.

Sk. *sthitika* > *-ṭhitika* D,J,PE,sc,bh,br,sd,Kpb, but *-ṭhitika* M,T,ru,s,b, *-ṭhitika* S,T,M₁, *-ṭhitikya* K.

Sk. *lṛpīh* > *lṛpī* d,j, but *lṛpī* D,sn.

Sk. *prakṛtīh* > *paṃkṛtī* sd, *pakṛtī* br,sd, but *pakṛtī* jtr

Sk. *etāsmun* > *etamhī* G, but *etasi* d, j.

This change in the quantity of the vowel is also sometimes observed before the case terminations

Sk. *ñātīṣu* > *ñātisu* G, also cf. *amteṽsisu* yr

Sk. *rājabhūh* > **lāpīh* > *lājīh* T.

5 Initially *i-* is lost only in a few cases

Sk. *idānim* > *dāni* MRE (*dāni* Kpb) but *idāni* S,M,K

Sk. *itī* > *ti* in all versions, *iti* is sometimes obtained in G,D

§ 12 Treatment of the vowel *i* in a metrically long syllable : The vowel is mostly preserved, but sometimes it is changed to *ī* or *e*

Sk. *nṛ√laks-* > *nīlakha-* PE Rp once gives *nulakha-*.

Sk. *viṃśatī-* > *viśatī-* rm, ng, bb and other PE Once in *sataviśatī-vasa*, however, T gives short *i-*. The presence of the long vowel may even be regarded as the preservation of IE long *i-* which is noticed in AV *viśatī*, Lat. *uīginti*¹⁶

Sk. *cikītsā-* > *cikīcha-* G, but *cikīchā-* S,M,DJ

Sk. *avihimsā-* > *avīhīsā-* G, but *avīhīsā-* in other versions, *avihimsā-* G,T.

The change of *i-* > *e-* may be noticed in the following plausible example : Sk. **i-ṭra* > *ela* G,D, *etra* S, *hetā* So,K,D,J,Kq,S

§ 13 Treatment of the vowel *u* in a metrically short syllable Though the vowel is preserved in a large majority of cases, sometimes it becomes *a*, *i*, *ū* or *o*

1 Change *u* > *a* may be instanced in Sk. *pūnar* > *pana* S,M,D,J, (but *punā* S,M,G,K,) and Sk. *gurū-* > *garu-* S,G,yr, *garula-* br, *galu-* K (but *guru-* S,M,G, *gulu-* K,DJ) But as has been already noticed the latter forms are to be compared with Sk. *gāriyas-* and *garisṭha-*

2 Change *u* > *i* occurs in such cases as,

Sk. *pūruṣa-* > *pūṛiṣa-*¹⁷ PE, d, j

Sk. *mānuṣa-* > *muniṣa-*¹⁸ K,D,J,PE,MRE, but *manuṣa-* S,M,K, *manusa-* G, *mānusa-* Kpb

Sk. *Purinda-* > *Pilada* K, but *Pulida-* S, *Pārinda-* G, and *Pālinda-* M

3. Change *u* > *ū* occurs sometimes before case terminations

Sk. *bahūbhūh* > *bahūhī* G,D,J, but *bahuhī* S,K.

16. See BLOCH, *L'Indo-Aryen*, p 37.

17. The vowel which undergoes the change is a svarabhakti vowel cf. the change *i* > *a* in similar circumstances, *supra* § 11

18. This is only an analogical form after *puruṣa-*.

Sk. *bahūsu* > *bahūsu* D,J,PE.

Sk. *gurūsu* > *gurūsu* yr.

It is also lengthened due to loss of visarga

Sk. *sādhūh* > *sādhū* D,T, other versions give short -u

Sk. *vaseyuh* > *vasevū* D, others give short -u.

For some sporadic lengthening of the vowel *u* cf,

Sk. $\sqrt{yuj-}$ > $\sqrt{yūja-}$ d,j

Sk. *pratyupagamana-* > *pacūpagamana-* T, Rdh, Mth, Rp, but
pacupagamana- Ksb

Sk. **mādhuratā-* > *mādhūratā-* G, but other versions show short *u*.

The vowel *u* is lengthened in its final position when followed by *ti* (< Sk. *iti*), or sometimes even without it.

Sk. *jānantu iti* > *jānamlū ti* MRE

Sk. *bhavaṭu iti* > *hoṭū ti* PE, also cf *ālādhamtū ti*

Sk. *yūñjantu* > *yujamtū* D, but *yujamtu* M,G,K, also cf. *pañthesū* G, but *maḡesu* in other versions

Sometimes, however, the vowel -ā- is shortened in Sandhi and in compounds.

§ 14 Treatment of the vowel *u* in a metrically long syllable The vowel is only exceptionally lengthened in such cases as .

Sk. *anāyuktika-* > *anāvūṭiya-* d, but *anāvūṭiya-* j.

Sk. **mṣṭhurya-* > *mṣṭhūṭiya-* d, j, PE

Sk. *anupratipanna-* > *anūpalipamna-* T The change may even be attributed to analogy with similar lengthening of *i* in prepositions

§ 15 In the case of long vowels *ā*, *ī* and *ū* it is to be remembered that as the Kharoṣṭhī alphabet does not mark the length of the vowels such long vowels are absent in S and M Hence in these versions at S and M the short vowels sometimes stand for long ones

§ 16 Treatment of the vowel *ā* followed by a single consonant . The vowel is almost invariably preserved Such cases as *dana-* (for *dāna-*), *papa-* (for *pāpa-*) are clearly due to scribal mistakes. -*aparadha-* in G is to be derived from the root $\sqrt{radh-}$ used in the same sense as $\sqrt{rādḥ-}$ ¹⁹

Sk. *mahānasa-* > *mahanasa-* D, (S,M), but *mahānasa* G,K.

Sk. *mahāmātra-* > *mahamala-* Kq, but other versions give forms with *mahā-*.

Sk. *mahādhanā-* > *mahadhana-* yr

The vowel -ā in its final position²⁰ is sometimes shortened in the declined forms of the nom sg or inst sg.

Sk. *rājā* > *rāja* G, *lāja* K,D,T,bb, *laja* S,M, but *rājā* G, *lājā* K,D,J,T,b

Sk. *icchā* > *icha* S,M,K,d,j, but *icchā* G,K,PE

Sk. *ālmānā* > *atana* Rdh, Mth, Rp, but *atanā* T, Ksb

Similarly the vowel *ā* is sometimes shortened in the eastern dialect when it is followed by *m* (which is changed into anusvāra) or when the visarga at the end is lost.

19 Cf HULTZSCH, p lvi

20. It is perhaps shortened due to the loss of final consonant in Sk. *sydt* > *siya* PE, j, (S, M), but *siyā* K, d, j, PE, MRE, Sk. *manāk* (?) > *mina* or *mana* PE (*minā* M₁).

Sk. *bhūtānām* > *bhūtānam* (G), D, J, K, T, but *bhūtānām* G

Sk. *putrāḥ* > *puta* K, D, J, but *putrā* G (*putra* S, M)

§ 17. Treatment of the vowel *ā* followed by a consonant cluster : It is in this treatment that the regional distinction is clearly noticed. Whereas in the Western division the long vowel is preserved, it is usually shortened at other places

Sk. *ātyayika* > *ācāyika* G, (*acayika* S, M) but *atīyāyika* K, D, J

Sk. *mārdava* > *mādava* G, *madava* K, T

Sk. *prakrānta* > *pakamta* MRE

When a cluster with a nasal follows the long vowel *ā*, it is shortened to *a* even in G. If the long *ā* is preserved in the inscriptions then the anusvāra is dropped or the cluster is assimilated

Sk. *Tāmaparni* > *Tāmbaparni* G, K, J, S, *tāmbaparni* M

Sk. *klānta* > *kīlānta* d, j

Sk. *kṣānti* > *chānti* G, *chamti* S, *khamti* K

Sk. *ā√jñap* > *ā√ñapa* G, *ā√napa* K, D, J, T, Kb *ā√napa* br, (*a√napa* S, M)

Sk. *ātmanā* > *atanā* PE, *atane* d, j

§ 18 Treatment of the vowel *i* followed by a single consonant. In this position the vowel is fairly well preserved. It is only in the Kālsī version that the vowel is often represented as short one. In *timmi* (< Sk. *trīmi*) we find that the vowel is shortened and a nasal is added to it. Therefore such forms as *devinam* and *anusathimi* may be regarded according to HULTZSCH, as defective spelling for *devimnam* and *anusathimmi*

Sk. *jivā* > *jiva* K (S, M) but *jīva* G, D, J, PE

Sk. *dīpana* > *dīpana* K (S, M), but *dīpana* G

Sk. *śīla* > *sīla* G, D, K (*śīla* S, M)

The nom. sg. of fem. nouns ending in *-ī* generally ends in long *-ī* in G and the Mysore group, but it ends in short *-i* elsewhere. In the case of the nom. sg. of mas. nouns ending in *-in*, the short vowel is noticed at G, S, M, PE, and the long vowel at D, J, Ksb and *ī* in K and MRE.

For some sporadic shortenings of *i* cf. the following instances

Sk. *kapīlikā* > *kapīlika* Rdh, Mth, Rp, *kīpīlikā* ksb, but *kapīlika* T

Sk. *msīribhūta* > *msībhūta* mk

Sk. *dvītiya* > *duṭiya* ng, kq

Sk. *āśvāsāniya* > *asvāsāniya* d, j, (also cf. *daviya* d)

The long vowel *ī* is changed to its guna substitute in Sk. *īdīśa* > *hedīsa* K, D, J, sn, *edīsa* S, M

§ 19 Treatment of the vowel *i* before a consonant cluster. As is noticed in the case of the vowel *ā* before a consonant cluster, this vowel also is usually shortened in all edicts except at G.

Sk. *kīrti* > *kīti* G, *kīlī* M, D, J, *kīrti* S, *kūti* G, K

Sk. *īrṣyā* > *īśā* d, j, *īsyā* PE²¹

Sk. *dīrghāyus* > *dīghāvusa* br, sd, but *dīghāvusa* sd, jtī (*dīgha* HLZ)

21. The long vowel *ī*, however, is preserved in PE in the form *palīkhā* (< Sk. *parīkṣā*).

§ 20. Treatment of the vowel *ū* before a simple consonant It is usually kept long in all versions except those at S,M, (and K) The form *thuba-* occurring at ng is not to be derived from Sk *stūpa-* but from $\sqrt{stubh-}$ The short vowel in *bhuya-* (Sk. *bhūyas*), which is found in Major RE suggests that it is probably to be read as *bhuyya-* For some irregular shortenings of *ū* at K we may compare such instances as—

Sk. *sūpa-* > *supa-* K, (S, M), but *sūpa-* G,D,J

Sk. *mayūra-* > *majula-* K (S,M), but *majūla-* J

Sk. *pūjā-* > *puja-* (S, M), but *pūjā-* G, PE

The treatment of the long *ū* in Sk *śuśrūsā* is rather irregular Cf *susūsā-* K,J,T, *susrusā-* and *susumsā-* (note the compensatory addition of anusvāra) G, $\sqrt{sususa-}$ D, jtr But *śuśrūsā-* G, *susūsā-* D,PE, $\sqrt{susūsā-}$ J, br, sd, (*śuśrusa-* S,M)

§ 21 Treatment of the vowel *ū* before a consonant cluster In this case the vowel is shortened in all versions including the one at G

Sk. *-pūrva-* > *-pūrva-* or *-puva-* G, *-pruva-* S,M, *pulura-* K,D,J

Sk. *dūya-* > *dūsa-* sn, sc, kb

The long vowel is, however, met with in such forms as *-sūta-* (< Sk *sūtra-*) at bh, *-sūriya-* and *-śūliya* (< Sk *śūriya-*) at sc and nj respectively

§ 22 Treatment of the vowel *e* It is preserved in these inscriptions almost rigorously even when followed by a consonant cluster It is only in such rare forms as *ika-* (Sk *eka-*) at sn that the vowel undergoes any change In S, however, a tendency is noticed to change the final *-e* to *-i*²²

Sk. *dvé* > *duvi* S, but *duve* elsewhere

Sk. *rājānah* > (*rājāne*) > *rajam* S, but *rajane* M and *lājāne* D,J,T

§ 23 Treatment of the vowel *o* This vowel is also extremely well preserved even when followed by a consonant cluster It is shortened to *u* only as a sandhi peculiarity.

Sk. *ekona-* > *ekuna-* bb

Sk. *prajotpādana-* > *parupadana-* S

II SIMPLE CONSONANTS

§ 24 Generally, simple consonants are well preserved both initially and medially The processes of sonantisation, loss of occlusion and others by which intervocal consonants suffer numerous changes in later Prakrits, though not altogether absent in Aś inscriptions, have only just begun to appear in them The law of cerebralisation too has only partial application²³

§ 25 Gutturals

(a) On the whole the gutturals are initially preserved In G, the form *gharasta-* is not an instance of initial aspiration, for the MIA base *ghara-* is to be derived from IE **g^hhoros-*, and not from Sk *grhá-* (for the latter derivation cf V 4 32 and H 2 144)

(b) Medially the gutturals undergo a few changes²⁴ which are detailed below :

22 For a similar tendency in the Kharoṣṭhī documents of Chinese Turkestan cf. BURROW, §1

23 A few changes which are due to assimilation and dissimilation as well as some other exceptions are generally indicated in fn's

24. Change *-k-* > *-kh-* due to assimilation. Sk. *akarkaśa-* > *akhakhasa-* d.

- 1 Change of surd to sonant is instanced by *-k- > -g-* in the East

Sk *-loká- > -loga-* j, but *-loka-* everywhere else

Sk *adhikṛtya- > adhiḡcyā bh*

The foreign name Antiochos appears as *Amṭiyoga-* K (M), but *Amṭiyoka-* S,G,D,J

- 2 Change of a guttural to y found with *-k-²⁵* and *-g-* has occurred only in the suffix The change is perhaps an eastern characteristic (?)

Sk *anāyuktika- > anāvūṭiya-* d, j.

Sk (*paśu-* etc) + *upa-ga- > upaya-* S,M,G,K,D, but *-upaga-* G, K,D,J,d,T

Sk *ardhatṛika > adhātīya-* MRE

- 3 Change of a sonant to surd is instanced by *-g- > -k-* in the North, North-West and the South

Sk *Maga- > Maka-* S,M,K, but *Maga-* G Also cf the name Antigonos which appears as *Amtekina-* S,M,K,G

Sk *-upa-ga- > -upaka-* S,M, cf above for other forms

Sk *ārogya- > *āroga- > āroka-* yr, but *āroḡiya-* br, sd

- 4 Change *-gh- > -h-* by loss of occlusion

Sk *laghú- > lahu-* G,K,T

§ 26 Palatals

(a) In their initial position they are well preserved

(b) In the medial position the following few changes may be noted

- 1 Change of a surd to sonant is found with *-c- > -j-* in the non-Western regions

Sk *acala- > ajala-* d, but *acala-* j

Sk *sāṅkucī > samkujā-* PE

- 2 Change of a palatal to *-y-* is instanced only by *-j-* in the North-West.

Sk *Kamboja- > Kamboya-* S, but *-j-* is given by M,K,G

Sk *ṛājan- > ṛaya-* S, but other edicts give the forms with *-j-*

Sk *samāja- > samaya-* S, *samāja-* S,M,G,K,D J

- 3 Change of a sonant to surd is found with *-j- > -c-* Its appearance in the Western and North-Western regions may be attributed to the Eastern influence

Sk *Kamboja- > Kamboca-* D for other forms cf above

Sk *vraja > vaca-* D,J,G,K, *vraça-* S,M, √*vraça-* S

§ 27 Cerebrals

(a) The forms with initial cerebral are only conspicuous by their absence in Aś inscriptions The loss of initial cerebralisation is found in a single instance

Sk *duh- > dudī-* or *dadī-* PE

(b) In the medial position the cerebrals, with the exception of *-n-* are well preserved ²⁶

- 1 Change of *-ṭ- > -d-* occurs in the Centre and the North

Sk *-vāṭikā- > -vaḡikā- Kq, -vaḡikyā-* T

- 2 Change *-d- > -ṭ-* occurs in the non-Western groups

Sk *edaka- > eḡaka-* PE, but *edaka-* T, Rdh, Mth

²⁵ The forms *diyadhā-* M,K and *diyadhīya-* MRE are derived from Sk *dvikārdha-* and instanced as the change *-k- > -y-* by HULTZSCH But these forms are to be derived from *dyvardha-*, also cf TURNER, *Gavimath and Palkigundu Insc* p 11, in 2

²⁶ Only *-ṭh > ṭ* by loss of aspiration, Cf, Sk *kamaṭha- > kaphaṭa-* PE

Sk *dvādaśa* > *duvāḍasa* and *duvāḍasa* PE, also cf *paṃnaḍasa* and *paṃnaḷasa* (< Sk *pañcadaśa*) in PE

3 The cerebral *-n-* is usually preserved in the Western and North-Western groups and at Mysore and Kopbāl in the South [Elsewhere it is changed to *-n-*²⁷

Sk. *kāraṇa-* > *kāraṇa-* S,G, *kālana-* K,PE, *kārana-* yr

Sk *paṇṇāna-* > *poṇāna-* br, sd, jtr, *poṛāna-* yr

Sk *srāvāna-* > *sāvāna-* br, sd, jtr, kpb, *sāvāna-* ru,s,yr,T

§ 28 Dentals :

(a) In the initial position the dentals are well preserved The change of *t-* > *d-* is found in a solitary case in the North

Sk *toṣa-* > *dosa-* K, but *toṣa-* S,M, *tosa-* G,J,d

(b) In the medial position though they are usually preserved, the following few changes may be noted

1 Change of *-t* > *-d-* is met with in the North and the North-West

Sk *hitā* > *hida-* S,M,K, but *hita-* S,M,G,K,D,J,PE

Sk *-yātrā* > *-yudra-* M, *-yātā-* G,K,D

Sk *hāpayiṣvaṭi* > *hapeśadi* S, but *-ti* in other edicts

2 Change *-d-* > *-t* is perhaps instanced in the East

Sk *prati*√*pad-* cf the forms of *pati*√*pāta-* in j The derivation of these forms is however highly doubtful The versions at d and T give forms with *patī*√*pāda-*

3 Change *-dh-* > *-h-* by loss of occlusion

Sk *nyagródha-* > *ngoha-* T, bb

Sk *vi*√*dhā-* > *vi*√*daha-* PE

4 Change *-dh-* > *-d-* by loss of aspiration

Sk **idha* > **hida* > *hida* in all versions except G, *idha* G, JOHANSSON connects *hida* with Vedic *idā* 'now'

Sk *skandha-* > *-khamda-* G perhaps by metathesis of aspiration, but *-kamdha-* S,M,K,D

5 Loss of *-t-* and insertion of *-v-* is found in the numeral

Sk *cāturdaśa-* > *cāvudasa-* PE

6 Loss of *-d-* is met with only in the West²⁸ (and the South)

Sk *tādṛśa-* > **tādrisa-* > *tārisa-* G, but *tāḍisa-* K,D,J, *tadiśa-* S,M

Sk *yādṛśa-* > **yādrisa-* > *yārisa-* G,yr, but *āḍisa-* K,D,J,M, *yadiśa-* S

§ 29 Labials :

(a) In the initial position they are well preserved²⁹

1 Change of *b-* > *p-* is met with only in a single instance in the North-West

Sk *bādham* > *padham* S (but S also gives *badhātaram*), elsewhere we get *bāḍham* or *bāḍha*

²⁷ As exceptions *garana-* (< Sk *garhanā-*) at S, *bramana-* (< Sk *brāhmanā-*) at M, and *khana-* (< Sk *kṣana-*) at d may be noted

²⁸ This loss of occlusion in the West compares well with the later Māhārāṣṭrī characteristic

²⁹ *p-* > *ph-* due to assimilation in Sk *paraṣa-* > *phalusa-* d, j *p-* > *k-* due to dissimilation in Sk *pīṇikā-* > *kāṇikā* PE (*k-* Ksb).

2. Change *bh-* > *h-* occurs only in the forms of the root $\sqrt{bhū-}$ in all versions perhaps as an Eastern characteristic (cf. *hoti*, *hotu* etc.), for the forms with *bh-* occur only in the West and the North-West (cf. such forms as *bhoti*, *bhavati*, *bhave*).

(b) In the medial position the following few changes which occur only in limited instances may be noted

- 1 Change *-p-* > *-b-* is met with only in the North at Delhi-Topra.

Sk *lipi-* > *-libi-* T, but *lipi-* occurs in Major Rock Edicts, MRE and other PE (including T)

- 2 Change *-p-* > *-v-* is noted in a single case

Sk *pra* $\sqrt{āp-}$ > $\sqrt{pāva-}$ s, $\sqrt{pāpa-}$ elsewhere

- 3 Change *-bh-* > *-p-* is apparently due to mistake or it may be due to assimilation

Sk *prati-bhoga-* > *paṭi-poga-* Rdh, but *-bhoga-* in other PE, S,M,K.

- 4 Change *-bh-* > *-h-* by loss of occlusion

Sk $\sqrt{labh-}$ > $\sqrt{lahā-}$ d,j,kb

Sk instr pl term *-bhīh* > *-hi* in all versions

- 5 Change *-bh-* > *-b-* by loss of aspiration³⁰

Sk **stubha-* > *thubā* ng If the form is derived from Sk *stūpa-* then the change *-p-* > *-b-* is instanced

- 6 Change *-m-* > *-ph-* by metathesis of aspiration

Sk *kamatha-* > **kapaṭha-* > *kaphaḷa-* PE

§ 30 Semivowels With the exception of *r* which is dialectically changed to *l* in certain groups, semivowels are normally preserved in these inscriptions

§ 31 The semi-vowel *y*

- 1 The semi-vowel *-y-* > *-ṛ-* in one instance

Sk *mayūra*³¹ > *maṇura-* S, M *maṇūla-* K, J

- 2 It is elided both initially and intervocally In the initial position, elision occurs mostly in the indeclinables and relative pronouns

Sk *yātra* > *yatra* or *yatā* S,M,G,K,s, *ata* K,D,J,T

Sk *yāthā* > *yathā* S,M,G,K,PE,sd, *athā* K,D,J,PE

Sk *yāvat* > *yava-* S,M,G,PE, ru, *āvā* or *avam* S,M,G,K,D,PE

Sk *yādīśa-* > *yāṛśa-* G, *yadīśa-* S, *ādīśa-* M,K,D,J

Sk *yat* (adverb) > *yam* Major RE and Mysore group, *am* M,K,d,j

Sk *yat* (Pron) > *ye*, *yam* or *ya* S,M,G,K,MRE, *e* or *am* M,K,D,J,jr

It can thus be noticed that the Eastern dialect drops the initial *y-* but the Western dialect favours its preservation Its occasional elision in the non-Eastern areas is very likely due to the Eastern influence

Intervocally the elision is observed exclusively in the North-Western region

Sk *pryā-* > *pria-* S (about 4 or 5 times), all other versions including S give *priya-* or *ṛiya-*

Sk **ekatiya-* > **ekatiya-* > *ekatiya-* S, but *ekatiya-* K,D,J,M

Sk *dyardha-* > **diyadha-* > S, but *diyadha-* M,K, *diyadhīya-* MRE

30 Similar loss of aspiration is perhaps instanced in *-ph-* > *-p-* in the form *tupaka* (gen. 2nd pers pron) at ru, but cf *tuphāka-* d, j, *tuphākam* sn

31. The G form *mora* is regarded by TURNER to be a loan word cf BSOS 4363

It is interesting to note that in all these cases where S drops intervocal -y-, the Mānsehrā version which is so near to it always preserves -y-. But it is well-known that the latter has more 'Magadhisms'

3. In some cases -y- is elided and -v- is developed mostly in the presence of u. The tendency is seen in the non-Western regions

Sk *ḍiṅghāyus-* > *ḍiṅghāvusa-* br, sd, jtr

Sk *āyukti-* > *āvuti-* d, PE, but *āyuti-*³² j

Sk *visaya-* > *visava-* S, sn, *visava-* K, but *visaya-* M and *visaya-* G

The interchange between -y- and -v- is also noticed in the optative term -*eyu* -*evu*

Sometimes y- is developed initially³³ perhaps as a non-Western characteristic

Sk *evā* > *yevā* M, K, D, J, PE, but *eva* S, K, G

§ 32 Initially r- is preserved in the Western and North-Western divisions³⁴ but is consistently changed to l- in other places

Sk **rājñ ka-* > *rājuka-* S, M, G, *lājñka-* K, D, PE

Sk *rājan-* > *rāiā* S, M, G, So, *lājā*, K, D, J, PE and MRE

Intervocally -r- submits to the same treatment as in the initial position, with only a few exceptions³⁵. Among MRE the South Indian inscriptions at Mysore, Kōpāl and Yerrāgudi preserve -r- but at Maskī -r- > -l- (or -ṛ-) Other MRE in the East and the Centre change -r- > -l-, with only a few exceptions at the latter place

Sk	G(SO)	S, M	K, D, J	PE
<i>cārana-</i>	- <i>carana-</i>	- <i>carana-</i>	- <i>calana-</i>	- <i>calana-</i>
<i>cirā-</i>	<i>cira-</i>	<i>cira-</i>	<i>cila-</i>	<i>cila-</i>
Sk	PE			MRE
			Mysore, Yr, Kpb	Other MRE
<i>paurāna-</i>			<i>porāna-</i> , or - <i>na-</i>	
<i>sātireka-</i>			<i>sātireka-</i>	<i>sātireka-</i> ru
<i>valsara-</i>			- <i>vachara-</i>	(<i>sātireka-</i> mk)
				- <i>vachala-</i> s
				(<i>vachara-</i> ru)
<i>cirā-</i>		<i>cira-</i>		<i>cila-</i> s, b
				(<i>cira-</i> ru)
<i>sūrya-</i>	- <i>sulīya-</i> nj			Also cf <i>galava-</i> bh,
	- <i>sulīya-</i> T			Sk <i>udāra-</i> > <i>uḍala-</i>
	- <i>suriya-</i> sc			ru, mk, s, b etc
				Sk √ <i>kar-</i> > √ <i>kala-</i>
				mk

§ 33 Initially l- is well preserved Intervocally it is changed to -ḍ- in just a few cases

32 This reading is accepted by HLZ Others read *āvuti-*.

33 For similar development in the Nīya Prakrit, cf BURROW, §32

34 The forms of the root √*laca-* at G, S, M (S has √*raca-* also) are regarded by HULTZSCH as 'Magadhisms' But in Sk itself we have √*loc-* connected with √*roc-*

35 Sk *sāra-* > *sāla-* S, M, K, but *sāra-* G. Sk *aparibodha-* (?) > *apalibodha-* S, M, K, D

Sk *mahlā* > *mahḍā*- G

Sk *Cola* > *Coda*- Major RE

Sk *Kerala* > *Keraḍa*- S, but *-la-* in other versions.

Sk. *ḍuli* > *daḍi-* or *duḍi-* PE

§ 34 The semi-vowel *v* :

1 Initially *v-* is generally preserved, its stray change to *p*-³⁶ being due to assimilation. Thus Sk. *vipula-* > *pīpula-* ru, elsewhere we get *vipula-*

2 In the cluster *dv*, *v* is changed to *b* in the West and North-West

Sk *dvādaśā* > *dbādaya*- G *badaya*- S, but other versions give *duvādaśa-* or *duvādaya-*.

3 Intervocally *-v-* is normally preserved. When clustered with *t*, it is changed to *-p-* in the West (cf *dv-* > *db-* above)

Sk *catvārah-* > *catpāro* G, *cature* S, *catāh* K

Absolutive term *-tvā* > *-tpā* G, *-tu* in other versions

4 Intervocally *-v-* is lost only in the West [cf above §27(b) 3 and footnote].

Sk *sthāvira-* > *thavira-* G

5. *v-* is initially developed³⁷ before *u-* in the following

Sk *ūḍha-* > *vudha-* S,M,G,K

Sk *√uc-* > *√vuca-* S,M,G, *vuta-* G,D

Sk *uṭa-* > *vuta-* S

§ 35 Sibilants

In MIA languages the three Sk sibilants are often merged together into the single dental sibilant. In Aś inscriptions which are the best representatives of the early MIA we find a threefold treatment of the sibilants in all their positions (i) S,M preserve the distinction between the three sibilants, (ii) the rest, except K, show only the dental sibilant *s*. It is important to note that even the Eastern dialect shows *s* and not *ś*, (iii) as regards the treatment of the sibilants in K it would be best to quote the remarks made by HULTZSCH "In edicts I-IX the Kālsī dialect agrees with the Gīrnar one in replacing the two sibilants *ś* and *sh* by *s* (though *-ś-* occurs in K IV twice cf *vaśa*, *Piyadaśinā*) In a few cases *ś* is used where Sk would require it. But in the majority of instances *sh* and *ś* are phonetically and etymologically impossible. To explain this state of matters we have to suppose that the writer spoke a dialect which knew no sibilants besides *s*, and that he used the letters *ś* and *sh* indiscriminately for expressing the same sibilant (*s*). In other words, the letters *ś* and *sh* at Kālsī are purely graphical."

Sk *śrāvaka* > *śravaka*- S, M, *srāvāpaka*- G, *sāvaka*- K, D, J

Sk *śuśrūṣā* > *suśruṣa*- S,M, *susumsā*- G, *susūsā*- K,D,J,PE *susūsa*-, MRE

Sk *-daśā* > *-daśa*- S,M, *-dasa*- G,K,D,J,PE (*-dasa-*), MRE.

Sk *mānuṣa* > *manuṣa* S,M,K, *manuṣa*- K, *manusa*- G,K,D,J, *munisa*- PE, MRE, *mānuṣa*- Kpb

The following few exceptions may, however, be noted

36. The form *vālata* at ru I 4 is connected by BUHLER with Sk *paratra*, but by HULTZSCH with Sk *vāra-tah*.

37. This is a characteristic of local pronunciation in the Nīya Prakṛit, cf BURROW §32.

38. Cf. Aś Ins p. lxxii, also cf Jules BLOCH, "Aśoka et la Magadhi" BSOS 6 291-95.

(a) In the treatment of palatal ś :

Sk *śuśrūṣā* > *suśruṣa*- S,M Note the initial *s*- and not *ś*- due to dissimilation

Sk *anuśocana* > *anusocana*- S

Sk *Śākya* > *Śaka*- mk Note initial *ś* instead of *s*-

(b) In the treatment of the cerebral ṣ

Sk *abhiṣikṭa* > *abhiṣita*- S,M, *abhiṣita*- nj Thus *-s-* and *-ṣ-* occur where they are not expected to be

Sk *mānuṣa* > *manuṣa*- S,M Note *-ś-* for *-s-*

Sk *viṣaya* > *viṣava*- sn

Sk *eṣah* > *eṣe* kq

Sk *varṣa* > *vaṣa*- mk

The other exceptions in S and M occur in terminations cf loc pl *vesu*, gen pl *ubhayesaṃ* (M), *ubhayesu* (S), futures in *-īṣati* and *-eṣati* etc

(c) In the treatment of the dental s

Sk *śaśāyika* > *śaśayika*- M (due to assimilation)

Sk *satya* > *śaca*- sd

Sk *svargā* > *śvaga*- b

Sk *śāsana* > *śaśana*- S, M (due to assimilation)

Sk *upāsaka* > *upāśaka* mk

Other exceptions occur in terminations cf *śasu*, *paṃcasu* etc at S, M, *Devānāmapriyāṣā* at kq, and *ācariyaśa* at jtr

The change of *-s-* > *-h* is sometimes observed in the future endings like *-hatha* and *-hamti*

§ 36 The aspirate *h* is well preserved both initially and medially It is, however, lost in a few cases in the North-West

Sk *hastin* > *astin*⁷⁰ S,M, but *hasti*- G, *hathi*- D,K

Sk *ihā* > *ia* S,M, but *iha* S,M,K

Sk *māma* Pkt *maha* > *maa* S, other versions have *mama*

Sk *āha* > *aa* M (once VI 26), otherwise we get *āhā*

Sk *ahām* > *aam* M, but *aham* or *hakam* elsewhere

There are certain instances of cockneyism where *h-* is developed initially before a vowel cf

Sk *idrīśa* > *hedīśa*- K, *hedīśa*- D,J,sn, but *cdīśa*- S,M, *edīśa*- K,D,J, *etārīśa*- (< Sk *etādrīśa*-) G

Sk *evam* > *hevam* K,d,j,T,Rp,MRE, but *evam* S,M,K,D,G

Sk **i-tra* > *hetā* So,K,D,J,kq,s, but *etra*, S,M, *eta*, G,D

§ 37 Palatalisation

By the law of palatalisation sometimes the dentals and occasionally even the gutturals are palatalised mostly in the presence of the vowel *i* or the semi-vowel *y* Except the palatalisation of *-k-* and *-g-* in the North, and that of *-t-* in the East, this feature is mainly a characteristic of the West and the North-West (and also of the South)

1 Gutturals Following gutturals are palatalised in the circumstances noted below

39 This is HULTZSCH's reading, others read *hasti*-

- (i) The gutturals -k- and -g- are palatalised⁴⁰ at K and T in the North

Sk. *nīkāyā* > *nīkyāya* K, but *nīkāya*- elsewhere

Sk. *sthitika* > *ṣhitika* K, but *ṣhitika*- or *thitika*- elsewhere.

Sk. *Kalnga* > *Kaligya* K, *Kalnga*- elsewhere.

Sk. **aṣṭa-krośika* > *adha-kosika*- T

Sk. *āmra-vāṭikā* > *ambā-vaṭikyā*- T

- (ii) Intervocal -kh- when combined with y is once palatalised in G

Sk. *san* √*khyā* > *sachāya* G, but *saṃkhaya* S,M, and *saṃkhaye* K.

- (iii) Cluster *kṣ* The treatment of this cluster is interesting inasmuch as in all positions it is palatalised in the West and the North-West,⁴¹ but assimilated to the guttural *kh* elsewhere

Sk. *kṣudrā* > *chuda*-⁴² G, but *khuda*- K,D,J,MRE

Sk. *kṣana* > *chana*- S,M,G, but *khana*- d, j

Sk. *mokṣa* > *mocha*- S,M, but *mokha*- K,D,J

Sk. *pakṣi* > *pakhi*- PE

2 Dentals The following dentals, mostly in combination with y, are palatalised. We get a few instances of initial palatalisation also

- (i) Dental *t*- is initially palatalised in the East in the presence of the palatal vowel *i*-

Sk. *tiṣṭha* > √*ciṭha*- M,K,D, but √*tiḥa* S, √*tiṣṭa*- G

- (ii) Cluster -ty- It is mostly palatalised in the regions other than the Eastern, where it is dissolved into -tiy-

Sk. *ātyayika* > *acayika*, S,M, *atīyāyika*- K,D,J

Sk. *satya* > *saca*- PE, br, jtr, yr

Sk. *adhikṛtya* > *adhigicya* bh, *kaca*- G

- (iii) Cluster -ts- (or -tsy-) The cluster -ts- is palatalised in the West and the South but assimilated to s elsewhere

Sk. *saṃvatsarā* > *saṃvachala*- s, -*chara*- ru, br, sd, 11r, kpb, yr.

Sk. *cikitsā* > *cikicha*- G, *cikisā*- S,M,K,D,J.

But when the cluster -ts- does not occur in the body of the word but is due to the combination of consonants, it is assimilated to s everywhere

Sk. *ut-sāha* > *usāha*- PE

Sk. *ut-sṛta* > *usaṭa*- S,M,G,D,J, *uṣaṭa*- K

The cluster -tsy- > -ch- in PE

Sk. *maṭsya* > *macha*- PE

- (iv) Cluster -dy- is however, generally palatalised everywhere

Sk. *adyā* > *aṣa* S,M,G,K,D,J

Sk. *prati*-√*pad*-ya > (*paṭi*-) *paṇanitu* PE

But when the cluster -dy- does not occur in the body of the word it is assimilated to y

40 See HULTZSCH p. LXXI and J. BLOCH, *L'Indo-Aryan*, p. 78. Similar palatalisation of -k- in the suffix is observed a little later in the word *devadaśikyā* in the Jogimārā cave inscription at Rāmgarh (Dist. Sirguja, Chhota Nagpur Division)

41 It is found in the form *ch* in the Niya Prakrit cf. BURROW, § 48

42. The exceptional cases are *khuda*- or *khudra*- S, M, *chana*- K and -(a)*hakha*- (< Sk. *adhyakṣa*-), and *saṃkhṛta*- (< Sk. *saṃkṣipta*-) G (S).

Sk *ud-yāna-* > *uyāna-* S,M,G,K,D,J.

Sk *ud-yāma-* > *uyāma-* K

(v) Cluster *-dhy-* is palatalised to *-j-* in all regions But the cluster *-dh-y-* is palatalised only in the West (and North-West)

Sk. *madhyamā-* > *majhama-* G, *majhīma-* K,d,j,PE

Sk **midhyapli-* > *mijhali-* Major RE, *m√jhapā-* PE

But Sk *a-vadh-yā-* > *avadhīya-* T,M₁,Ksb, *avadhya-* T,Rdh,Mth,Rp

Rk *adh-y-akṣa-* > *-(a)jhakha-* G, *-(a)jhacha-* M, but *-(a)dhiyakha-* K,
-(a)dhiyacha- S

(vi) For the palatalisation of nasals *n* and *ṇ* see below under the treatment of clusters *ny* and *ṇy*, §49 and §50

(vii) Sibilant *ś* > *c* in a few cases in the East and thence in the Centre and the South.

Sk *√śak* > *√caka-* d,j,s,b,Kpb, but *√saka-* elsewhere

§ 38 Cerebralisation

By the law of cerebralisation dentals are turned into cerebrals mostly in the presence of *r*, vocalised or unvocalised, sometimes with a sibilant, and in very few cases even without any influence It will be observed that the Western dialect is the least affected by cerebralisation

1 Cerebralisation of the dental *l* It is generally cerebralised in regions other than the West

(i) Change *-(ṛ)l-* > *-l-*

Sk *kīla-* > *kāla-* S,M,K,D,PE,MRL, but *kata-* G

Sk *bhīla-* > *bhāla-* S,M,K,D, but *bhala-* G

Sk *nurīlla* > *mvuḷa-* S,M

(ii) Change *-rl-* > *-l-*

Sk *kārtavya-* > *katava-* or *kalavya-* S,M,K,D,J,PE,MRE, but
katavya- G

Sk *kīrti-* > *kūti-* M,D,J, *kūri-* S, but *kīti-* G,K

By way of exception *-rl-* > *-l-* in G in the word *saṃvala-* < Sk *saṃvarla-*

(iii) Change *-(r)l-* > *-l-*

Sk *prati-* > *pali-* in all versions including G, though G gives *prati-* about four times

(iv) Change *sl* > *ṭh* occurs very rarely, for usually it is assimilated to *th*

Sk *stambha-* > *ṭhabha-* ru, but *-ṭhabha-* or *-ṭhambha-* T,ru,s

Sk *āsvata-* > *asvatṭha-* M₁(once), but *asvatha-* PE

Sk *anuśasti-* > *anusatṭhi-* K, So, but *-anusatṭhi-* K,D,J,T, *anusasṭi-* and *-sastṭi-* G, *-anuśastṭi-* C M Thus here in G, *t* in combination with *s* is cerebralised to *-st-* (cf the change *-sth-* > *-st-* in G below)

2 Cerebralisation of the dental *ṭh* It is normally not cerebralised in the West except when the dental is combined with a sibilant

43 Initial palatalisation of *s* > *ch-* is perhaps instanced in Sk *saṃvatsarā-* > *chava-chara-* at ru This change is due to assimilation But HULTZCH and THOMAS consider this form to be a mistake for *savochara-* which occurs in the other MIRE Earlier this form was derived by scholars from Sk *ṣaṭ-vatsara-*

- (i) Change
- rth-*
- >
- ṭh-*

Sk *ārtha-* > *aṭha-* S,K,D,J,PE and MRE, but *atha-* G,S,M,K,J

- (ii) Change
- (ṛ-)th-*
- >
- ṭh-*

Sk *nṛgrantha-* > *nṛgaṇṭha-* T

- (iii) Change
- sth*
- >
- ṭh*
- or
- st*
- (in G) in a few cases, otherwise the cluster is assimilated to
- th*

Sk *sthitika-* > *ṭhitika-* M,K,D,J,Ksb,MRE, but *-thitika-* S,T,M₁,Rdh, Mth, scSk *sthitā-* > *stita-* GSk *anasthika-* (or *an-āsthika-*) > *anathika-* PE, but *anathika-* Ksb3 Cerebralisation of the dental *d*

- (i) Cluster
- rd-*
- is never assimilated to a cerebral

Sk *mārdava-* > *mādava-* G,K,TSk *cāturdaśa-* > *cāvudasa-* PE

- (ii) Change
- (ṛ-)d-*
- >
- d-*

Sk *tri-daśa-* > *ṭredaśa-* M, but *ṭidaśa-* S, *tedasa-* K,D

- (iii) Change
- d(ṛ)-*
- >
- d-*

Sk *idīśa-* > *hedīsa-* K, but *hedīsa-* S,K,D,ru, *ediśa-* SM

- (iv) Change
- d(-ṛ)-*
- >
- d-*

Sk *udāra-* > *udāla* or *udāra-* MRE

- (v) Change
- d-*
- >
- ḍ-*
- in numerals (other than
- tri-daśa*
-)

Sk *dvādaśa-* > *duvādasa-* K,PE,MRE, *duvadaśa-* (also *-dasa-*) M, but *duvādasa-* D,JSk *pañcadaśa-* > *ṣamnadasa-* and *-lasa-* PE, *ṣamcadasa-* Ksb4 Cerebralisation of the dental *dh* In combination with *r* it is generally not cerebralised in the West But it is cerebralised under the influence of *ṣ*

- (i) Change
- (r)dh-*
- >
- dh-*

Sk *vṛddhi-* > *vadhi-* Major RE, PE, ru, but *vadhi-* GSk *vṛddhā-* > *vudha-* So, S,D,J, *vudha-* K, *vudhra-* M

- (ii) Change
- rdh-*
- >
- dh-*

Sk *dyardha-* > *ḍiyadha-* M,K, *ḍiadha-* S, *ḍiyadhīya-* MRESk *vardh-* > *vadha-* Major RE, PE, MRE, but *√vadha-* G,M, *vadhita-* K, *vadhṛita-* M (< Sk *vardhita-*)

- (iii) Change
- (ṣ-)dh-*
- >
- dh-*

Sk *auṣadhā-* > *osudha-*¹¹ S, *asudha-* G, but *osadha-* K,D,J5 Cerebralisation of the dental *n* This nasal is usually well preserved in all positions and in all versions It is, however, initially changed to *n-* only in the Kopbal version and perhaps once in the Jaugada separate edict In the intervocal position its cerebralisation is met with usually in the West and the North-WestSk *nó* > *no* Kpb, but *no* elsewhere

44 Prof TURNER would like to derive these forms from **oṣṭdha*. The presence of the cerebral in the Girnār version and that of dental in the Dhauḷi and Jaugada versions precludes such derivation, for as has been noted above the dentals after *r* are generally not cerebralised in G, but they regularly undergo this change in the Eastern dialect.

Sk. *m-√dhyā-* > *m-√jhapa*.⁴⁵ j, but *m-√jhapa*- PE, and *mjhati*- MRE,

Sk. *dāśāna* > *daśana*- G, *daśana*- G,K,D,J,So, *dāśana*- M.

Sk. *prā-√āp-nu-* > *prā-√puna*- G,S, *pā-√puna*- K,d,j

Sk. *mānuśa*- > *mānusa*- Kpb, other versions give forms with dental *-n*.

Sk. *idānīm* > *dām* Kpb, but *dām* ru, mk, yr

In Sk the dental *-n* of the terminations becomes *-n* after *r* or *ṣ*. This *-n* is replaced by the dental *-n* in all versions except those in the Mysore group and the one at Kopbal in the South⁴⁶ and rarely in j in the East.

Sk. *putréna* > *putena* or *putrena* Major RE

Sk. *lipikarena* > *lipikarena* Mysore group

Sk. *vāṣṣān* > *vaśṣān* Kpb

Sk. *sārvena* > *savenā* j, but *savena* d, j

In a few cases the dental is cerebralised even when Sk does not require it

Sk. *laukikena* > *lokikena* j

Sk. *Devānām*- > *Devānam*- br, jtr, Kpb and S (once), but *Devānam*- yr, sd and in other versions

Also cf. *adhātīyām* and *sāṭirekānu* at Kpb

6 Cerebralisation of clusters with nasals Such cerebralisation is met with in very few cases

(1) Cerebralisation of *-ny-* > *-ṇ-* is an exceptional characteristic of the Mānsehrā version

Sk. *anyā-* > *anā-* M, other versions (including M) give forms with *-n* or *-ñ-*

Sk. *√man-ya-* > *√mana-* M, other versions have *-n* or *-ñ-*

(11) Cerebralisation of the cluster *jñ* is observed in two distant regions viz the North-West and the South

Sk. *ā√jñā-pa* > *ā√napa*- S,M,br, other versions have *-n* or *-ñ-*

§ 39 Treatment of final consonants Consonants in their final position are generally dropped in Aś inscriptions as in other Prakrits Thus the abl sg term of mas and neut nouns in *-a* is *-ā* < *-āt*

Also note the following

Sk. *yāvat* > *yāva* S, PE, *āvā* Major and Pillar edicts

Sk. *bhavel* > *bhave* G

Sk. *punar* > *punā* S,M,G,K, *pana* S,M,D,J

Sk. *syāl* > *siyā* K,d,j,PE, MRE, *siya* S,M,j,PE

Sk. *manāk* > *minā* PE

It will be noticed that the final vowel if short is sometimes lengthened and vice versa (Also cf. the treatment of the final vowels)

The word *palisā* < Sk. *pariśad* occurs in K,D,J HULTZSCH quotes this as an

45 This is HULTZSCH's reading Others read *m-*, also cf. TURNER, *Gavimath Inscr* p. 1, f. note 3

46 As an exception the dental *-n* is preserved in such cases as Khudakena (*-ḍa-* kpb), *pakamaminena* (*-nena* kpb)

47 A few consonants at the end are, however, preserved in Samdhī cf. Sk. *evam* + *api* > *evampai* G Sk. *evam* + *eva* > *evameva* S, M, K, *hemeva* d, j, PE, br, sd, jtr Sk. *etad* + *artha-* > *etdatha-* T.

example of the lengthening of the final vowel due to the loss of the final consonant. TURNER objects to this explanation and points out that *pariṣad* first changes to *palisa*, and then *palisā* in conformity with the existing fem endings ⁴⁸

Since the final consonants are dropped, the final *-m* and *-n* are also dropped in these inscriptions and then the preceding vowels are nasalised.

Sk *dānam* > *danam* Major Rock and Pillar Edicts

Sk. *dharmam* > G,K,D,*dhramam* S,M

But this anusvāra at the end is not always represented in writing Thus we get such forms as *dana* S,M, *dhamma* J, *kalavya* G, etc

§ 40 Nasalisation :

Sometimes a nasal is introduced in some words in these inscriptions in order to mark the doubling of the following consonant when the preceding vowel is shortened

Sk *trīm* > *timn* K,D,J,PE, but *tim* M,K

Sk *√bhū-* > *ahumsu* G

Sk *śuśrūṣā-* > *susumsā-* G

Sometimes a nasal is introduced in order to break hiatus

Sk *anya-anya-* > *añam-amñā-* G, *añam-añā-* S, *amnum-ana-* K

In certain cases, however, it is introduced without any apparent reason

Sk *prakṛti-* > *pankiti* sd, but *pakiti-* br, sd jtr

Sk *vi√śvas-* > *vi√samvasa-* sn

Sk **nūśhṣṭakā-*⁴⁹ > *nimsidhayā-* PE

Sk *yāvat* > *avam* K

Sk *ca* > *cam* bh

Sk *pāratrika-* > *pālamtikya-* K (HULTZSCH's reading)

Sk *miśradeva-* > *misamdeva-* s (HULTZSCH's reading)

III CONSONANT CLUSTERS

§ 41 The clustered consonants are assimilated or dissolved through many a process in MIA in general Aśokan inscriptions prove no exception to this general treatment adopted by other MIA languages, except that a few clusters and especially those formed with *-r-* are preserved mostly in the North-West and the West This North-Western characteristic is apparent even today in the group of Dardic languages ⁵⁰ Space forbids here an elaborate treatment of all clusters in the Aśokan inscriptions ⁵¹ Hence only the treatment of important clusters is discussed below, omitting such clusters as exemplify normal assimilation The process of palatalisation and cerebralisation in clusters is already discussed above §§ 37, 38

§ 42 Clusters with Stops Under this head we will specially consider clusters formed with semi-vowels and sibilants + stops

1 *r* + stops The following remark by HULTZSCH must be noted before we actually come to deal with the clusters "As at Girnar there is (in S,M) some inconsistency in marking the letter *r* if it is combined with other consonants "The order of the

48 BSOS 4364

49. For this form see LÜDERS, SPAW, 1914, 852, for the change *śṣ* > *ms* cf PISCHEL, Gr §74

50. Cf GRIERSON, JRAS 1904 725-31

51. For this cf BDCRI 3 270 ff

symbols does not conform to the actual pronunciation, but to the convenience of the combinations (BUHLER, *ZDMG* 43 133)." Thus *ṛ* is sometimes combined with the preceding akṣara or is attached to the following consonant. But "it must be remembered that, wherever the above-mentioned words occur in the text, the transcript shows the imperfect spelling of the inscription, but not the actual pronunciation" ⁵²

Therefore in the following examples whether the letter *ṛ* occurs with the preceding syllable or the following consonant, its presence in the word is to be regarded as an illustration of the preservation of the original Sk conjunct

As noted above the clusters with *ṛ* + stops are as a rule assimilated in all versions except those in the North-West. Below are mentioned a few examples to show the preservation in the North-West

Sk *vārga-* > *vaga-* K,D,J, *vagra-* S,M

Sk *svargá-* > *svaga-* G,K,D,J,MRE, *spagra-* S,M

Sk *garbhāgāra-* > *gabhāgāra-* or *-la-* G,K,D,J, *grabhagara-* S,M

(For the special treatment of *ṛ* + dentals cf. above cerebralisation § 38)

2 *ṣ* + stops In the cluster *-st-* the unaspirated surd is aspirated in assimilation. The cluster *-ṣth-* is preserved only in the West in the form *-st-*. The cerebral articulation is sometimes lost in the treatment of this cluster

Sk *aśamī-* > *athamī-* PE, *atha-* S,M,K

Sk *vyusta-* > *vyūtha-* ru and yr, *vyūtha-* br, *mrulha-* s

Sk *śrīstha-* > *sretha-* S,M, *setha-* K, but *scsta-* G

Sk *√tisth-* > *√tiṭha-* S, *√ciṭha-* M,K,D, but *√tiṣṭa-* G

In the case of *s* + *k*, the resulting form appears without aspiration

Sk *duṣkṛta-* > *dukata-* S,M,K,D, *dukata-* G

Sk *duṣkara-* > *dukara-* S,M,G *d'ukala-* K,D,I

3 *s* + stops The cluster *-st-* is preserved in S,M,G, but assimilated to *-th-* elsewhere. The cluster *-ṣth-* is, however, preserved only in the West. (For cerebralisation see above § 38)

Sk *hastin-* > *hast-* S,M,G, *hathi-* K,D,yr

Sk *grastha-* > *gaththa-* M,K, *graththa-* S, *ghiththa-* T, but *gharasta-* G

In the treatment of the cluster *-sk-*, aspiration appears only in the West

Sk *skandhā-* > *-khamda-* G (perhaps due to metathesis of aspiration),
but *-kamdha-* S,M,K,D

§ 43 Clusters with *y* Such clusters are either assimilated, preserved or dissolved. The regional distinction, wherever possible, is noted below

1 Clusters with stop + *y* In spite of numerous exceptions, it may be said that the cluster is normally assimilated in the West and the North West, dissolved in the East and sometimes preserved in the South and the Centre

(i) *-ky-* > *-k-*, *-ky-* or *-kiy-*

Sk *śakya-* > *śaka-* S, *saka-* G, sd, mk, *sakya-* br, sd, *cakya-* b, *sakīya-* J, ru, sn, yr, *cakīya-* d, j, Kpb

(ii) *-khy-* > *-kh-*, *-khy-* or *-khiy-*

52 HULTSCH p lxxxvii. Doubts on this opinion have been already expressed by GRIERSON, cf. *JRAS* 1913 682-83 and recently by S. N. SEN, *Kanc Comm Vol* pp 417-19.

- Sk *múkhyā* > *mukha-* S,M,K,T, *mokhyā-* d,PE, *mokhyā-* j.
 (iii) -gy- > -gɪy-, -gy- or -k- (< -g-)
 Sk *āogya* > *ārogɪyā-* br, sd, but *āroka-* yr
 Sk. *yugya* > *yūgyā-* yr

- (iv) For dentals + y see above palatalisation § 37

The treatment of the cluster *dy-* > *ɖɪy-* (or *ɖiā-* due to loss of -y-), may, however, be noted here.

- Sk *dyardha* > *ɖɪyadha-* M, K, *ɖɪyāɖhɪyā-* MRE, *ɖiāɖha-* S
 (v) -bhy- > -bh-, -bhy-, -bhɪy-
 Sk *ibhya* > -ibha- S,K, -ibhya- M, -ibhɪyā- D,J
 Sk *ā√rābh-ya* > *ārabhare* G, *ārabhisu* M, *ālabhɪyā-* K,D,J and
arabhɪyā- S,M

2. Cluster *ɾy* The cluster is assimilated to -y- or dissolved by svarabhakti. It may be noted that this cluster as well as the following *ly* are more or less regularly preserved in the Niya Prakrit cf BURROW, § 42

- Sk *mārya-* or -ūrya- > *mayā* S,M,G K,D, *aya-* everywhere, but
aliyā- bh
 Sk *mādhurya* > *mādhumɪyā-* S,M, *mādhulhyā-* K,D,J
 Sk *ācārya* > *ācariyā-* br, sd jtr, yr
 Sk *sūrya* > -sūriyika- sc, *suliyika-* 1

3. Cluster *ly* It is assimilated to -l- in the West and the North-West and to -y- in the East, Centre and the North

- Sk *kalyānā-* > *kalānā-* S,M,G, *kayana-* M, *kayānā-* K,D,PE

4. Cluster *vy* It is assimilated to *v* in the North-West, preserved in the West⁵³ (and sometimes in the South and the Centre) and dissolved by svarabhakti in other regions

- Sk *vyāñjana-* > *vañana-* S, *viyajana-* M, *viyamjana-* K,D,J,Sn
vayajana- ru, *vyamjana-* G
 Sk *vyuṣṭa-* > *vivulha-* s, but *vyūlha-* br, *vyūlha-* ru, yr
 Sk *karlavya-* > *kaḷava-* S, *kataviyā-* M,K,D,J,PE,sd, jtr, yr
katavyā- G

5. Sibilant + y It is generally assimilated or dissolved, or rarely preserved

- Sk *prativeśya-* > -vesiya- S,M, -vesiya- K,G
 Sk *dūśya-* > *dusa-* sn, sc, kb
 Sk *ālasya-* > *ālastiya-* d, but *ālasya-* j
 Sk *irśya-* > *isā-* d, j, but *isyā-* PE

Sometimes the change -sy- > -ś- is observed in the North-West⁵⁴ cf for instance the future term

- Sk *ārabhiśyanti* > *arabhiśanti* S,M
 Sk *manuśya-* > *manuśa-* S,M, *manuśa-* K, *manusa-* elsewhere

§ 44 Clusters with ɾ Such clusters are normally assimilated to the stop with which the semivowel ɾ is combined. But sometimes the cluster is preserved in the North-West and the West (and rarely in the Mysore group) both initially and medially

⁵³ Cf however Sk *pūjayitavya-* > *pūjetaya-* G.

⁵⁴ For similar change in the Niya Prakrit, cf BURROW § 41.

1 Gutturals + *r*

- Sk *atī*√*kram*- > *atī*√*kama*- K,D,J,T, but *atī*√*krama*- S,M,G. G has *atikāta*- and *parikama*- also
 Sk *cakravāka*- > *cakavāka*- PE
 Sk *prakrānta*- > *pakamta*- MRE
 Sk *agra*- > *aga*- K,D,J,G,PE, *agra*- S,M

2 Dentals + *r* The cluster is sometimes preserved even in the South

- Sk *trī*, *trīnt* > *tim* or *tim* M,K,D,J,PE, *tī* G, but *trayo* S and *trī* G,
 Sk *putrā*- > *puta*- G,K,J,T,sc, *putra*- S,M,G
 Sk *tātra* > *tata* G,K,d,J,T,s, *tatrā* G,S,M
 Sk. √*dṛh*- > *drahitavya*- > *drahyntavya*- br, sd, jr
 Sk *ardhatrika*- > *adhātiva*- MRE

3 Labials + *r* Here the cluster is sometimes preserved even in the Central and Southern division

- Sk *prajā*- > *pajā* K,D,J,PE, *prajā*, S,M,G
 Sk *prakāśa*- > *prakāsa*- ru
 Sk *prasada* > *prasāda*- S,M,G,bh, *pasāda*- K
 Sk *prakrānta* > *prakamta*-⁵⁵ br, *pakamta*- ru, sd, Kpb, yr (*pakata*-).
 Sk *prānā*- > *prana*- G,S, yr, *prana*- M, *pāna*- elsewhere
 But cf *pr*- > *p*- in G and M
 Sk *prakarana*- > *pakarana*- G,M, *pakalana*- K,D, also *prakarana*- S,G

The clusters *br*- and *bhr*- almost follow the usual tendencies

- Sk *brāhmana*- > *brāhmana*- S,M, *bambhana*- So,K
bābhana- D,J,T, *bamana*- M, *bāmhana*- G
 Sk *bhrāti*- > *bhrātra*- G, *bhrata*- S,M, *bhata*- K,D,J,M

4 Cluster *vr* It is preserved only in the North-West

- Sk *vraja*- > *vraca*- S,M, *vaca*- G,K,D,J
 Sk *pravrapta*- > *pravrapta*- S,M, *pavajita*- G,K,T

5 Clusters with sibilant + *r* They are regularly preserved in S,M, and sometimes in G, other versions assimilate it to the sibilant

- Sk √*śru*-nu- > √*śruna*- S,M, √*sruta*- G, √*śuna*- K, √*su*- K,T,bh,d,j,
 √*sāvāpa*- T,br,sd
 Sk *sahāstra*- > *sahasra*- S,M,G, *sahasa*- S,⁵⁰D,J,PE
 Sk *parisrava*- > *parisrava*- S,G, -*parisava*- M, -*pahsava*- D,J, (-*lā*- K)
 Sk *mīśrā*- > *misa*- MRE

§ 45 Clusters with *v*

1 Clusters with stops + *v* in the initial position are dissolved and in the medial position assimilated in the non-Western regions. They are preserved in all positions only in the West with these phonetic changes, that *tv* > *tp* and *dv* > *db*

- Sk *kvāpi* > *kuvāpi* K
 Sk *dvī*- > *duvī* S, *duve* M,K,J, *duvehi* T, *dve* or *dvo* G
 Sk *dvādaśā* > *duvaḍaśa*- M, *duvādasa*- D,J, -*ḍasa*- K,PE,bb, *badaya*- S, *dbādasa*- G

55 HULTZSCH's reading

56 Thus *sahasa*- in S and *parisava*- in M are exceptions.

Sk. *catvāraḥ* > *catvare* S, *catāh* K (> Sk. *catvāri*), *catpāro* G.
 Sk. absolutive term *-tvā* > *-tu* S,M,K,D,J,PE, *-tpā* G
 Sk. *śaḍ-vimśati* > *saḍvimsati* PE

2. Semivowel *r* + *v*. The cluster is generally preserved in the West and the North-West, but dissolved or assimilated elsewhere.

Sk. *sārva* > *sava*- in all versions, *sarva*- G, *savra*- S,M
 Sk. *pārva* > *-puva*- G, *-puluva*- K,D,J, *-pruva*- S,M,G.

3 Sibilant + *v*. The cluster in the initial position is preserved in the West and the North-West⁵⁷ (in the form *sp*), and it is either assimilated or dissolved by svarabhakti elsewhere

Sk. *svāmi-ka* > *svāmika*- G, *spamika*- S,M, *suvāmika*- K,D,J
 Sk. *śvetā* > *sveta*- G, *seta*- PE

In *svaga*- (< Sk. *svargā*-), however, it is initially preserved in all versions⁵⁸ (*spagra*- S,M).

In the intervocal position it is preserved everywhere

Sk. *śāśvatā* > *sasvata*- d,j
 Sk. *āśva* > *asva*- PE

§ 46 Clusters with sibilants

1. For the treatment of *kṣ* and *ts* see above palatalisation §37

2. *r* + sibilant. Whereas S,M,G, preserve the cluster, others assimilate it to the sibilant.

Sk. *dārśana* > *dasana*- G,So,K,D,J, *draśana*- S,M, *darsana*- G.
 Sk. *-darśin* > *-dasi*- G,K,D,J,PE, bh, bb, *-draśi*, S,M, *-drasi*- G.

3 Clusters with *h*.

Almost everywhere the cluster *-rh-* is dissolved by the addition of the vowel *a*.

Sk. *garhā*, *garhanā* > *garahā*- G,M, *galahā*- K, *√garaha*- S,M,G, but *garana*- S

Sk. *yathārha* > *yathāraha*- br,sd,jtr

§ 47 Clusters with nasals Such clusters are usually assimilated to the nasal or to the stop and then the nasal is turned into anusvāra. Thus anusvāra, however, is not always represented in writing. The clusters with *ñ*, *n*, *ṇ* and *m* show some peculiarities and only these are detailed below.

§ 48 Clusters with the nasal *ñ*

1 *jñ*. The cluster is usually assimilated to *ñ* in the West, North-West,⁵⁹ and South, and to *n* in the East and the Centre (For cerebralisation see above §38).

Sk. *jñāti* > *ñāti*- G,br,sd,jtr, *nāti*- K,D,J,PE.
 Sk. *vijñapti* > *vinati*- kq, *√vinnaṇa*- sn.

In the declined forms of *rājan*- the cluster is sometimes dissolved by svarabhakti.

Sk. *rājñā* > *rāñā* S,G, *rājna* M,So, *lājñā*, K,D,J,rm,ng,bh

2. *ñc*: It is represented as *-mc-* or *-mn-* in the numeral

Sk. *pāñca* > *pamca*- S,M,G,K,D,J,ksb, *pañna*- PE

57 The cluster *śv* > *śp* and *sv* > *śv* or *śp* in the Niya Prakrit cf. BURROW, §

58 In s 14, however, HULTZSCH reads *suaga*-

59. *jñ* > *ñ* (or *n*) in the Niya Prakrit, cf. BURROW § 44.

3. *ñj* · It is generally represented as *-mj-* or *-j-*, but in the North-West it is assimilated to *ñ*.⁶⁰

Sk. *vyañjana-* > *vyamjana-* G, *viyamjana-* K,D,J,sn *vayajana-* ru, *viyajana-* M, *vañana-* S.

§ 49. Clusters with the nasal *n* ·

1. *rn* : In its assimilation the cerebral articulation is preserved in the Mysore group but it is lost in PE

Sk *suvárna-* > *suvamna-* br,sd

Sk *pūrná-* > *pumna-* PE

2. *-kṣn-* > *-khn-* Sk *ślakṣná-* > *sakhna-* d, Sk *abhikṣna-* > *abhikhna-* bh

3 *ny* In the North-West and the West the cluster is assimilated to *ñ* (but in G also to *n*), but elsewhere to *n*

Sk *apunya-* > *apuña-* S,M *apumña-* G, *apuna-* K

Sk *hiranya-* > *hīramna-* G,So, *hīlamna-* K,D,J.

§ 50 Clusters with *n* The only important cluster to note is *ny* Other clusters with *n* are assimilated to the stop (as in Sk *agru-* > *agi* M,K,D,G) or dissolved (as in Sk *pra√āp-nu-* > *pāpuna-* or *-na-* G,S,K,D,J, or *praśná-* > *-pasna-* bh)

1 *ny* It is assimilated to *ñ* in the West and North-West,⁶¹ but to *n* elsewhere (for cerebralisation see above § 38)

Sk *anyá-* > *aña-* S,M,G,So, *amna-* K,D,J,PE, *ana-tra* M, *ana-* M

Sk *√manya-* > *√maña-* S,M,G, *√mana-* K,d,j, (*√mana-* M).

§ 51 Clusters with *m* ·

1 *-tm-* Except in the West and the South where it is preserved as *-tp-*, it is normally assimilated to *t*

Sk *ātmán-* > *ata-* S,M,K,d,j,PE, *ātpā* G, *mahātpā* br,sd,yr Kōpāl though in South gives *mahata-*

2 *-sm-*⁶² (or *-ṣm-*) Note the following interesting treatments It is either preserved (as *sm* or *sp*) or assimilated to *mh* or *s* In the pronominal forms it usually becomes *-ph-*

Sk *akasmāp* > *akasmā* d,j

Sk loc sg *-smm* > *-mhi* G, *-spu* S,M, *-si* elsewhere

Sk *tasmāt* > *taphā* K

Vedic *asme* > *aphe* d,j, similarly **tuṣmat-* > *tupha-* d,j,ru,sn,yr

In the grammatical form *asmī* initial *a-* is lost and then the cluster is dissolved cf *sumi* ru, s, mk, Kpb

3 *-hm-* The following forms may be noted

Sk *brāhmaṇá-* > *bramana-* S,M, *brahmāna-* G, *bāmhana-* G, *bāmbhana-* So,K,yr, *bābhana-* K,D,J,T

4 *-my-* · It is sometimes preserved.

Sk. *samyak* > *sañma-* S, but *sañmyā-* D,J, *samyā-* K, *samya-* G,M

60 Precisely the same tendency is observed in the Niya Prakrit documents and the process is most regular in the *Kharoṣṭhi Dhammapada*, cf BURROW, §45

61. The same treatment is also found in the Niya Prakrit, cf BURROW, §41.

62 The cluster *-sm-* > *-s-* in the loc term, or is preserved in the Niya Prakrit, cf BURROW, §49.

5. -mr- : As is well known, it becomes -mb-.

Sk *āmra* > *ambā* PE

Sk. *Tāmraparni* > *Tambaparni* S,M,G,K,J, -*pani* M

MORPHOLOGY

I DECLENSION

(A) NOUNS :

§ 52. The complex declensional system of the OIA is much simplified in these inscriptions by the well-known processes which were active in the MIA period. Thus, for example, the dual is altogether lost and the consonantal bases are mostly transferred to the vowel bases. On the other hand in endings we do not yet meet with the same variety of forms which are so widely used in the later literary Prakrits. The geographical distinction in the declensional system of these inscriptions, especially between the East and the West, is noted below in all such cases which admit of such distinction. Exceptions to these generalisations, whenever they occur, are also recorded in each case.

§ 53. Mas and Neut Nouns ending in -a

(i) Nom sg Mas principally ends in -a and -e. Of these, the former is more frequently used than the latter in G,S,M and the latter in K,D,J,PE and MRE

jano G,S, *jane* K,M,D,J,T, *aṭhe* MRE

(a) The ending -o is, however, sometimes found in the East and -e in the West and North-West cf *rājuke*, *sakale*, etc in G, *jane*, *vivade*, etc in S,M, and *Keralaputo* in K, *seto* in D

(b) The ending -a (the original -s in -as being dropped) is of rare occurrence cf *jana* S, *vadha* K, [*sampa*]{*īpāda* d, and *yāvataka* ru

(c) The foreign name *Antekina* in G ends in -a, but it ends in -i at S. The other name *Maga* ends in -ā in G and K

(ii) Acc sg Mas ends in -am or -a (with the loss of final anusvāra) everywhere

janam G,PE, *dhramam* or *jana* S, *dhamman* K,D,J, *samgham* MRE

(a) In S, M we sometimes get the ending -o or -e cf *dhramo*, and *sayame*

(b) In K exceptionally the ending -ā is found cf *ata-pāsādā*

(iii) Nom Acc sg Neut. These nouns end in -am in G,S,M. In other edicts we get -am only for the acc sg whereas -e is found for nom sg

Nom sg *dānam* G,S,M, but *dāne* K,D,J,PE, *phale* MRE

Acc sg *mangalam* D,J, *dānam* K,PE, *vipulam* MRE.

(a) In G,S,M, we get in a few cases the ending -e for nom sg, as in the East and in K,D,J,jtr, and yr, we get -am as in the West cf *dāne* G,S,M, *jīvam* K,D,J, *likhitam* jtr, *saca* and *kaṭaviya* (with the loss of final anusvāra) yr.

(b) In a few gerundives we have -o in S. cf *kaṭavo*.

(c) Sometimes we get -ā for nom sg in K,D,J, cf *ādisā* K, *kaṭaviya-talā* D,J.

- (d) In d and K sometimes the acc. sg also ends in *-e*, cf *ānaine* d, *dāne* K.
- (iv) Inst sg ends in *-ena* everywhere
janena G, *putrena* S,M, *putena* D,J, *dhammena* PE, etc, *khudakena* K,D,J, MRE.
 (a) The final *-na* is sometimes lengthened, cf *bhayenā* PE, *-abhisitenā* MRE
 (b) Cerebralised term occurs sometimes in the South. cf *lipigatena* br,jtr, *mahatena* Kpb
- (v) Dat. sg : ends in *-ya* in West, Centre, and South but *-ye* elsewhere
athāya G, *kālāya* ru, *aṭhāya* ru,br Kpb,yr, *aṭhāye* S,M,D,J,K,t,s
 (a) Once in G and T the dat sg ends in *-ā* cf *athā*⁶³
- (vi) Abl sg ends in *-ā* (*-a* in S,M) everywhere
kapā G, *anubadhā* K, *mahatatā* MRE, *karana* S,M
 (a) The final vowel is sometimes shortened in D, cf *anubadhe*
- (vii) Gen sg ends in *-sa* everywhere
janasa G,S,M,K,D,J,PE, *Asokasa* mk, *pakamasa* MRE
 (a) Sometimes the final vowel is lengthened
janasā K, *asvasā* T,Mi (but *asvasa* Rdh, Mth, Rp)
- (viii) Loc sg : G gives the ending *-mhi* (< Sk *-smi* of pronouns) and *-e* In S,M, we get *-e*, and *spi* or *-si* (< Sk *-smi*) The ending *-si* is the normal one in other edicts.
athamhi G, *orodhanaspi* S,M, *uthanasī* S,M, *aṭhasī* D,J, *janasi* PE, *Jambudīpasī* MRE, *kōle* G, *dhrame* S,M
 (a) Perhaps *-e* is found in *supiye* at bb
- (ix) Nom pl Masc . ends in *-ā* everywhere (but represented as *-a*, in S,M).
morā G, *putā* K,D,J, *puṣā* PE, *devā* MRE, *putra* S,M
 (a) The final *-ā* is sometimes shortened cf *nāṭikya* K, *laṭṭuka* PE, *Anuvigina* d,j
 (b) T twice gives the ending *-āse* (< Vedic *-āsah*) cf *vīyāpātāse*
- (x) Acc pl Masc The ending in G is *-e* but *-āni* in other edicts This *-āni* ending is regarded as the peculiarity of the Ardha-Māgadhī dialect by LUDERS (SPAW 1913 992 ff).
yute G, *kandhāni* D,J, *puṣāni* PE, *bambhanāni* yr
 (a) *-āni* is noticed in G four times cf for instance *gharastāni*
- (xi) Nom Acc pl neut ends in *-āni* everywhere
rāpāni G,S,M, *phalāni* K, *vasāni* D,J, Mysore Gr
 (a) Sometimes we get the ending *-ā*, cf *-darsanā* G, *lopāpitā* D,K, *hālāpitā* K, *lāti-salā* s,ru.
 (b) The final vowel is once lengthened in Mi cf *hamtaviryāni*
 (c) Characteristically *-n-* > at Kpb cf *vasāni*, *aḍḍatīyāni*
- (xii) Inst pl ends in *-ehi* (< Vedic *-ebhih*)
satehi G,K, *jātehi* d,j, *devehi* MRE
- (xiii) Dat pl . ends in *-ehi*
mahamatrehi M, *samanehi* D,J, *Ājivikehi* bb

- (xiv) Gen. pl. : ends in -*nam* or -*na*

thairānam G, *prananam* S,M, *pānānam* K,D,J

śramanana S,M, -*paśadāna* K

- (a) Rarely we get -*nām* or -*nā*

bhūtānām G and *bambhanānā* K.

- (xv) Loc pl. : ends in -*su* everywhere (-*su* in S,M)

tharesu G, *vaṣeṣu* S,M, *vasesu* K,D,J, *aṭhesu* PE, *pavatesu* MRE, *prāresu* yr.

- (a) Rarely the final vowel is lengthened in G cf *pamthesū*

§ 54 Fem nouns ending in -*ā*

- (i) Nom sg. ends in -*ā* (represented as -*a* in S,M,) everywhere

ichā G,S,M,K,PE, *paṇā* D,J, *porānā* Mysore Group, yr

- (a) The final -*ā* is sometimes shortened in the East and Centre *icha* D,J, -*lokika* K, -*aṭekha* PE

- (ii) Acc sg : ends in -*ām* with the final anusvāra sometimes dropped

pūjām G,M, *paṇam* PE, *puṇā* S,K,G, *paṇipadā* M1(?)

- (iii) Inst sg ends in the East, Centre and the West in -*ā* and in the North and the North-West in -*ye*

pūjāyā G,PE, *isāya* D,J, *pujāye* S,M,K

- (iv) Dat, Abl, Gen sg ends in -*ye*

viṣāye (Dat), *dakṣiṇāye* (Abl), *duṭṭyāye* (Gen) PE

- (v) Loc sg ending in the East, Centre, South, and the West is -*yaṁ* but -*ye* in the North, North-West and the East

ganānāyam G, *Samāpāyam* J, *Tisāyam* T,M1, *velāyam* Kpb, *saṁtiranāye* S,M, *saṁtilānāye* K, *Tisāye* PE, *pājāye* D,J

- (a) The final anusvāra in -*yaṁ* is sometimes dropped

saṁtiranāya G, *saṁtilānāya* D,J

- (vi) Nom. pl ends in -*ā* everywhere (-*a* S,M)

katā G, *vaṭṭikā* PE, *upāsikā* bh, *cakṣa* S,M

- (a) Final -*ā* is once shortened in G cf *cakṣa*

- (b) G alone gives the additional ending -*āyo* (>-*āo* in Pkt cf PISCHEL G §376) cf *mahidāyo*

- (vii) Loc pl ends in -*su* in PE cf *disāsu*

§ 55 Mas and Neut Nouns ending in -*i*

- (i) Nom sg Mas ends in -*i* in PE cf *vidhi*, *Sakyamuni*

- (ii) Nom sg Neut ends in -*i* in K cf *asamati*

- (iii) Nom pl Mas ends in -*i* in G and -*o* in S,M

trī G, *trayo* S,M (For long -*i* cf PISCHEL, Gr §380)

- (iv) Nom Acc pl Neut ends in -*ni* everywhere

timni K,D,J,PE, *osadhini* K

- (v) Gen. pl . ends in -*nam* everywhere, but the final anusvāra is sometimes dropped

nātinam G,S,M, *nātinam* K, *nātina* S,M

- (a) The loss of final anusvāra results in the lengthening of preceding vowel in K. cf *nātinā*

(vi) Loc. pl : ends in *-su* in the East and the West and *-ṣu* in the North and the North-West.

ñāṭisu G , *nāṭisu* D,J , *nābhāpamṭisu* M,K

§ 56 Fem nouns ending in *-ī*

(i) Nom sg . Normally ending *-ī* appears in the West (and the South) and *-i* elsewhere.

lipī G , *pakūtī* Mysore Gr (but *pakutī* yr) , *lipī* K , *dīpī* S,M , *vadhī* PE.

(a) Exchange of these endings is met with exceptionally, *apacitī* G , *anusahī* D,J , *gabhinī* PE

(ii) Acc sg ending *-im* appears in G and PE and *-i* in K,D,J,S,M,PE and MRE

sambodhim G , *lipim* sn , *sabodhi* S,M , *sambodhi* K,D,J , *vaḍhi* T,ru.

(a) As a result of the loss of final anusvāra the preceding vowel is lengthened in D,J, and PE

kūṭī D,J , *anupatīpatī* T (HLZ's reading)

(b) Loss of anusvāra with short *-i* is an exception at G cf *klitī*, *chātī*, *vadhī*.

(iii) Inst sg ending *-yā* is obtained in all versions and the final vowel is sometimes shortened in D,J and PE

bhatīyā G,S,M,K , *anusathīyā* D,J,PE , *anāvutīyā* D,J , *vadhīyā* PE

(a) Ending *-ye* is sometimes found in K cf *anusathīye*

(b) Ending *-nā* is obtained only at yr cf *bhermā*

(iv) Dat Sg. The Western, North-Western and Northern ending is *-yā* Ending *-ye* seems to be the Eastern one (its presence in S,M being perhaps due to the Eastern influence)

anusastīya G ; *vadhīyā* S,M,K , *vadhīye* D,J , *dhātīye* T , *anusastīye* S,M

(v) Abl sg . ends in *-yā* (represented as *-ye* in S,M)

nivutīyā K , *nīphatīyā* D,J , *nivutīya* S,M

(vi) Gen sg ends in *-ye* in PE cf *devīye* Kq

(vii) Loc sg ending *-yam* occurs in D,J,PE , *-ya* in S,M , and *-ye* in K,D,J,PE .
puṭhaviyam D,J , *Kosambīyam* PE , *ayatīya* S,M , *āyatīye* K,D,J ;

cātuṇmāsīye PE

(viii) Nom pl ending *-yo* occurs in G,K, and *-ye* in bh , the forms in S,M,D,J end in *-ī*

atavīyo G , *janīyo* K , *bhikkhunīye* bh , *atavī*⁶⁴ S,M , *itihī* D,J

(ix) Gen pl ending *-nam* or *-nā*

bhagīninam D,J , *devīnam* T , *bhagīnā* K

(x) Loc pl ends in *-su*

ṭisu PE , *paṭatīsu*⁶⁵ ru

§ 57 Mas and Neut. nouns ending in *-u*

(i) Nom sg Mas ends in *-u* in all versions

sādhū Major RE , *bhikkhū* Kb

(a) It is, however, sometimes lengthened.

sādhū D,J , *bhikkhū* sn

64 With this form HULTZSCH compares Pāli nom pl *rattī* of *rattī-* (< Sk *rātri-*)
p xci

65 For the fem. base *paṭatī* cf. BOHTLINGK, *Wörterbuch*, s.v.

- (ii) Nom. Acc. Neut sg. : ends in -u everywhere
bahu K,S,M,K,PE, *sādhū* D,J
- (iii) Loc. sg. : The form *bahune* in T is perhaps from the base *bahuna-*.
- (iv) Nom. Acc. pl. Neut ends in -m in all versions
bahūm Major RE, PE
- (v) Inst. pl. : ends in -hi, cf *bahūhi* Major RE
- (vi) Gen. pl. : ending -nam occurs in G,D,J,PE, -na in S,M, and -nā in K.
gurūnam G, *gulūnam* D,J, *bhikkhnam* sc, *gcruna* S,M, *gulunā* K
- (vii) Loc. pl. : ends in -su.
bahūsc d,J, *gclusc* PE, *garcsu* Mysore group, *garūsu* yr

§ 58. Fem nouns ending in -u :

(i) The nom sg of *sādhū* used as fem. is the same as that of Mas. and Neut. in all versions.

§ 59 Mas nouns ending in -r The base for the oblique cases ends either in -i or -u. In such cases the Western version preserves the Sk forms

- (i) Nom sg. . ends in -ā in d and PE.

pitā d , *apahaṭā* T

(a) It is sometimes shortened to -a, cf *pitā* j and *apahaṭa* Rdh

(ii) Inst sg ends in -ā in the West , but -nā (cf -i and -u declension) in other regions

pitā, *bhātā* or *bhātrā* G , *pituna* S,M, *pitmā* K,D,J.

- (iii) Loc sg . ends in -i at G cf *pitari*

(iv) Nom pl . ends in -o in S, -e in M,K, and -ī in D,J (cf -i declension).
nataro S , *natare* M , *matāle* K ; *natī* D,J

(v) Gen pl . ends in -nam in K,D,J and -na in S,M
bhātīnam K,D,J, *bhratuna* S,M

(vi) Loc pl ends in -su in all groups, but -ṣu in S,M (and K)
pitisu D,J,K,PE,br, *pitūsu* yr, jtr , *pitūsu* S,M, *pitīsu* K.

§ 60 Fem nouns ending in -r

- (i) Gen (dat) sg ends in -u at Kq cf -mātu

(ii) Loc sg ends in -i at G cf *mātari*

(iii) Gen pl ends in -na in S,M cf *spasuna*

§ 61 Bases ending in consonants As in other Prakrits, such bases in these inscriptions are brought over to the -a declension Yet in some forms the Sk. consonantal declension survives with the necessary phonetic changes.

§ 62 Present Participles ending in -at

(i) Nom sg Mas ends in -um or -u and -o in G , in the East the ending is -am⁶⁶ or -e of which the former is seen in other non-Western regions.

karum, *karu* and *karoto* G , *samtam* S,M,K,D,J,PE, *kalamtam* mk ,
mahamte D,J (following the -a declension)

(ii) Gen sg ends in -sa in M cf *aśatasa*

(iii) Nom pl Masc ends in -o in G ; and -a (for -ā or -e) in s.
tisāmto G , *samtā* s

§ 63. Other bases ending in -at .

66. Ending -am < Sk. -an See HULTZSCH, p. lxxvii. ,

(1) Nom. sg . ends in *-a* at K,S,M and Mth, in *-am* in other PE, and in *-e* at sn.

paṭāva K, *paṭava* S,M, *kiya* Mth, *kiyam* other PE, *bhagavaṃ* rm ;
āvate sn.

(ii) Inst. sg. ends in *-ā*. cf. *bhagavatā* bh, *hetuvatā* K.

§ 64 Mas nouns ending in *-an* .

(1) Nom sg . ends in *-ā* as in Sk

rājā G,S,M, *lājā* K,D,J,PE, MRE.

(a) It is optionally shortened in all versions and exceptionally at G.

Yona-rāja G, *lāja* K,D,J,PE, MRE

(ii) Acc sg ends in *-am* cf *atānam* d,j

(iii) Inst sg ends in *-ā* in all versions

rājā G,S, *rajna* M ; *lājā* K,D,J,MRE, *atanā* PE(T,Ksb)

mahatpanā sd, yr

(a) Final *-ā* is shortened in Rdh, Mth, Rp cf *atana* It is shortened in Mysore group Also cf *mahātpena* (But this seems to be due to transference to the *-a* declension, the base then being *mahātpa* < Sk. *mahātman*.)

(iv) Gen sg Western ending is *-o* and Eastern *-e*

rājō G,S, *lājne* K,D,J, *rajne* M

(v) Nom pl Western ending is *-o* and Eastern *-e*

rājāno G,S, *lājāne* K,D,J,PE

(a) *-o* is found occasionally at K, cf *lājāno*

(b) The final vowel is changed to *-i* in S, cf *rajanī*

(c) It follows *-a* declension only in Mysore group and ends in *-ā*.
cf *mahātpā* br, sd (cf the above note on *mahātpena*)

(vi) Inst pl . ends in *-hi* cf *lājīhi* PE

§ 65 Neut nouns ending in *-an*

(1) Nom sg ending in the North and N-West is *-am* but *-e* in the East.

kramam S,M, *kammam* K, *kamme* D,J,K

(ii) Acc sg Eastern ending is *-am* which is presented with the loss of anus-vāra in some of the versions

kammam D,J, *nāma* Major RE and PE

(a) The final *-a* is sometimes lengthened in K cf *nāmā*

(iii) Inst sg ends in *-na* cf *kamana* d,j

(iv) Dat sg North and N-West give *-ye*, and East gives *-ne* (cerebralised to *-ne* in M according to HULTZSCH's reading)

krammaye S, *kammāye* K, *kammane* D,J, *kramane* M

(v) Gen sg ends in *-sa* cf *kammasa* d,j

(vi) Acc pl ends in *-ānu* cf *kammānu* PE

§ 66 Mas nouns ending in *-as* .

(1) Nom. pl . ends in *-ā* (cf *-a* declen) : *avimanā* PE

§ 67 Neut. nouns ending in *-as*

(1) Acc sg . ending *-o* occurs in the West and East alike, but *-e* occurs only in the non-Western area

yaso G,K,D,J, *yaśo* S,M, *bhuye* S,M,K,PE ; *davīye* d.

(a) Ending *-a* is noted in G, cf *bhuya*

§68 Mas. nouns ending in *-in* .

(i) Nom sg ends in *ī* (short in the West and long in the East).

Priyadaśi G,K,J,T,MiRdh,Mth,Rp, bh, *Priyadraśi* S,M; *Priyadaśi* K,D,J, Ksb, bh

(ii) Inst sg : ends in *-ā* in all versions except those in the N-East where the term is *-a*

Priyadasinā G, *-draśina* S,M, *Priyadasinā* K,D,J,bb, *antevāsina* Mysore Gr., but *Priyadasina* rm, ng

(iii) Dat sg (?) *-e* cf *Priyadaśine* K, *-dasine* D,J, *-daśine* M

(a) Once *-a* appears at the end cf *-draśina* M

(iv) Gen sg . *-no* is found in the West and *-ne* in other regions. The ending *-sā* (cf *-a* declen) is found only in the North and North-West

Priyadasmo G, *Priyadasine* K,D,J; *Priyadraśine* M But *Priyadraśisa* S; *Priyadasisā* K

(a) Ending *-na* is obtained at yr cf *yathācārma*

(v) Acc pl ending *-ni* (cf neut decl) is found in the East, South, and the North In the N-West we get *-na* or *-ne*

hathini K,D,J, *alevāsina* yr, *astina* S, *astine* M

(vi) Loc pl ending *-su*, cf *antevāsisa* yr.

§ 69 Neut. nouns ending in *-in*

(i) Nom pl ends in *-ni*, cf *-gāmni* PE

§ 70 Fem noun *diś*

(i) Acc sg ends in *-ā* cf *diśā* (for *diśām*) K.

§ 71 Fem base ending in *-ad* (*parisad-*)

(i) Nom sg ends in *-ā* . *palisā* K,D,J, *parisā* G, *parisa* M, *pari[ṣ*]* S.

(ii) Loc sg *-yam* in the East and West and *-ye* in the North and N-West. *palisāyam* J, *parisāyam* G, *parisāye* S,M, *palisāye* K

(a) The loss of final anusvāra results in the lengthening of the preceding vowel cf *parisāyā* D

(B) PRONOUNS

§ 72 The declined forms of Pronouns mostly correspond to the Sk forms with the necessary phonetic changes The base *apha-* for the 1st pers. pron. and *tupha-* for the 2nd pers. pron. are peculiar to these inscriptions The grammatical distinction in the different genders is sometimes obscured so that the same forms are used for two or three genders As will be seen the initial *y-* of the relative pronoun is dropped in the Eastern dialect, but it is never turned to *j-* as in later Prakrits

§ 73 First Personal Pronoun Important forms are *hakam* in nom. sg, *maye* in nom pl, base *mama-* in instr and abl sg, and *apha-* in pl. forms The initial *h-* in some of the forms is equally noteworthy

(i) Nom sg G,S,M give the Sk form *aham* (M gives also *aam*). Other versions in all regions give *hakam* (< **ahakam*).⁶⁷

(ii) Acc sg *mam* occurs in PE

(iii) Ins. sg :

1. *maā* G,S,M,br, and yr.
2. *mahayā*⁶⁸ K,D,J,T,b
3. *me* K,D,Rdh, Mth, kpb, yr

- (a) 4. *mamiyā* occurs once in T
- (b) 5. *mamāye* occurs in d
- (c) 6. *mamiyāye* occurs in j, and
7. *hamiyāye* occurs in bh

(iv) Abl sg *mamate* d, j

(v) Gen sg .

1. *mama* G,K,D,J,PE
2. *maa*⁶⁹ S,M
3. *me* Major RE, PE, MRE (*mai* to be read as *me* in br)
- (a) anusvāra is added at the end and once we get *mamam* j
- (b) Final -a is lengthened cf *mamā* K,D,T,M₁
- (c) *hamā*⁷⁰ is given by bh

(vi) Nom pl *maye* d, j, (< Sk. *vayam* under the influence of *mayā* cf. HULTZSCH p cvi)

- (vii) Acc pl *aphe* d, *aphem* j (cf the Sk base *asma-* in *asmān*)
- (viii) Gen pl 1 *ne* K,d,j 2 *aphākā* d
- (ix) Loc pl *aphesā* d,j

§ 74 Second Personal Pronoun The base is *tupha-*⁷¹ (< **tuṣma-*).

- (i) Nom pl *tuphe* d, j, sn, pr, *pre* j
- (ii) Acc pl *tuphem* j
- (iii) Inst pl *phehi* d, j
- (iv) Dat pl *ve* (< Sk *vaḥ*) mk (used for nom pl)
- (v) Gen pl *tuphāka* d, j, *tuphākam* sn, *tupaka* ru
- (vi) Loc pl *tuphesu* d, j

§ 75 Third Person Pron Mas . Base *ta-* (or -*sa* in nom)

- (i) Nom sg *so* G,S; *se* K,M,D,J,PE and MRE
- (a) G once gives the form *sā*
- (b) Similarly S gives the form *sa*
- (c) The forms *se* and *śe* at K are only graphical
- (d) d and j give *te*
- (ii) Acc sg *so* G, but *tam* K, S, M.
- (iii) Inst sg ends in -*na* cf *tena* Major RE and PE
- (a) Final -a is optionally lengthened at K, cf *tenā*
- (iv) Dat sg . ends in -*ya* in the West and -*ye* elsewhere
- tāya* G, *tāye* S,M,K

68 The form *mamae* is given by Hemacandra, III 10969 *maa* = Pkt *maha*, Sk *mama* under the influence of dat sg *mahyam*, see MICHELSON JAOS 30 85 x 2.70 This seems to be a compromise between *mamā* and **ham* < *aham*. See HULTZSCH, p cxxvii.71 This again is a compromise between the Sk base *yusma-* and nom. sg. *tvam*. See HULTZSCH, p cvi.

- (v) Abl. sg. : *taphā*¹² and *tā* K.
- (vi) Gen sg : ends in *-sa* cf *taśa* Major RE
 - (a) With *-ā* at the end in K cf *tasā*
 - (b) Forms *taśa* and *taā* at K are graphical.
- (vii) Loc. sg · Western ending is *-mhi* and elsewhere *-sī*
tamhi G , *tasī* S,M,D,J
 - (a) Form *taśī* at K is graphical
- (viii) Nom pl *te* Major and Minor RE, PE
se D and Mysore Gr
- (ix) Inst pl ends in *-hi*, cf *tehi* K
- (x) Dat pl . ends in *-hi*, cf *tehi* G,K,M
- (xi) Gen pl *-sam* G,J,Rdh,Mth, Rp cf *tesam*
-sam S, K cf *teśam*
-śam S, K, cf *tānam* (cf nominal declension)
(a) Final anusvāra omitted cf. *tesa* G,d , *teśa* S,M
- (xii) Loc pl *-su tesu* PE

§ 76 Third Pers Pron — Feminine Base *tā-* (or *sī-* in nom)

- (i) Nom sg *-ā sā* G K , *sa* S,M
 - (a) K graphically gives *sā*
- (ii) Acc sg *-am tam* PE
- (iii) Dat sg *-ye tāye* PE
- (iv) Acc pl *-a* (i.e. *-ā*) *ta* (for *tā*) S,M

§ 77 Third Pers Pron — Neut Base *ta-* (or *sa-*)

- (i) Nom Acc sg *ta* G,K , *tam* S,D J,PE. (only Acc), MIRE (only Acc), *se* K,M,D,J,PE, MRE (also Mysore Gr)
 - (a) *se* is exceptionally found in G
 - (b) *se* is graphical at K , it is also found at Kq
 - (c) *so* and *sa* also occur at S
- (ii) Nom Acc pl *-m* cf *tāni* d, PE
 - (a) Forms *sa* in S and *se* in M are perhaps mas

§ 78 Pronominal base *na-* (cf Hemacandra III 70-77)

- (i) Acc pl Masc *ne* G
- (ii) Acc pl Neut *nām* G, PE

§ 79 Demonstrative *etad* Mās The base is either *eta* (and *esā-* in nom) or *etaka-*

- (i) Nom sg
esā G,D,PE (with *esā* cf *sā* and *Magā*)
ese K
eśe K,S,M, *esa* K,M
- (ii) Inst sg . *-na etakena* S,M,D,J , *etena* PE
 - (a) Final *-a* is lengthened at K, cf *etakenā*
- (iii) Dat sg *-ya* in the Western and Southern and *-ye* in other regions
etāya, *etākāya* G, (K),yr , *etāye*, S,M,K,D,J,PE, *etākāye* S,M,K(?),D.

(iv) Gen sg · The base becomes *eti*-⁷³ . *etiṣā* K (note the final -ā), *etisa* S,M, but *etasa* M,D,J.

(v) Loc sg · -*mhi* in the West and -*si* in the East *etamhi* G, *etasi* d,j

(vi) Nom pl · *ete* G,d,PE, *etā* S,M

(vii) Loc pl · -*su* cf *etesu* PE.

§ 80 Demonstrative *etad* Fem (base *esā*- or *etakā*-)

(i) Nom sg -ā *esā* G,RE, Mysore Gr *eṣa* K,S,M, *etā(ta)kā* j, *hesā* yr

§ 81 Demonstrative *etad* Neuter (The base is *eta*- or *esa*-).

(i) Nom. sg

1 -*a* or -*ami* cf *eta* or -*am* G,S,M, *esa* (or *esā*) G,D,J,PE,MRE

(cf Hem 3 85)

2 -*e* cf *ese* or *eṣe* K,S,M,b; *etake* S.

(ii) Acc sg · -*a* or -*am*, cf *eta* G, *etam* D,J,PE

(iii) Inst s -*na*, -*nā* and -*ni*, cf *elena* S, *etinā* ru, and *eteni* (for -*nā*) bh

(iv) Dat sg -*ya* *etiya* ru (note the base *eti*-), *etāya* br sd

(v) Nom Acc pl -*ni* *etāni* K,S,M,J,PE

§ 82 Demonstrative *idam*,—Mas

(i) Nom sg *ayam* G,K,S,M,D,J *īyam* K,D,J,MRE

(a) In the North-West we get also *ayi* S,M

(b) Loss of anusvāra is found in ru and mk, cf *īya*

(ii) Acc sg *ima* or *imam* MRE

(iii) Inst sg *iminā* G,br,sd,yr, *imena* J

(iv) Dat sg *imāye* D,ru

(v) Gen sg *imasa* G,M,D, *imasā* K, *imusa* S (note the base *imi*-).

(vi) Loc sg *imamhi* G

(vii) Nom pl · *ime* G,K,D,M,T,br,sd,jtr

(viii) Inst pl *imehi* D,J

§ 83 Demonstrative *idam*,—Feminine

(i) Nom sg *ayam* G, *īyam* G,K,M,Rdh, bh

(a) *aya* and *ayi* also occur at S(M)

(ii) Acc sg *imam* PE

(iii) Dat sg *imāya* G,K, *imāye* D,M, *imisa* S (an imperfect spelling of Pāli *imissā* cf HULTZSCH, p xciii)

(iv) Loc sg *imāyam* Kpb

§ 84 Demonstrative *idam*,—Neut

(i) Nom sg · *idam* G,S,M, *ayam* G, *īyam* K,S,M,D,J,PE, MRE

(a) Final anusvāra is dropped, cf *īya* Mysore Gr, M, *ida* G,S

(b) The N-Western dialect also furnishes the forms *imam*, *ima* and *īyo*

(ii) Acc sg *idam* G; *imam* K,S,M,D,J,MRE

(iii) Nom pl *imāni* PE

§ 85 Relative *yad*-, Masculine In the forms of all genders of this pronoun the loss of initial *y*- appears as an Eastern characteristic with its influence over other regions It never occurs in the West

73. This base is perhaps due to analogy with Pāli *kissa* *kassa* cf. HULTZSCH, p xciii.

- (i) Nom sg. -o in the West and N-West, -e elsewhere
 yo G,S,(M); ye K,M,D,J,PE.
 (a) initial y- is dropped and we get e K,D,J,PE,MRE.
- (ii) Inst sg -na cf. yena K,S,M,PE
 (a) ena is given by T,d,j
- (iii) Gen sg -sa yasa G,S,M
 (a) With the loss of initial y-, asa D,J and with the lengthening of final -a, asā K
- (iv) Nom pl ye G,K,S,M,D,J,PE
 (a) The form yā is given by ru
 (b) The loss of initial y- results in the form e K,M,D,J,PE
- (v) Gen pl : -sam or -šam, yesam G, yešam K, M, yeša S
- (vi) Loc pl -šu, -su, or -šu cf yešu K, yesu S, yešu M
- § 86 Relative yad-,—Feminine

- (i) Nom sg -ā yā D,T, ya S,M
 (a) Loss of y- cf ā d,j
- (ii) Nom pl -d yā G, ya S,M
- § 87 Relative yad-,—Neuter
- (i) Nom sg ya G,yr, yam S,M,yr, yē K,M,PE
 (a) Loss of y- e K,D,J,PE,MRE
 (b) kālsī dialect also gives the forms -a and -am
- (ii) Acc sg yam or ya G,K,S,M,MRE
 (a) am K,D,J,s
 (b) e M,K
 (c) The Mas form yo is given by the N-Western dialect
- (iii) Nom pl yām G, PE
 (a) ām D,J

§ 88 Interrogative Pronoun,—Masculine

- (i) Nom sg. -o in the West and -e in other regions
 ko-ci G, ke-cā D,J; ke-cha K, ke-chi M.
 (a) Ending -a is found in ka-ci at S
- (ii) Inst sg kena-ḥi in sn; *kinā in kinasu T (cf kinā, Hemacandra, III, 69; PISCHEL, *Grammatik* § 428 and HULTZSCH, p cxix)
- (iii) Abl sg a-kasmā d,j
- (iv) Acc pl -ānu cf kānu PE

§ 89 Interrogative Pronoun, neuter As in Mas most of the forms occur with the particle -cit

- (i) Nom, Acc sg ki- or kim- G,K,S,M,D,J,PE,MRE
 (a) In G kam occurs as an indefinite, the form occurs in D,J, also
 (b) ke-ci for kuncī is given by dh
 (c) PE give forms as kīmam and kimmam in the Acc
- (ii) Nom, Acc pl kānu K,D,J,PE

§ 90. Pronominal base anya-, Masculine

- (i) Nom sg ending -e appears even in G under the Eastern influence
 amāe G, aīe S,M, amne K,D,J,PE
 (a) The final -e > -i in the N-Western dialect, cf amī S

- (u) Dat sg -*ya* in the West and -*ye* elsewhere
añāya G , *añaye* S,M , *amñāye* K,D,J
- (iii) Gen sg -*sa* -*amñasa* G , -*añasa* S,M.
(a) Final -*a* > *ā* in K, cf -*anaśā* (-*ś-* being graphical)
- (iv) Loc sg -*mhi*, cf *añamhi* G
- (v) Nom pl -*e* in all versions
amñe or *añe* G,S,M , *amne* K,D,PE
- (vi) Gen pl -*nam*, cf *amñānam* T
- (vii) Loc pl -*su*, cf *amnesu* D,T.

§ 91 Pronominal base *anya-* Neuter

- (i) Nom sg -*a* or -*am* occurs in the West and N-West and -*e* in other regions.
aña G, *añam* S , *amne* K,D,J,Kq , *añe* M
(a) -*e* occurs in G cf *añe*
(b) -*a* occurs in T, cf *ana*

- (ii) Nom , Acc pl -*m* in all versions
añām G,S,M , *amñām* K,D,J,PE

§ 92 Pronominal base *surva-*, Masculine

- (i) Nom sg -*e* save PE
- (ii) Acc sg -*am*, *savam* K,D J,S,M (*savram*)
- (iii) Inst sg -*na*, *savena* d,j
(a) The dental is cerebralised, cf *savenā* j
- (iv) Gen sg -*sa*, *savasa* d,j
- (v) Loc sg -*e* in the West and -*si* in the North *save* G , *savasi* T
- (vi) Nom pl -*e* in all versions cf *save* Major RE
- (vii) Loc pl -*su* in all versions, but -*su* in the North and North-West
savesu G,D,J,K,T,sn , *savesu* S,M

§ 93 Pron base *sarva-*, Feminine

- (i) Nom sg -*ā*, *savā* K

§ 94 Pron base *sarva-*,—Neuter

- (i) Nom sg -*am* in the West and N-West and -*e* elsewhere
sarvam G , *savram* S,M , *save* K,D,J, *sarve* b
(a) -*a* occurs at K and yr in *sava*
(b) -*e* occurs at S,M cf *savre*

- (ii) Acc sg -*am* everywhere, cf *savam* G,K,S,D

§ 95 Pron base *ekalara-*

- (i) Loc sg ending -*mhi* in the West, -*e⁷⁴* in the N-West and -*si* in the North.
ekalaramhi G , *ekatare* S¹, *ekatalaśi* (1e -*si*) K

§ 96 Pron base **ekatya-*⁷⁵

- (i) Nom pl Mas -*ā*, *ekacā* G , *ekatiyā* K,D,J,M , *ekatta* S

§ 97 Pron base *itara-*

- (i) Nom sg Neut -*e*, *itale* K , *itare* M

§ 98 Pron base *ubhaya-*

- (i) Gen pl -*am*, *ubhayesam* K,M
(a) Final anusvāra is dropped in S cf *ubhayesa*

74. This is the reading of HULTZSCH , others read *ekataraspi*.

75 For Pāli *ekaca-* cf GEIGER, Pāli, § 113.

II NUMERALS

(A) CARDINALS

§ 99. ONE Mas₁ and Neut. base *eka-*

(1) Nom sg Mas. . -o in the West and -e elsewhere.

eko G , *eke* M,K,D,J,sn (*ikike*).(11) Acc. sg. Neut. : -am, *ekam* S,M,yr.(111) Inst. sg : -na, *ekena* d,j§ 100. One . Fem. base *ikā-* (for *ekā-*)(1) Nom. sg. . -ā, *ikā* sn(11) Acc sg . -am, *ikam* sn§ 101. Two . Mas and Neut *dva-* or *duva*

(1) Nom Masc -o in the West and -e elsewhere

dvo G , *duve* S,M,K,D,J(a) The final -e > -i at S, cf *duvi*(11) Nom Neut . -e, *duve* s(111) Inst . -hi, *duvehi* PE§ 102 Two . Fem base *dva-* or *duva-*(1) Nom . -e in G and -i in S . *dve* G, *duvi* S§ 103. THREE . Mas and Neut base *ti-* or *tri-* (*traya-*) .(1) Nom. Mas . -ī at G and *ō* at S *tī* or *trī* G , *trayo* S.(11) Nom Acc Neut. -ni, *tinī* K,M, and *timni* K,D,J,P7 (= Pkt *timni*).§ 104 THREE . Fem base *ti-*(1) Loc . -su, *tisu* PE

§ 105 FOUR Mas and Neut, forms are taken from Sk

(1) Nom Mas -o, *catpāro* G(11) Acc Masc -e *catūre* S,M(111) Nom Neut -i, *catāli* K (this form is used for Mas)§ 106 FIVE *pañca-*(1) Loc -su, *pañcasu* G,K,D,J , -*ṣu* S,M§ 107 SIX *ṣa-*.(1) Loc -*ṣu*, *ṣaṣu* S,M,K§ 108 EIGHT *aṣṭa* S,M,K§ 109 TEN *daśa* G,K,D,J , *daśa* S,M§ 110 TWELVE *dvādaśa* G , *badaya(śa)*^{s70} , *duvādaśa* K,T,Rdh,Rp,bb ,
duvādaśa D,J , *duvadaśa* and *duvadaśa* M , *duvāṣa* Mth§ 111 THIRTEEN *trādaśa* G , *tedaśa* K,D,J , *tredaśa* M , *todaśa* S⁷¹§ 112 FOURTEEN *codasa* ng§ 113 NINETEEN *ekunavīsati* bb§ 114. TWENTY *vīsati* rm, ng§ 115 TWENTY-FIVE *pañnavīsati* PE§ 116 TWENTY-SIX . *sadvīsati* PE§ 117. TWENTY-SEVEN *satavīsati* T§ 118 FIFTY-SIX *śapamṇā* s76 The Niya form is *badāśa*, see BURROW § 89.77. The Niya form is *trodasa*, see BURROW § 89.

§ 119. HUNDRED : base *sata-*.

- (i) Nom pl Masc : *-ā, satā* MRE.
- (ii) Acc pl Neut : *-ni, satāni* or *śatani* Major RE.
- (iii) Inst pl *-hi, śatehi* or *śatehi* Major RE
- (iv) Loc pl *-su, śateṣu* K, *śateṣu* S, *sateṣu* M.

§ 120 THOUSAND base *sahas-*.

- (i) Loc pl *-su, sahasesu* J, *sahasenum*⁷⁸ d (as read by HULTZSCH ; others read *-su*)

§ 121 HUNDRED-THOUSAND base *sata-sahas-*

- (i) Nom sg *-e, śata-sahasre* S,M, *śata-śaṣe* K
- (ii) Nom pl *-ni, sata-sahasrām* G, *-sahasam* S, *-sahasam* M, *-sahasām* K,D,J.
- (iii) Loc pl : *-su, sata-sahasesu* PE

(B) ORDINALS :

§ 122 FOURTEENTH *cāvudasā* PE

§ 123 FIFTEENTH *paññadasā* PE, *paññadasā* Ksb *paññāṣasā* Rdh, Mth.

§ 124 HUNDREDTH *sata-* S,M, *śata-* K

§ 125 THOUSANDTH *sohasra-* S, M, *sahaṣa-* K

III CONJUGATION

§ 126 As in declension, the conjugational system of the inscriptions is much simplified. Thus the dual number is altogether lost and the middle voice lingers on only in the West. Yet as the forms given below will bear out, in comparison with later Prakrits, the conjugational system of the Aśokan inscriptions still bears an archaic nature. The ten classes of verbs found in the old system are mostly reduced to the *-a* class, and in some measure to the *-aya* class. The full forms in Sanskrit with the necessary phonetic changes are also inherited in some cases.

§ 127 PRESENT INDICATIVE,—Active

- (i) 1st pers sg *-nu* in all versions

karomi G, *karemi* S,M, *palakamāmi* D,J, *vidahāmi* PE

ichāmi MRE, *sumi* MRE

- (a) *-ni* in *palakamāmi* at K is a mistake.

- (ii) 3rd pers sg *-ti* in all versions

ichati S,M,K,D,J, *dekhati* PE, *pasati* G, *hoti* Mysore Gr, *athu* ru, s, *ānapayati* yr

- (iii) 1st pers pl *-ma, susuma* yr

- (iv) 3rd pers pl *-anti* in all versions except G

-ati (with loss of anusvāra) G and all other versions

ichati, prāpunati G, *ichanti* S,M,K,D,J, *laghamti* PE

vaṣati K, *vasati* S,M, *kaleti* D,J

§ 128 PRESENT INDICATIVE,—Middle

- (i) 3rd sg *-te* occurs only in the West, other regions give active *-ti*.

karote G, but *kaleti* K,D,J, *karoti* S,M

- (a) *-ti* occurs in G cf *karoti*

- (b) *-te* occurs in D cf *mamrate*

78. For the use of *-(e)sum* in literary Prakrits HULTZSCH compares PISCHEL, Gr. § 371.

(ii) 3rd pl. :

1 -*te* in G alone cf. *karomte*2 -*re*⁷⁹ in G, *anuvatare*, but *anuvatamti* K, *anuvatamti* S.

§ 129. PRESENT SUBJUNCTIVE,—Active

- (i) 1st sg. : -*mi* in all versions The term is of indicative
sukhāpayāmi G, *sukhāyāmi* K,S,M,D,J, *sāvāpayāmi* PE
 (a) Final -*i* > *ī*, cf. *āvahāmi* Rdh

(ii) 3rd sg. :

1 -*ā* (< -*āt* ?) G, *manñā*⁸⁰2 -*tu* K. The term is of imperative, *susuṣātu*3 -*ti* sn The term. is of indicative, *huvāti*(iii) 1st pl -*ma* at M *dīpayama*(iv) 2nd pl -*thā*, *nikhīpātha* and *vivāsāpayāthā* sn, *likhāpayāthā* s

(v) 3rd pl :

1 -*tu* at K, *palakamātu*2 -*vū* at D, J The term is of optative cf *nikhāmāvū*

§ 130 SUBJUNCTIVE Middle

- (i) 3rd pl . -*te* only at M. *parakramate* (HULTZSCH's reading)

§ 131 OPTATIVE Active

- (i) 1st sg . -*eyam* in the West and the N-West and -*eham* elsewhere
gacheyam G, *vāceyam* S, *yeham* K,K,D,J
abhyumnāmayeham T

(ii) 3rd sg. :

1 *va*, *asa* G (= Pāli *assa* for **asyāt*)⁸¹2 -*e*, *bhave* G, *ugacha(che)* d3 -*eyā*⁸², in all versions *īsteya* G, *nuvāteyā* K; *dakheyā* d,J;
anupāṭipajeyā T, *adhigacheyā* mk4 -*yā*, *siyā* S,M,D,J,PE, MRE5 -*ti*, (indicative term) in North and N-West *siyāti* K,S,M6 -*vā*, *pāpovā* PE(iii) 1st pl . -*ema*, *dīpayema* G,K, *gachema* d,J

(iv) 3rd pl

1 -*u* G,K,S,M, cf *asu* (= Pāli *assu* for **asyuh*)⁸³2 -*eyā* in all versions, *vaseyu* S,M,G, *huveyu* K, *caleyū* J,
pakameyu br, sd, *suneyu* bb3 -*evū*, in non-Western regions, *vasevu* K, *calevū* d; *pavatayevū* and
upadahevū PE, *jānevu* yr4 -*vu*, *yāvu* sn

§ 132 OPTATIVE,—Middle

- (i) 3rd sg -*tha*⁸⁴ only in G, *paṭipajetha*, other versions give active forms like
paṭipajeyā S,M,K,D,J

79 For the use of -*re* in Vedic Sk, Pkt, and Pāli cf PISCHEL § 458.80 With this form HULTZSCH compares such Vedic forms as *paśyāt*, see p lxvii

81 HULTZSCH, p lxvii

82 For parallels to this contracted term, cf HULTZSCH, p. lxxxii

83 HULTZSCH, p lxvii

84 For this term cf GEIGER, *Pāli*, §129

(ii) 3rd pl (desiderative): *-era* only in G, *susumsera*; other versions have *śuśuṣeyu* K, *suśruṣeyu* S,M

§ 133 IMPERATIVE,—Active

(i) 3rd sg . *-tu*, *hotu* K,D,J,RE,MRE; *bhotu* S,M

(ii) 2nd pl . *-tha* in all versions (indicative ending)

paṭivedetha G, *dekhatha* d,j, *likhāpayatha* s, *nivesayātha* yr

(a) *-ta* is obtained in *lekhāpeta* ru

(iii) 3rd pl *-amtu*, *yujāmtu* Major RE, *anupaṭipajāmtu* PE *jānamtu* Kpb.

(a) The anusvāra is dropped in *nyātu* G, *manatu* K, *mañatu* S

(b) *-ru* (due to the influence of middle ending) occurs only at G,
cf *srunāru*

§ 134. IMPERATIVE,—Middle

(i) 3rd sg passive *-tām* only in G *anuvīdhīyatām*, S,M,K give active, *anuvīdhīyatu*

desider *tā* only in G, *susrusatā*, but active forms such as *susuṣātu* (K), *susūsatu* (DJ) are found in other versions

(ii) 3rd pl *-ram* in G, *anuvālarām*, but active *anuvālamtu* K, *-vālatu* S,D

§ 135 IMPERFECT,—Active

(i) 3rd sg form of *bhū* is *aho* (< **abhot*⁸⁵ ?) everywhere

§ 136 AORIST,—Active

(i) 1st sg *-sam*, *husam* Mysore gr *-sa*, *husa* yr

(ii) 3rd sg *-mi*, *nīkrami* S,M, *nīkhami* D

(iii) 3rd pl *-su*, *ñayāsu*⁸⁶ G, *nīkhamisu* K,D,J, *abhuvāsu*⁸⁷ S,M,
husu PE,MRE

(a) *-msu*, *ahumsu*⁸⁸ G

(b) *-ṣu*, *nīkramiṣu* S,M, *manuṣu* K

§ 137 AORIST,—Subjunctive

(i) 3rd pl *-ṣu*, *mañuṣu* S,M *-sā*, *alocayisā* D,J,M,K

§ 138 AORIST,—Middle

(i) 3rd sg . *-thā*⁸⁹ *nīkhamithā* K, *hulhā* and *vadhulhā* T The middle forms occur in K and T only exceptionally Active forms are employed elsewhere Cf *nīkromi* S,M, *nīkhami* D

(a) The ending is cerebralised in *nīkhamithā* So

§ 139 PERFECT,—Active

(i) 3rd sg of 'to speak' The forms are *āhā* in all versions

(a) Forms *ahati* and *hahati* occur in S

§ 140 FUTURE,—Active The occasional change of *-s-* > *-h-* in the plural term is noteworthy.

85 HULTZSCH, p lxviii

86 This equals Sk **nyayāsuh*, HULTZSCH, p lxviii.

87 The term *-su* affixed to Sk Aorist form *abhūvan*, cf JOHANSSON, *Dialect der Shāh. Redaction*, § 30

88 This is based on 3rd sg *chu-* = Sk *abhūt*, HULTZSCH, p lxviii.

89 For Pālī and Ardha-Māgadhi term. *-tthā*, see MULLER, *Pālī Gr* p 115 and PISCHEL, *Gr* § 517

(1) 1st sg .

1 -*sa-* or -*ṣa-*, in the West, N-West and PE *lkhāpayisaṃ* G ;
palibhasayisaṃ PE, *kaṣaṃ* S

2. -*śāmi*, -*sāmi* in the East and N-West *lekhāpeśāmi* K,S,M,
hosāmi D,J.

(a) M. once gives -*ṣami* cf *kaṣami*

(b) K. once gives *kachāmi*

(ii) 3rd sg : -*satī*, -*śatī* or -*ṣatī* almost in all versions

āṇpayisatī G, *khamisatī* D,J, *vadhūsatī* S, *vaḍḥisatī* PE,s,b ,

ānapayisatī yr ; *kaṣatī* S,M

(a) The vowel -*a* in -*satī* becomes -*i-* due to -*y-* (in -*syatī*) especially in the South *vadhūsitī* br,sd,jtr,mk,Kpb,ru , *vadhūsitā* for -*sitī* (?) yr.

(b) The following inherited forms may be noted *kachatī* K,D,J,PE,
bhākhātī (and *caḡhātī*) PE

(iii) 2nd pl -*sathā* and -*hatha*, *esatha* j = *ehatha* d *ālādhasīsthā* d,j(iv) 3rd pl -*saṃtī*, -*śaṃtī* or *ṣaṃtī*

anusāstisaṃtī, G,K, *nīkhamisaṃtī* D,J, *anapeśaṃtī* and *kaṣaṃtī* S,
vadhūsaṃtī PE

(a) Note the forms *kachamī* K,D,J,PE , *chaghāmī* PE

(b) -*s-* > -*h-* in the ending -*hanī*, *dāhamī* PE ; *hohanī* T

§ 141 FUTURE,—Middle.

(i) 3rd pl -*sa-re* only in G, *anuvatisare* , other versions give active *anuvati-*
saṃtī D,K (-*vaṭi-*), -*śaṃtī* S,M

§ 142 PASSIVE,—Indicative

(1) 3rd sg -*tī* in non-Western area

pasavatī K,S,M (*pra-*), *khādīyatī* PE

(ii) 3rd pl -*re* only in the West, *ārabhare* G , but -*amī* in the rest, *anuvīdhī-*
yamī K,PE, *ālabbhiyamī* M,D,J

§ 143 PASSIVE,—Imperative

(1) 3rd sg. -*tām* only in G *anuvīdhīyatām* , but *anuvīdhīyatu* S,M.

(ii) 3rd pl -*amtu*, *anuvīdhīyamtu* K

§ 144 PASSIVE,—Optative

(1) 3rd sg -*yā*, *diseyā* bh

(ii) 3rd pl. :

1 -*yā* or -*vū*, *yujeyā* j, *yujevū* d

2. -*su* (Aorist term see above § 128) *hamñiyasu* S

§ 145 PASSIVE,—Aorist

(1) 3rd pl : -*su*, *ārabhisu* G,M, *arabhiyasu* S, *āla(m)bhīyasu* K,D,J

§ 146 PASSIVE,—Future

(1) 3rd pl. : -*sare* in G, *ārabhisare* G , but -*saṃtī* elsewhere

susumsera G , *śuśuṣyu* K , *suśruṣeyu* E,M

§ 147 PASSIVE,—Middle

(i) 3rd pl. : -*re*, *ārabhare* G , -*īya-re*, *anuvīdhīyare* G.

§ 148 FUTURE PASSIVE,—Middle

(i) 3rd pl. : *īsa-re*, *ārabhisare* G.

§ 149. DESIDERATIVE,—Imperative.

- (i) 3rd sg. : -*lā* G, -*tu* S,M,D,J.
susrusatā G ; *susūsatu* D,J , *suśruṣatu* S,M

§ 150. DESIDERATIVE,—Optative

- (i) 3rd pl : -*ra* in G ; -*yu* K,S,M
susumsera G ; *ṣuṣuṣeyu* K , *suśruṣyu* S,M

§ 151. DESIDERATIVE,—Subjunctive

- (i) 3rd sg. : -*tu*, *susuṣātu* K.

§ 152. PRESENT PARTICIPLE,—Active

- (i) -*anta*-, or -*ta*- (with the loss of anusvāra), *santa*- Major RE, PE, MRE ;
kalata- K, *karata*- S,M , *aśala*- M

(a) The two forms *karum* and *karu* occur in G as nom sg Ma^c

§ 153. PRESENT PARTICIPLE,—Middle

- (i) The ending -*māna* occurs in all versions
bhumjamāna- G , *adamāna*- K,D,J , *aśamana*- S (but active form *aśata*- in M), *viṣinamana*- S,K , *anuvekkhamāna*- T, *samāna*- (< √as-) br, sd.
 (a) The ending sometimes takes the form -*mīna* cf *samṣaṭṭipajamīna*- d, *vipaṭṭipādayamīna*- d (but active form -*pālayamīna*- in j), *pāyamīna*- PE , *pakamamīna*- sd,yr,ru,b , *palakamamīna*- s
 (b) The dental is cerebralised in the South. cf. *pakamamīna*- (?) br ; *samāna*- Kpb

§ 154. PAST PARTICIPLE,—Passive

- (i) -*ta*, *mata*- Major RE, T , *prakamta*- Mysore Gr , *pakamta*- MRE ;
upayita- yr
 (a) The ending is often cerebralised (under the influence of *ṛ*) in non-Western regions cf *kata*- M,K,D,J,T, sn,rm,ru,Kpb , *apakattha*- PE ; *vyūṭṭha*- ru,yr (but *vyūṭha*- br)
 (ii) *na*, most of the forms are inherited from Sanskrit
prasamna- G , *prasana*- S,M , *paśamna*- K, -*uvigina*- d,j
 (a) For Pkt forms cf *dimna*- T , *dina*- bb
 (b) For a few other inherited forms cf *ladha*- G,K,S,M , *suḍha*- S,D,J,So , *pata*- PE ; *asvatha*- PE , etc

§ 155. FUTURE PARTICIPLE,—Passive

- (i) -*tavya* used in the West and the South , -*taviya*- (or -*ṭaviya*) in other regions
katavya- G ; *drahstavya*- Mysore Gr , *kaṭaviya*- M,K,D,J,T , *puṣetaviya* S,M , *hamtaviya*- PE, *dekhstaviya*- MRE.
 (a) -*ṭaviya* occurs in the South, cf. *kaṭaviya*- sd, jtr.
 (b) -*y*- of the ending is characteristically dropped in S, cf *viṣetaviya*-
 (c) -*vy*- of the ending is assimilated to -*v*- in S, cf *kaṭava*-
 (d) -*tavya* occurs as an exception in the East. cf. *samcchitavya*- j (but -*taviya*- d)
 (e) forms with -*tavāya* are apparently mistaken cf *lā(li)khāpetavaya*- ru ; *vivasetavāya* ru
 (f) similarly *ichitaya*- in j is perhaps meant for -*taviya*-

(ii) -*anya*- . *vedaniya*- K,S,M ; *asvāsaniya*- j.

(iii) -*ya* : Most of the forms are assimilated or dissolved and a few are palatalised.
saka- G Mk, sd , *śaka*- S,M , *dupaṭivēkha*- PE , *sakīya*- J,ru,yr,
cakīya- d,j,s,b,Kpb , *kaca*- G

(a) The cluster is preserved in *avadhya*- Rdh (but *avadhiya*- T) ; *cakya* b.

§ 156 INFINITIVES,

(i) of Accusa -*tu* (< -*tum*) *ārādhetu* G

(ii) of Dat -*tave* (< -*tava*) *chamitave* G, *khamitave* D,J , *bhetave* (< √*bhid*)
 PE ; *jāpotave* MRĒ , *ārādheta* yr

(a) The dental is cerebralised in *palihata* T

§ 157 ABSOLUTIVES The distinction between -*tvā* and -*ya* is not maintained
 Of the two types of absolutes, those with -*tvā* are more commonly used

(i) -*tpā* (< -*tvā*) . in the West, *ārabhṭpā* G

(ii) -*tu* (< -*tvā*) in other versions *sutu* K,T , *śrutu* S,M ; *jāntu* d.

(a) The dental is cerebralised in *kaṭu* d. *kaṭū* j

(b) The ending is extended to -*tūnam* in bb cf *abhivādetūnam*⁹⁰

(iii) -*ya* *sachāya* (< *sa*m-√*kṣā*) = *sa*m-*khyā* G , *sa*m-*khyā* S,M

(a) Instead of the form *sa*m-*kheye* at K we are asked to read *sa*m-*khyā*.

(b) The final -*a* > -*ā*, cf *sa*m-*namdhāpayā* s.1

(c) The palatalised form *āgāca* occurs in rm, ng

(d) The cluster is preserved in *adhigīya* bh

(iv) -*ti* (< Vedic -*tvī*) is found only in the N-Western dialect.⁹¹

Cf *tithiti*, *vijimti* S , *draśeti* M

90 Cf PISCHEL, Gr § 585 .

91. It is found in the Niyā 'Prakrit' as well See BURROW, § 102.

CHAPTER II

HISTORICAL LINGUISTICS OF THE WESTERN GROUP

Prakrit Inscriptions of Western India.

§ 158 INTRODUCTORY

The Prakrit inscriptions which have been treated in this group are mostly centred in the Bombay Presidency*, their northern limit being in the East Khandesh district and the southern one in the North Kanara district. These limits will incidentally point to an interesting fact that a large number of these inscriptions—about 206 out of 208—have their venue in the districts of Mahārāshtra. In point of time they vary from the 3rd cent B.C. to the 2nd cent A.D. and supply us with sufficient material for a historical treatment century by century. The following numbered paragraphs contain the necessary information about these inscriptions which are arranged chronologically.

1 **Vakālā Stone Inscriptions** (L 968-L 972) The place Vakālā is situated about one mile to the south-west of Gas village in Sopārā in the Thānā Dist. of the Bombay Presidency*. There are in all five short inscriptions, the characters of which are old enough to justify their being ascribed to the Aśokan period.

2 **Paṭhyār Rock Inscription** (L 9) The place is situated in the Kāngra Dist. of Punjab, and as such is far away in the north. It is, however, included here for the sake of convenience. The linguistic material which it affords is very poor and hence its inclusion does not disturb the geographical study. The legend in the Kharoṣṭhī script has been excluded here. The Brāhmī characters of the inscription belong to the Aśokan period.

3 **Bhājā Cave Inscriptions** (L 1078-L 1085) Bhājā is placed in the Māvaḷ tāluk of the Poona Dist. in the Bombay Presidency. The Buddhist caves at Bhājā are the oldest ones in Western India and belong to the 2nd cent B.C. There are in all eight Prakrit inscriptions, short in length, in these caves. The oldest inscription among them (L 1078) is engraved in viḥāra No. 17. The characters of this inscription are so old that it can be safely assigned to a period considerably anterior to the beginning of the Christian era. The inscription standing over two rock-cisterns between caves XIV and XVII (L 1079) is in much later characters. But as it does not show any linguistic difference from the older inscriptions it is treated below together with the rest of the inscriptions.

5 **Kondāne Cave Inscription** (L 1071)¹ The village Kondāne is situated in the Karjat tāluk of the Kolābā Dist. in the Bombay Presidency. The Bhājā caves may be a little earlier than the caves at Kondāne, but the difference is so slight that they may be considered as contemporary or very nearly so. These caves have but only one short Prakrit inscription in characters of about the 2nd cent B.C.

* In this and subsequent sections the old term "Presidency" has been used instead of the current term "Province" since all the old references to find spots etc. in LÜDERS' *Lists* contains that word as it was current then.

1. For one more inscription from Kondāne see Addenda, No. 5.

6. **Beḍṣā Cave Inscriptions** (L 1109-L 1111) Beḍṣā is situated in the Māvaḷ tāluk of the Poona Dist., a few miles south west of Khandālā railway station on the Bombay-Poona division. In point of time the caves are only next to Bhājā and Koṇḍāne and hence may be regarded to belong to the second century B.C. There are only three Prakrit inscriptions in these caves inscribed in characters of quite an early type.

6. **Nādsur Cave Inscriptions** (L 1067-L 1068) Nādsur is a small village in Pant Sachiv of Bhor's Konkan districts in the Bombay Presidency. It has two short Prakrit inscriptions, the date of which is taken to be second cent. B.C.

7. **Kōlhāpur Casket Inscription** (L 1185) In making some excavations at Kōlhāpur, a big State in the Bombay Presidency, the foundations of a large stūpa were turned up. In the centre of it was discovered a square stone box containing a relic casket. On the square lid of this stone box is engraved a Prakrit Inscription in Maurya characters.

8. **Pittalkhōrā Cave Inscriptions** (L 1187-L 1193) These caves are excavated near the deserted village of Patna, 12 miles to the south of Chālisgaon in the East Khāndesh Dist. of the Bombay Presidency. They belong to a very early date ranking with Bhājā and Koṇḍāne caves. There are in all seven short Prakrit inscriptions in these caves. The alphabet of these inscriptions belongs to about 100 B.C. or a little earlier than that.

9. **Ajanṭā Cave Inscriptions** (L 1197-L 1199) Ajanṭā caves are situated about three and a half miles south-west from Phardapur, in the Aurangābād Dist. of H.E.H. the Nizam's Dominions. There are in all three Prakrit inscriptions in these caves, L 1197 is the oldest among the group and is inscribed in the characters of about the first or even the second century B.C. L 1198 is also inscribed in early characters. L 1199 is a painted inscription in cave No. X and its characters belong to the same age as the carved inscriptions elsewhere of the Āndhra period. Thus there is a good deal of difference in time between this latter inscription and the former two. But it is only fragmentary in character and yields scanty material to justify our dealing with it separately from the other two.

10. **Kārlē Cave Inscriptions—Part I** (L 1086-L 1098, L 1101-L 1104, L 1107-L 1108) The Kārlē caves are situated some thirty-five miles north-west of Poona in the Bombay Presidency. LUDERS has listed in all twenty-three inscriptions from these Buddhist caves. BUHLER divides all these inscriptions into two parts on palaeographic grounds. The one he characterises as the earliest Kārlē inscriptions and the other as the inscriptions of the Āndhra and the Kṣatrapa period. Here we are concerned with the first group, which is styled as Kārlē I in the ensuing discussion, for its date is about the second century B.C. or a little later than that. To these inscriptions in LUDERS's list, which number nineteen in all, we may now add twelve more inscriptions from the same place. They are edited by Pandit Madho Sarup VATS³ in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. 18. To this collection again Professors Nilkanta SASTRI and K.

2. The painted inscription in cave No. 9 is not included by LUDERS in his list. The characters are perhaps of the 5th cent. A.D., and only a fragment of it is left. It reads—*"deyadhama sya ma"*. It is probably in the mixed dialect and not of much value for the present study. Cf. *ASWI* 4 151, n. 4.

GOPALACHARI in their Epigraphic Notes⁴ add one more inscription of about the same period. All these inscriptions are, of course, in Prakrit.

11 Kuṇḍā Cave Inscriptions (L 1037-L 1066) The Kuṇḍā caves are situated in the Kolābā Dist. about forty five miles south of Bombay. There are in all thirty inscriptions in these caves of which twenty five are found to be in Prakrit. None of the inscriptions gives any date or point of contact with any known dynasty. The alphabet of the inscriptions, however, justifies us in placing them early in the list of inscriptions. They belong to a period late in the second century B.C. or perhaps early in the first century B.C. The other five inscriptions (L 1042-L 1044, L 1046 and L 1047) are written in mixed dialect and in characters of about the fifth or sixth century A.D. Hence they are not treated here.

12. Nānāghāṭ Cave Inscriptions I (L 1112-L 1118) These seven inscriptions in Prakrit were found in a cave at the top of the Nānāghāṭ, a pass which leads from Konkan to the ancient town of Junnar in the Poona Dist. Out of these inscriptions L 1112 occupies the left and the right side walls while the rest (L 1113-L 1118) are incised as labels above the heads of a number of portrait figures carved on the back-wall. The characters of these inscriptions exactly resemble those of the inscriptions of King Kanha in the Nāsik caves and hence they are placed in the first century B.C.

13 Nāsik Cave Inscriptions I LUDERS has listed altogether twenty-eight inscriptions from the Pāṇḍu Lena caves at Nāsik, a district place in the Bombay Presidency. Out of these, one inscription (L 1145) is written in Sanskrit and three (L 1131, L 1136-L 1137) in mixed dialect. The remaining twenty-two have been inscribed in Prakrit and in characters of different dates. A few of them have been regularly dated in the regnal years of the Āndhra Kings and of the Kṣātrapa King Nahapāna.

Here in the first division we include only four inscriptions (L 1140-L 1142, L 1144) in Prakrit which belong on palaeographic grounds to the first century B.C.

14 Karāḍh Cave Inscription (L 1184) The place is situated thirty miles south of Sātārā, a district place in the Bombay Presidency. There is only one Prakrit inscription here, the characters of which belong to the first century B.C.

15 Junnar Cave Inscriptions (L 1150-L 1183) The town of Junnar is situated fifty-five miles north of Poona. The Buddhist caves round Junnar are numerous in number and varying in dates. There are in all thirty-four inscriptions from these caves, all of them being in Prakrit. Most of the inscriptions are short, giving the name of the donor and the description of the gift. There is only one inscription here (L 1174) which is dated in the forty-sixth year of the Kṣātrapa King Nahapāna. The rest of the inscriptions vary in characters, though not in language, from about 150 B.C. to 150 A.D. Most of them, however, belong to the first century A.D. There are three inscriptions (L 1159-L 1161) in these caves which are written in some obscure language the meaning of which yet remains unfathomed.

16 Nāsik Cave Inscriptions II This is the second group of the inscriptions at Nāsik consisting of four Prakrit inscriptions (L 1127, L 1138, L 1148 and L 1149). Palaeographically they are ascribed to about the beginning of the Christian era.

3. "Unpublished Votive Inscriptions in the Caitya Cave at Karle", *EI* 18 325-9

4. *EI* 24 279-82.

17 Nāsik Cave Inscriptions III This is the third division of five Prakrit inscriptions from Nāsik (L 1131-L 1135) They belong to the time of Uṣavadāta i.e. the first (or second) century A.D. The dialect of the inscriptions, as will be shown below, has a few traces of mixed dialect

18 Padana Rock Inscriptions (L 973-L 983) The Padana Hill, a great block of trap in Sālsette, is situated about 15 miles north of Bombay There are in all eleven inscriptions here of which only the last one (L 983) is in Sanskrit giving the Buddhist creed The remaining ten are in Prakrit and their characters enable us to conclude that they belong to about the first (or the second) century A.D. The inscriptions are very short, at times consisting of only a single word

19 Kōl Cave Inscriptions (L 1075- L 1077) About a mile south-east of Mahād in a hill behind the village of Kōl in the Kolābā Dist. are two small groups of caves In the second group there are three short Prakrit inscriptions of about the first century A.D.

20 Śailār-wāḍī Cave Inscription (L 1121) Śailār-wāḍī caves are situated some fourteen miles east of Kārle They have only one Prakrit inscription of the period of the first century A.D.

21 Nānāghāt Cistern Inscriptions II (L 1110-L 1120) This second division of the Nānāghāt inscriptions consists of two cistern inscriptions in Prakrit They are much later than the cave inscriptions noticed above (cf. Nānāghāt I) and belong to the first century A.D.

22 Nāsik Cave Inscriptions IV The Prakrit inscriptions from the Pāṇḍu Lenā caves at Nāsik which fall in this last division of Nāsik inscriptions belong to the Andhra period L 1122-L 1124 are dated in the regnal years of rājā Vasiṭhūputa Sīri Puṣumāyī, L 1125-L 1126 in the years of Gotamīputa Sātakaṁ and L 1146 in the year of Gotamīputa Sāmi-Sīriyaṇa Sātakaṁ L 1128-L 1130, L 1139 and L 1143 also belong to the same period i.e. the first or the second century A.D.

23 Kārle Cave Inscriptions II In this second division of Kārle inscriptions fall the four later inscriptions viz. L 1099-L 1100, L 1105-L 1106 belonging to the second century A.D.

24 Kanhēri Cave Inscriptions (L 984-L 1034) LUDERS has listed in all fifty-one inscriptions from the Buddhist caves at Kanhēri, about 20 miles to the north of Bombay A few among them are written in Sanskrit or mixed dialect, but no less than nineteen of them have so far not been read at all This forms a very serious hindrance in the way of giving a full picture of the dialect preserved in these inscriptions The characters of the inscriptions belong to the Andhra variety, thus enabling us to put them in the first or second century A.D.

25 Mahād Cave Inscriptions (L 1072-L 1074) The Pāla or Mahād caves are situated about a mile to the south-east of Mahād in the Kolābā Dist. The three Prakrit inscriptions carved in these caves date in the second century A.D.

26. Banavāsī Stone Inscription (L 1186) The inscription is carved on the two edges of a large stone slab in the court of a great temple of Banavāsī in the North Kanara Dist. of the Bombay Presidency The characters of the inscription belong to the second century A.D.

§ 159 Note : The table below indicates the distribution of these Inscriptions according to their time-sequence

Period.	Inscription.	No.
3rd cent. B C	L 968-L 972 , L 9	6
2nd cent. B C.	L 1078-L 1085 , L 1071 , L 1109-L 1111 , L 1067-L 1068 , L 1185	15
End of 2nd cent B C	L 1187-L 1193 , L 1197-L 1199 , L 1086- L 1098 , L 1101-L 1104 , L 1107-L 1108 plus 13 additions	47
1st cent B C	L 1037-L 1066 , L 1112-L 1118 , L 1140- L 1142 , L 1144 , L 1184	37
1st cent B C —	L 1150-L 1183	34
1st cent A D	L 1127 , L 1138 , L 1148-L 1149 , L 1131- L 1135 , L 973-L 983 , L 1075-L 1077 , L 1121 , L 1119-L 1120 , L 1122-L 1126 , L 1128-L 1130 , L 1139 , L 1143 , L 1146- L 1147	37
2nd cent A D	L 1099-L 1100 , L 1105-L 1106 , L 984- L 1034 , L 1072-L 1074 , L 1186	32

PHONOLOGY

I VOWELS

§ 160 Treatment of the vowel *ɾ* Excepting a few examples in the Nāsik Inscriptions of Nahapāna (i.e. Nāsik III) where the vowel *ɾ* is preserved, it is usually changed to *a*, *i* or *u* in these inscriptions

(a) The change *ɾ* > *a*

Koṇḍāṇe	Sk <i>Kṛṣṇa</i> > <i>Kanha</i> - L 1071 Sk <i>kṛtā</i> > <i>kata</i> - L 1071
Nādsur	Sk <i>kṛtā</i> > <i>kata</i> - L 1067
Pittalkhorā	Sk <i>Mṛgula</i> > <i>Magula</i> - L 1189 etc
Kārlē I	Sk <i>grhastha</i> > <i>gahata</i> - L 1091 Sk <i>grhapati</i> > <i>gahapati</i> - EI 18 328 12
Kuḍā	Sk <i>grhapati</i> > <i>ga ha pati</i> - L 1058
Nānāghāt	Sk <i>prthwī</i> > <i>pathavi</i> - L 1112 Also cf <i>gahapati</i> - L 1112
Nāsik I	Sk <i>kṛpānā</i> > <i>kapana</i> - L 1141
Junnar	Sk <i>-bhṛtī</i> > <i>-bhatī</i> - L 1163, L 1166 Also cf <i>gaha</i> - L 1153, L 1157
Nāsik II	cf <i>gahapati</i> - L 1127
Nāsik III	Sk <i>vṛddhi</i> > <i>vadhī</i> - L 1133
Kōl	cf <i>gahapati</i> - L 1075. It occurs also at Śailārwaḍī (L 1121) and Nānāghāt II (L 1120).
Nāsik IV	Sk <i>tṛtīya</i> > <i>talīya</i> - L 1146 Sk <i>kṛṣyate</i> > <i>kasate</i> L 1126.

Mahāḍ	. cf <i>gahapati-</i> L 1073.
Kārlē II	. Sk <i>ṛṭṭiya-</i> > <i>tatiya-</i> L 1106 ¹
Kaṇhēri	: Sk <i>Kṛṣṇasāila-</i> > <i>Kanhasela-</i> L 1013 ² , L 1028 ³ . Sk <i>parigṛhita-</i> > <i>parigahita-</i> L 1104
Banavāsī	. Sk. <i>ṛtā-</i> > <i>kata-</i> L 1186 ³

Thus the treatment of the vowel *ṛ* > *a* is almost the standard type of change in these inscriptions. Most of the groups of inscriptions noted above do not show any other type of change, and where they do it is only in a few cases

(b) The change *ṛ* > *ṛi* :

Kuḍā	. Sk <i>ṛṣi-</i> > <i>ṛsi-</i> L 1048
Junnar	: cf <i>ṛsi-</i> L 1176
Nāsik IV	Sk <i>ṛṭāparādha-</i> > <i>ṛṭāparādha-</i> ⁵ L 1123 Sk <i>sadrśa-</i> > <i>sadṛśa-</i> L 1123
Kaṇhēri	Sk <i>Rṣipāla-</i> > <i>Ṛṣipāla-</i> L 1000 ¹

Thus if we except the words with *ṛsi-* there are few other words exemplifying the change *ṛ* > *ṛi*

(c) The change *ṛ* > *u* :

Nādsur	Sk <i>bhrātṛ-</i> > <i>bhātu-</i> L 10 ¹⁸
Kārlē I	. Sk <i>Ṛsabhadatta-</i> > <i>Usabhadatta-</i> L 1097
Kuḍā	Sk <i>duhitṛ-</i> > <i>duhutu-</i> ⁶ L 1048 etc Sk <i>Mṛgadāsa-</i> > <i>Mugadā[sa]-</i> L 1061 Also cf <i>bhātu-</i> L 1045
Nāsik I	Sk <i>mātṛ-</i> > <i>mātu-</i> L 1141 Also cf <i>duhutu-</i> L 1141
Nāsik II ⁷	Sk <i>vṛddhika-</i> > <i>vudhika-</i> L 1148
Nāsik III	Sk <i>Ṛsabhadatta-</i> > <i>Uṣavadāta-</i> L 1132
Kol	cf <i>duhutu-</i> L 1076
Śailārwaḍī	cf <i>Usabha-</i> L 1121
Nāsik IV ⁸	Sk <i>śṛjamāna-</i> > <i>sujamāna-</i> L 1146 Sk <i>ul-ṛtā-</i> > <i>ukuta-</i> L 1146
Kārlē II	cf <i>Usabhadāta-</i> L 1099 ¹ and <i>mālāpṛtunam</i> L 1106 ³
Kaṇhēri ⁹	Sk <i>ṛtu-kāla-</i> > <i>utu-kāla-</i> L 1020 ⁹ , 1024 ¹³ etc

Thus it will be easily seen that a large majority of the examples quoted to illustrate the change *ṛ* > *u* express human relationship or have the presence of labials in the neighbourhood

(d) The vowel *ṛ* is preserved only in the words *ṛtā-* and *vṛdh-* both in L 1133 which falls in the division Nāsik III. They appear to be due to the influence of mixed dialect in which numerous contemporary inscriptions occur at Mathurā

5 This is perhaps due to the North-western influence. Cf the forms *ṛṣa-*, *ṛṣṭa-* in S, M.

6 We get *duhuta-ya* in L 1041 and *duhutā-ya* in L 1053 also

7 *duhutu* occurs in L 1127 also

8 We have also *Mugudāsa-* L 1129, *mātu-* L 1123, L 1126 and *Usabha-* L 1125

9. Also cf. *-mātu-* L 1027¹ etc., *dh[u]tu-* L 1020², *putu-* L 1001⁵ etc.

§ 161. Treatment of the Sk diphthongs *ai* and *au* Sk *ai* and *au* become regularly *e* and *o* in these inscriptions.

(a) Change *ai* > *e* :

Vakālā	Sk <i>Bhaimī</i> > <i>Bhemī</i> - L 969
Beḍṣā	Sk <i>Paṇḍapātika</i> > <i>Peḍapātika</i> - L 1110
Pittalkhorā	Sk <i>rājavaidya</i> > <i>rājaveja</i> - L 1190, L 1191
Kārle I	Sk <i>śaila</i> > <i>sela</i> - L 1087
Kuḍā	Sk <i>cātya</i> > <i>cetya</i> - L 1050, L 1058
	Sk <i>vaidya</i> > <i>veja</i> - L 1048
Nānāghāt I	Sk <i>*traiḍaśa</i> ¹⁰ > <i>terasa</i> - L 1112
Nāsik I	cf <i>cetya</i> - L 1140
Junnar	Sk <i>trai-vidya</i> > <i>teviya</i> - L 1171
Nāsik III	Sk <i>Vaiśākhā</i> > <i>Vesākha</i> - L 1133
	Sk <i>Caitra</i> > <i>Cetra</i> - L 1135
Nāsik IV	Sk <i>naḡama</i> > <i>nekama</i> - L 1139
Mahād	cf <i>cetya</i> - L 1072
Kārle II	Sk <i>haimanta</i> > <i>hemanta</i> - L 1106 ¹
Kanheri	Sk <i>hairyanya</i> > <i>heṛamka</i> - L 993 ¹ etc
Banavāsī	cf <i>hemanta</i> - 1186 ¹

(b) Change *ai* > *i* (or *ī*) This type of change occurs in a few instances

Junnar	Sk <i>Caitra</i> > <i>Cita</i> - L 1182, but the derivation is rather doubtful
Nāsik III	Sk <i>ekaika</i> > <i>ekika</i> ¹¹ L 1133
Nāsik IV	Sk <i>Paśācīpadraka</i> > <i>Pisāṇpadaka</i> - L 1123

(c) Change *au* > *o*

Bhājā	Sk <i>Kauśikī</i> > <i>Kosikī</i> - L 1079
Kārle I	Sk <i>Gauṣṭī</i> > <i>Gotī</i> - L 1088
Kuḍā	Sk <i>Kauṣī</i> > <i>Kochī</i> - L 1058
Junnar	Sk <i>Kauṣṭhalakī</i> > <i>Kothalakī</i> - L 1171
Nāsik II	Sk <i>dvaū do</i> L 1148
	Sk <i>mātāpitarau</i> > <i>mātāpitāro</i> ¹² L 1148
Padana	Sk <i>Kauśīkeya</i> > <i>Kosikaya</i> - L 974
Nāsik IV	Sk <i>paura</i> > <i>pora</i> - L 1123
Kārle II	cf <i>kosikī</i> - L 1100 ²
Kanheri	cf <i>mātāpitāro</i> L 998 ¹ , L 1016 ⁵ as also <i>āmāpitāro</i> L 1024 ⁷

§ 162 Treatment of Sk *aya*, *ayi* and *avi* All these generally become *e* in these inscriptions

(a) Change *aya* and *ayi* > *e* :

Kuḍā	. Sk <i>layana</i> > <i>lena</i> - or <i>lena</i> - passim
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10. The form *traiḍaśa* occurs at Gurnar For the derivation of this form (< Prim. Ind. **trayedāśa* < I E **trezedeḡm*) cf TURNER BSOS 4 364

11. Cf the Aśokan parallel *śika*- at Sāmāth.

12. Is it an example of preservation of Sk. dual form ?

It occurs also at Nāsik I (L 1144 etc.), Nāsik II (L 1127 etc.), Nāsik IV (L 1124 etc.), Mahād (L 1072 etc.), and Kanhēri (L 998⁹ etc.)

Nāsik III : Sk. *Ujjaymī* > *Ujem-* L 1135.

(b) Change *avi* > *e* :

Bhājā Sk. *sthāvira* > *thera*¹³. L 1080 etc

It occurs also at Karle I (L 1089 etc.), Kuḍā (L 1040 etc.), Junnar (L 1071), and Kanhēri (cf L 993⁹ etc.).

§ 163 Treatment of Sk *ava* and *apa* Usually both these become *o* in these inscriptions

Nāsik I Sk. *yavana* > *yona*- L 1140

Nāsik II Sk. *apavaraka* > *ovaraka*- L 1127

Nāsik III cf *ovaraka*- L 1132, L 1134

Nāsik IV Sk. *lavanā* > *lona*- L 1124 etc

Sk. *avadāna* > *odāna*- L 1124

Mahād cf *ovaraka*- L 1072, and also at Kanhēri (L 988⁹)

But in the inscriptions at Junnar *ava* is preserved in *vavana*- L 1154, L 1182, perhaps as a loanword

§ 164 Treatment of Sk vowel *a* The Sk vowel *a* is fairly well preserved in these inscriptions. Yet the following changes which it undergoes under peculiar circumstances may be noted

(a) Change *a* > *ā* in the metrically long syllable The tendency which is noted below is not at all of universal application.

Bhājā Sk. *gārbha* > *gābha*- L 1078

Pittalkhorā Sk. *gandhika* > *gādhika*- L 1187

Kuḍā Sk. *Agnimutra* > *Āgimuta*- L 1041

Sk. *pravṛṭṭikā* > *pāvṛṭṭikā*- L 1041

Junnar Sk. *jambu-bhṛtī* > *jāba-bhātī*- L 1163

Nāsik III Sk. *-datta* > *-dāta*- L 1132

Nāsik IV Sk. *saptamā* > *sātama*- L 1146, also cf *-dāta*- L 1139

Kārlē II¹⁴ Sk. *anuvāṣa* > *anuvāsa*- L 1099⁹

Kanhēri Sk. *parvatā* > *pāvata*- L 1024⁹

Sk. *sārva* > *sāva*- L 1024⁹

(b) The change *a* > *ā* is noted irregularly in a few cases

Bhājā Sk. *Naśāsarva* > *Nādasava*- L 1078 The derivation is, however, doubtful

Kārlē I Sk. *pūrvatah* > *puvādo*¹⁵

Sk. *sahā* > *sahā*¹⁶ L 1041

Junnar . cf *sahā* L 1170

Sk. *ca* > *cā* L 1150 (only once)

Nāsik III Sk. *pūrvaka* > *puvāka*-¹⁷ L 1133

Nāsik IV : Sk. *amātya* > *āmaca*- L 1124 The change has perhaps occurred by metathesis.

13 The intermediate form *thaira* occurs at Gīmar.

14. We have also got *Usabhadāta*- L 1099⁹

15. This form is really a contamination between *pūrvāt* and *pūrvatah*. For a detailed discussion of the MIA suffix **-āto*, *-ādo* see Louis H. Gray in BSOS 8.564,

- Kārie II · Sk *Mahāsagghika* > *Māhāsagghiya*- L 1106⁸.
 Kanheri : Sk *bhadanta* > *bhādam*[ta-] L 987¹⁶.
 Sk. *cātuhśāla* > *-cātusāla*- L 998¹⁰ The word, however,
 may be derived from the extended base in Sk. viz
cātuhśāla-. We also get *sahā* in L 1001⁸ etc.
- Banavāsi · Sk. *Sālakarm* > *Sālākamm*- L 1186¹
- (c) The change *a* > *i* : usually due to the presence of the palatal semivowel *y*¹⁸ :
 Kuṭā · Sk. *Arya-Tiḷu* > *Ayi-Tiḷu*- L 1050 The change ap-
 pears to have been facilitated by the following :
 Nāsika I · Sk. *rājani* > *rājnu* L 1144 Here the change has taken
 place due to assimilation
 Junnar · Sk. *haranyaka* > *Heranika*- L 1179 This appears to
 be due more to confusion between the suffix *-aka* .
-ika- than to the presence of *y* Also cf *abikā*- L 1164
 (< *āmikā*)
 Nāsik IV Sk. *Sudarsana* > *Svdisana*- L 1124 This may be due
 to the change of *ṛ* > *i* in the root √*dr̥ś*-
 Sk. *mahardhika* > *mahudhika*- L 1123 This appears
 to be an example of peculiar Prakrit sandhi between
maha + *idhika* (< Sk. *īddhi-ka*)
 Sk. *samvatsarā* > *savichara*.-¹⁹ L 1123¹
- (d) Change *a* > *u* mostly due to assimilation
 Vakālā · Sk. *Ugradeva* > *Ugudeva* L 972
 Kuṭā · Sk. *Mṛgadāsa* > *Mugudā*[sa]- L 1061
 Nānāghāt II · Sk. *prapā* > *-puvā*- L 1120 This is partly due to as-
 similation and partly due to analogy with Sk. *Kūpa*-
 > *kūva*-.
 Kanheri Sk. *-sattvā* > *-satu*- L 998⁵
- (e) Change *a* > *e* :
 Kārie I · Sk. *upāsaka* > *upāseka*- EI 18 326 12 The change is
 obviously through mistake
 Junnar · Sk. *-nigamasya* > *-nigamesa* L 1153.
 Sk. *-mukulaśya* > *-mukudeśa* L 1163 These are the
 readings of FRANKE²⁰ Here the change has occurred
 before the gen singular termination BÜHLER in both
 these cases reads *-nigamasa* and *-mukudasa*
 Nāsik III Sk. *ca* > *ce* L 1135 (once only).
 Nāsik IV Sk. *ātah* > *eto* L 1139
 Sk. *etasya* > *etesa* L 1126 Cf the examples from the
 Junnar inscriptions above

16. This is found only once, but we get *saha* very often. Cf the lengthening of the final vowel in Aśokan Inscriptions

17. May be from the suffix *-āka*-, seen in such forms as Amg. *myāga* < Sk. **nijāka*-.
 18. In Girnar the vowel *a* is preserved Sk. *madhyama* > *majhama*-.
 19. Cf. PISCHEL, §101-§103.
 20. Cf. Epigraphische Notizen, ZDMG 50.595 If FRANKE's reading is correct, the influence of the gen pl. of pronominal bases ending in *-a*, viz *-eṣām*, is to be seen in these forms.

(f) In a few cases the vowel *a* is initially lost.

Nāsik IV . Sk $\acute{a}p_i > p_i$ L 1123

Sk *anena* > *nena* L 1139

Kaṇhēri : Sk *āpī* > *vi* L 988¹¹ etc

§ 165 Treatment of the Sanskrit vowel *ā* The vowel *ā* is usually preserved.

Still the following few changes may be noted

(a). $\bar{a} > a$, before a consonant cluster²¹

Pittalkhorā : Sk *Vātsī-* > *Vachī-* L 1191 etc

Kudā . Sk *amātya-* > *amaca-* L 1053

Sk. *bhāryā-* > *bhayā-* L 1037 etc

Nānāghāt I . Sk *Āptoryāma*-> *Atuyāma*- L 1112

Sk *Daśarātra-* > *Dasarata-* L 1112.

Nāsik IV Sk *ṛājāmātya-* > *ṛāyāmaca-* L 1141

Sk *bhāṇḍāgārika-* > *bhaṇḍākārika-* L 1141

Junnar Sk *Dhānyaka*- > *Dhamṛuka*- L 1180. Also cf *bhayā*-
L 1155

Nāsik II Sk *aparāddha-* > *aparadha-* L 1148.

Nāsik III · Sk *Kārṣāpāna-* > *Karṣāpāna-* L 1133

Nānāghāt II Sk *rājñah* > *rano* L 1120

Sk *Kāmyavana-* > *Kamavana-* L 1120

Nāsik IV . Sk *bharyā* > *bharīyā* L 1146

Sk *-pārśva-* > *-pasa-* L 1123 etc etc

Mahād . cf *pasa-* L 1072

Kärle II . Sk. *mār̥ga-* > *maga-* L 1105²

Sk *vāstavyà-* > *vathava-* L 1106²

Kaṇhēri Sk *rātra-* > *rata-* L 998⁷

Sk *ācārya*- > *ācāria*- L 999¹ etc etc

Banavāsī Sk *rājñah* > *raño* L 1186¹

Sk *ācārya* > *acarīya* L 1186²

The examples become more and more frequent in the inscriptions from Nāsik IV onwards thus showing that the change $\bar{a} > a$ before a consonant cluster was tending to become normal after the beginning of the Christian era.

(b) Change $\bar{a} > a$ before the terminations There are very few instances of this change in this division

Kārle I . Sk *Dharmadevā-* > *Dhamada(de)va-ya* EI 18 328 12

Nāsik III Sk *Barnāsā-* > *Banāsa-ya* L 1135

Śailārwaḍi · Śk Śivagupṭanikā- > Siagutanika-ya L 1121

Kanhēri · Sk *Dharmā-* > *Dhāma-*ye L 1102^a

(c) Change $\bar{a} > a$ takes place irregularly in some cases and may be ascribed to the scribe's negligence

Bhājā . Sk -jāyā > jayā L 1084

Kārle I : Sk *parimṣṭhāpīla-* > *parimṣṭhāpīla-* L 1087

Kudā Sk *Bhrānlā* > *Bhaylā* L 1050

21. It may be noted that the Gurnar version mostly preserves the long vowel in such cases.

Nānāghāt I	Sk <i>sāgara</i> > <i>sagara</i> - L 1112. Sk <i>grāma</i> - > <i>gama</i> - L 1112.
Junnar	Sk <i>upāsaka</i> - > <i>uvasaka</i> - L 1162 Sk <i>kalyāna</i> - > <i>kañña</i> - L 1177, L 1179.
Nānāghāt II	Sk <i>Sātakarna</i> - > <i>Salakani</i> - L 1120. Sk <i>Vāsiṣṭhīputra</i> - > <i>Vasatḥputa</i> - L 1120 Sk <i>pāṇiya</i> - > <i>panya</i> - L 1120
Nāsik IV	Sk <i>ārogya</i> - > <i>aroga</i> - L 1126 Sk <i>-Mandāra</i> - > <i>-Madara</i> - L 1123 Also cf <i>Sadakaṇṇ</i> L 1125.
Kārlē II	Sk <i>mātra</i> > <i>mātara</i> L 1106 ⁴
Kaṇhēri	Sk <i>Ānanda</i> - > <i>Anada</i> - L 1024 ¹ Sk <i>svāmī</i> - > <i>samī</i> - L 986 ¹ , L 995 ² etc
Banavāsi	Sk <i>ācārya</i> - > <i>acariya</i> - L 1186 ² .

(d) Lastly we observe a very few number of cases where the vowel *ā* becomes *ī*, *e* or *o*

(i) Change *ā* > *ī* due to assimilation

Kaṇhēri Sk *Kalyāṇki* > *Kaliyṇki* L 1014¹

(ii) Change *ā* > *e* before a termination

Vakālā Sk *Ugradevā*- > *Ugudeve-ya* L 972

This is very probably due to analogy with the similar change of *a* > *e* before the termination of gen singular of masculine nouns²²

(iii) Change *ā* > *o*.

Kaṇhēri Sk *Sātakarna*- > *Sotakanini*- L 987²

Sk *suvarṇakāra*- > *suvanakora*- L 986¹

§ 166 Treatment of the Sanskrit vowel *ī* The vowel, though usually preserved, undergoes a few changes in the circumstances noted below

(a) Change *ī* > *ī* in a metrically long syllable There are very few instances of this type of change

Nānāghāt I . Sk *Indra*- > *Ida*- L 1112

Nāsik I Cf *Idrāgni*- L 1140

Nāsik III Sk *vimśa*- > *viśa*- L 1133

Sk *siddha*- > *sīdha*- L 1132

Nāsik IV Cf *-viśa*- L 1123

Kaṇhēri Sk *Mitrabhūti*- > *Mitabhūti*- L 1012¹

(b) Change *ī* > *i* irregularly in a very few cases

Nāsik IV Sk *mahardhika*- > *mahidhika*- L 1123

Kaṇhēri . Sk *-parivāra*- > *-parivāra*- L 998², 1005

The Nāsik example may perhaps be due to confusion in suffix *-ika*- *-ika*- as paralleled by *-āka*- *-aka*- noted above Others indicate a feature which is more or less well-established in classical and epic Sanskrit of lengthening the final *-i* of prepositions

22. Cf above §164(e).

(c) Change $i > a$:Kuḍā : Sk. *Nāginikā* > *Nāganikā* L 1041.Sk. *Padminukā* > *Padumamukā* L 1041

Both these examples are probably derived directly from the Sk. masculine bases *Nāga-* and *Padma-*.

Nānāghāṭ I : Sk. *prthivī* > *pathavi* L 1112. The Prakrit base is perhaps derived from Sk. *prthivī* > **pathavi*.Kōl : Sk. *dvitīyikā* > *bitīyakā* L 1076. The change is due to the confusion between *-ika* : *-aka*.²³Śaulārwaḍi : Sk. *Śivaguptinikā* > *Siagula-nikā* L 1121.Nānāghāṭ II : Sk. *grhapati* > *gahapata* L 1120.Sk. *Vāsiṣṭhīputra* > *Vasaṭhīputa* L 1120.

This is probably due to assimilation or the scribe's negligence

Kaphēri : Sk. *divyagbha* > *bagabha* L 998¹⁰.Sk. *Rohinī* > *Rohan* L 1033¹.(d) Change $i > u$ due to assimilation :Pittalkhorā : Sk. *duhṣṭ* > *duhutu* L 1192, it occurs also at Kuḍā (L 1041 etc), Nāsik I (L 1141), and Nāsik II (L 1127)Junnar : Sk. *pādonadvika* > *pāunaduka* L 1165(e) Change $i > e$ usually in a metrically long syllable .Kārle I : Sk. *pravrajita* > **pavanta* > *pavaeta* L 1108.Kuḍā : Sk. *Viṣṇu* > *Venhu* L 1060Sk. *kamṣṭhā* > (also *kānuṣṭha*) > *haneṭha* L 1045Nānāghāṭ II : Sk. **i-ttha* > *etha* L 1120, also cf Nāsik IV (L 1124 etc), Kārle II (L 1105¹), Kaphēri (L 987¹⁵), and Banavāsī (L 1186²)Nāsik IV : Sk. *Tiraśmi* > *Teranhu* L 1126

Elsewhere at Nāsik we get *Tiranhu*. The derivation, however, is extremely doubtful

Mahāḍ : Sk. *Viṣṇu* > *Vhenu* L 1072, and at Kaphēri (*Venhu* L 1001³)(f) The vowel i is lost initially in the following few examples :Nāsik III : Sk. *iti* > *ti* L 1133 etc It occurs in *Caratratoti* and the initial i is lost in *saṁdhi*Nāsik IV : Sk. *idānam* > *dān* L 1126Sk. *iti* > *ti* L 1146, also at Kaphēri (L 1007⁵)

§ 167 Treatment of the Sk vowel \bar{i} . The vowel is preserved in many cases and yet in equally numerous instances it becomes short

(a) Change $\bar{i} > i$ before a consonant cluster. The change occurs in a very limited number of instances.

Nānāghāṭ I : Sk. *dīkṣā* > *dikhā* L 1112.Nāsik III : Sk. *tīrthā* > *titha* L 1135Nāsik IV : Sk. *grīṣmā* > *gimha* L 1123 etc.Sk. *vicīṇa* > *-viciṇa* L 1123.

²³ Cf. above § 164(c).

Kārlē II : Cf. *gimha-* L 1100¹, *tītha-* L 1099².

(b) Change *i* > *i* before the terminations : This type of change occurs fairly often.

Vakālā : Sk. *Bharmī-* > *Bhemi-ya* L 969.

Bhājā : Sk. *Dharmagīrinām* > *Dhamagīrinam* L 1080

Here the short vowel of the base is preserved

Beḍṣā : Sk. *Gobhūlīnām* > *Gobhutnam* L 1110 cf the note above.

Sk. *mahādevī-* > *mahādevi-ya* L 1111

Kārlē I : Sk. *hasīnām* > *halhinam* L 1089

Sk. *bhikṣuṇī-* > *bhikhuni-ya* L 1104

Nānāghāt I : Sk. *pr̥thivī-* > *pathavi-ya* L 1112

Nāsik III : Sk. *Ujjayinī-* *Ujem-ya* L 1135

Sk. *kuṭumbinī-* > *kuṭumbini-ya* L 1132, L 1134

Śāliarwādī : Cf. *kuṭubini-ya* L 1121

Nāsik IV : Sk. *Gautamī-* > *Gotami-ya* L 1123

Sk. *senāpatinī-* > *-senāpatni-ya* L 1146

But the long vowel is preserved in cases as *Balasriya* L 1123, *mahādeviya* L 1126

Kārlē II : Sk. *layanavāsīnām* > *lenavāsīnam* L 1099⁴

Sk. *nadī* > *nadī-yā* L 1099².

Kaṇhērī : Sk. *daśamī-* > *dasami-ya* L 1021²

Sk. *bhagmī-* > *bhagmi-ya* L 1021⁴ etc

This change occurs very often in Kaṇhērī inscriptions though a few cases of the preservation of the long vowel like *kuṭumbinī[na]* L 987¹² could be found

Banavāsī : Sk. *mahābhojī-* (?) > *mahābhuvī-ya* L 1186¹.

(c) Change *i* > *i* at the end of the first member of a compound This type of change is fairly normal in these inscriptions

Bhājā : long *i* is preserved here

Sk. *Kauśikī-putra-* > *Kosikīputa-* L 1079

Pittalkhorā : It is preserved here also :

Sk. *Vātsī-putra* > *Vachī-puta-* L 1191 etc

Ajanā : Sk. *Vāsiṣṭhī-putra-* > *Vāsiṣṭhi-puta-*²⁴ L 1197

Kārlē I : Sk. *Gauṭī-putra-* > *Goti-puta-* L 1088

Kuḍā : Sk. *Kauṭī-putra-* > *Kochi-puta-* L 1058

Nānāghāt I : Sk. *Devī-Nāgamkā-* > *Devī-Nāyamkā-* L 1114

These may be, however, two different words

Nāsik I : Sk. *Indrāgrā-datta-* > *Idrāgni-data-* L 1140

Nānāghāt II : Cf. *Vasatḥi-puta-* L 1120

Nāsik IV : Sk. *devī-layana* > *devi-lena-* L 1124

Also cf. *Gotami-puta-* L 1125 etc.

In some examples the long vowel is preserved. Cf. *Vāsiṣṭhi-puta-* L 1123 etc : *Gotamī-puta-* L 1123

Kārlē II : Cf. *Kosikī-puta-* L 1100² ; *Vāsiṣṭhi-puta-* L 1100^{1,3} etc.

24 The reduction indicated here is typical in metonymics in OIA as in *Rohini-nandana-* etc., cf. WACKERNAGEL, *As. Gr.* II, § 56, p. 134

- Kaṇhēri** : Sk. *Rohiṇī-putra* > *Rohini-mita*- L 996² etc.
Also cf. *Gotami-puta*- L 1024².
- Banavāsī** : Sk. *Hārītī-putra* > *Hārītī-puta*- L 1186¹.
- (d) Change *ī* > *i* in the suffixes :
- Kārlē I** : Sk. *Dharmottariya* > *Dhamutariya*- L 1094
Nānāghāt I : Sk. *Anvārambhanīya* > *Anārabhaniya*- L 1112.
Nāsik I : Sk. *Dātāmitriyaka* > *Dālāmitiyaka*- L 1140.
Junnar : Sk. *Mūrdhakīya* > *Mudhakīya*- L 1151
Śaulārwaḍi : Sk. *hālakīya* > *hālakīya*- L 1121.
Nāsik IV : Sk. *Bhadrāyanīya* > *Bhadāyanīya*-²⁵ L 1124
Kārlē II : Cf. *Okhalakīya*- L 1100².
- (e) Change *ī* > *i* irregularly in some instances :
- Beḍṣā** : Sk. *ḍvītyikā* > *bitiykā*- L 1111
Kārlē I : Sk. *Jambudvīpa* > *Jabudīpa*- L 1087
Kuḍā : Cf. *bitiyikā*- L 1065
Nānāghāt I : Sk. *pānīya* > *pāniya*- L 1120.
Cf. *bitiya*- L 1112 B
Junnar : Sk. *trīṇi* > *tim* L 1163.
Sk. *Virabhūti* > *Virabhuti*- L 1172
Nāsik II : Cf. *Vira*- L 1127.
Nāsik III : Sk. *Civarika* > *Civarika*- L 1133
Sk. *nāvi* > *mvi*- L 1133
Kōl : Cf. *bitiyakā*- L 1076
Nāsik IV²⁶ : Sk. *tīṭīya* > *tatiya*- L 1146
Sk. *nīlā* > *nita*- L 1146
Kārlē II : Cf. *bitiya*- L 1106¹; *tatiya*- L 1106¹
Kaṇhēri²⁷ : Sk. *parigṛhita* > *parigahita*- L 1004.
Banavāsī : Sk. *Jiva-putra* > *Jiva-puta*- L 1186¹.

§ 168 Treatment of the Sk vowel *u*. The vowel is generally well preserved. Yet the following few changes are noteworthy.

(a) Change *u* > *ū* in a metrically long syllable. This type of change is to be met with in a very few cases

- Kārlē I** : Sk. *uttamā* > *ūtama*- L 1087
Paḍaṇa : Sk. *Uttara* > *Ūdara*- (?) L 974
Nāsik IV : Sk. *bhukta* > *bhūta*- L 1125
Kārlē II : Sk. *-putra* > *-pūta*- L 1099³
Kaṇhēri : Cf. *pūta*- L 1001³.

(b) Change *u* > *ū* irregularly in a few cases

- Kārlē I** : Sk. *mithamā* > *mithūna*- L 1101, L 1102.
Nānāghāt I : Sk. *-suta* > *-sūta*- L 1112.
Nāsik IV : Sk. *Mṛgadāsa* > *Mugūdāsa*- L 1129.

25. Once we get *ī* > *a* probably in mistake cf. *Bhadāyanaya* L 1124.

26. We also get *-nivi*- L 1139, *civarika*- L 1139 etc

27. We also get *mvi*- L 988⁴ etc, *civarika*- L 998⁷ etc., *pāniya*- L 1006³. Once we find the long vowel preserved in the same word cf. *pāniya*- L 1016³.

(c) Change *u* > *i* mostly in the familiar example *purisa-*

Nāsik II : **pūrṣa-* > OIA *pūruṣa-* > *purisa-* L 1127

It occurs also at Nāsik IV (L 1128) and Kanḥērī (L 1020^a)

Nāsik III : Sk. *duhit-* > *ḍihitu-* L 1132, L 1134.

(d) Change *u* > *ā* occurs rarely

Junnar : Sk. *Māna-mukuṣa-* > *Māna-Mukaṣa-* L 1163.

Padana : Sk. *kuṭumbika-* > *Kuḍabika-* L 976

The change in both these latter examples seems to be due to dissimilation.

§ 169. Treatment of the Sk. vowel *ū* The long vowel *ū* is not well preserved as it is often shortened to *u*

(a) Change *ū* > *u*, before a consonant cluster This type of change does not occur very often.

Ajanṭā : Sk. *pūrva-* > *-puva-* L 1199

Kārlē I : Cf *puva-* L 1089, L 1107

Junnar : Sk. *mūrdhakiya-* > *mudhakiya-* L 1151

Nāsik III : Cf *puvāka-* L 1133

Nāsik IV : Sk. *pūrnā-* > *puna-* L 1123 We also get *puva-* L 1120, L 1124 etc

Kārlē II : Cf *puva-* L 1100²

(b) Change *ū* > *u* occurs at times before the terminations

Vakālā : Sk. *vadhū-* > *badhu-ya* (?) L 970

Nāsik III : Sk. *bhikṣūnām* > *bhikhunam*²⁸ L 1133

Kārlē II : Cf *bhikhuna* L 1105²

At Nāsik IV, however, we get *bhikhūna* or *bhikhūnam* in L 1126

(c) Change *ū* > *u* is found in some irregular cases

Bhājā : Sk. *sthūpa-* > *thupa-* L 1080, L 1081, but the long vowel is found in *thūbha-* L 1085. Though the reading is doubtful, this appears to be an example of popular etymology where the mass imagination connected the word *thubha-* with the Sk. root $\sqrt{sthū-}$ instead of the root $\sqrt{stubbh-}$

Beḍṣā : Sk. *Mārakūṭa* > *Mārakuṭa-* L 1110, cf. *thupa-* L 1110

Kuḍā : Sk. *rūpā-* > *-rupa-* L 1045

Nānāghāt I : Cf *rupa-* L 1112·B

Nāsik I : Sk. *pūjā-* > *-pujā-* L 1140

Junnar : Sk. *Virabhūti-* > *Virabhuti-* L 1172; also cf *Sivabhuti-* L 1173

Sk. *mūla-* > *-mula-* L 1162, L 1176

Nāsik IV : Sk. *abhūta-* > *abhuta-*²⁹ L 1123

Kārlē II : Cf *pujā-* L 1106³, *Vāḷuraka-* L 1100³, L 1105¹

Kanḥērī : Sk. *pūjārtha-* > *puyatha-* L 1000³; also cf *Nāgamula-* L 1021⁴

(d) Change *ū* > *u*, at the end of the first member of a compound The examples are extremely rare

28. Perhaps the short vowel of the base is preserved.

29. The word, however, may be derived from Sk. *ādbhuta-*.

- Nāsik IV : Sk. *Vadhū-śabda-* > *Vadhu-sada-* L 1123.
 (e) Change *ū* > *o*, before a consonant cluster.
 Kārlē I : Sk. *Śūrpāraka-* > *Sopāraka-* L 1094.
 Nānāghāṭ II : Cf. *Sopārāya-* L 1119.
 Kaṇhēri : Cf. *Sopārāya-* L 988⁴ and *Sopārāga-* L 995¹
 (f) Change *ū* > *a* occurs in a solitary case and very probably due to mistake.
 Junnar : Sk. *jambū-bhṛti-* > *jāba-bhati-* L 1163.

II. CONSONANTS SIMPLE

§ 170 The simple consonants are almost invariably preserved in their initial position in all inscriptions. In their medial position, too, they are usually preserved. But in some cases we notice a few tendential changes and this is found especially in the inscriptions of later centuries. The simple consonants are dealt with in their usual classification below. The changes that are noticed are generally not of universal application and are limited only to some particular instances. Only those examples which show some change have been quoted below, the examples of preservation being excluded.

§ 171. Gutturals · (a) The change of intervocal surds to sonants is met with in the following examples ·

(i) Change -k- > -g- The instances occur after the beginning of the Christian era

- Nāsik III : Sk. *nākhēra-* > *nāligēra-* L 1133
 Kaṇhēri : In these inscriptions which are slightly later than Nāsik III we find a few more examples
 Sk. *Śūrpāraka-* > *Sopārāga-* L 995¹
 Sk. *pralokana-* > *-palogana-* L 1012²
 Sk. *Bhoṇkī-* > *Bhoṇgi-* L 1013¹
 Banavāsī : Sk. *taḍāka-* > *taḍāga-*³⁰ L 1186²

(ii) Change -kh- > -gh- : Unlike the case of -k- this change is noticed sometime in the second century B C

- Kārlē I : Sk. *-mukha-* > *-mugha-* L 1090, L 1092
 Junnar : Sk. *pramukha-* > *pamugha-* L 1153
 Nāsik II : Sk. *lekhaka-* > *legghaka-* L 1149

It is noteworthy that here -k- of the suffix remains unchanged

- Kārlē II : Sk. *hita-sukha-* > *hita-sugha-* L 1106³.

(b). The weakening of a guttural to y is found in such cases as follows :

(i) Change -k- > -y- : The -k- which undergoes this change belongs to the suffix

- Kuḍā : Sk. *Viṣṇukā-* > *Venhuyā-* L 1060
 Junnar : Sk. *Lankuṭika-* > *Lamkuḍiya-* L 1169
 Nānāghāṭ II : Sk. *Śūrpāraka-* > *Sopārāya-* L 1119.
 Nāsik IV : Sk. *svāmika-* > *sāmya-* L 1125.
 Kārlē II : Sk. *mahāsāṅghika-* > *māhāsaghiya-* L 1106³.
 Kaṇhēri : Cf. [*Sop*]ārāya- L 1005.

30. This change is effected in Sk. itself for we get both the bases, *taḍāka-* and *taḍāga-* besides *taḍāka-*.

(ii) Change -g- > -y- : Though the weakening has started very early, the examples are rather rare and are not found in inscriptions of later centuries.

Bhājā : Sk *Nāga* > *Nāya*- L 1078.

Nānāghāt I : Sk. *Nāgankā* > *Nāyanukā*- L 1114

(c) The change of a sonant to a surd occurs only in the case of -g-. It is recorded in about the first century B.C.

Nāsik I : Sk. *bhāṇḍāgārīka* > *bhaṇḍākārīka*- L 1141

Junnar : Sk. *nāgara* > *nakara*-³¹ L 1152

Nāsik IV : Sk. *Sagara* > *Sakara*- L 1123

Sk. *naḡama* > *nekama*- L 1139

Kaṇhēri : Sk. *bhāgā* > *bhāka*- L 998¹¹

Sk. *Nāgznaka* > *Nākanaka*- L 985¹. Also cf. *nekama*-³² L 1001³.

(d) The loss of intervocal consonants is found only in a solitary case where -k- is dropped in an inscription of about the first or second century A.D.

Paḍaṇa : Sk. *Vāsaka* > *Vāsā*-³³ L 973

§ 172 Palatals (a) The change of a palatal surd to a corresponding sonant is not found in these inscriptions. As an exception, however, the following example of the first or second century A.D. may be noted

Nāsik IV : Sk. *Pisācīpadraka* > *Pisāṇpada*- L 1123

(b) The weakening of a palatal is exemplified only by the palatal *j* > *y*. It is important to note that the change has started quite early

Kārlē I : Sk. *Bhrāṇlā* > *Bhāṇlā*- L 1091.

Sk. *vāṇijā* > *vāṇya*- EI 18 3263 and 3279

Kuḍā : Sk. *mahābhōja* > *mahābhoya*-³⁴ L 1037 etc

Sk. *pravaraṇitkā* > *pavayitkā*- L 1041

Sk. *vāṇjyā* > **vāṇjya* > *vāṇyā*- L 1055. Also cf. *Bhāṇlā*- L 1050

Nānāghāt I : Sk. *rājā* > *rāyā*- L 1113, also cf. *rāyasa* L 1112

Nāsik I : Sk. *rājāmātya* > *rayāmāca*- L 1141

Nāsik IV : Cf. *pavayita*- L 1125

Kaṇhēri : Sk. *pūjārtha* > *puyatha*- L 1000³. Also cf. *pavayita*- L 1125.

(c) As in the case of weakening, it is only the palatal *j* which is lost in the intervocal position right from the second century B.C. onwards.

Kārlē I : Sk. *pravrajita* > *pavāita*- L 1107, *pavaeta*- L 1108, also cf. Kuḍā (*pavāitkā*- L 1063), Nāsik IV (*pavāita*- L 1130, L 1139), and Kaṇhēri (*pavāitika*- L 1006², L 1020³).

Kaṇhēri : Sk. *Bhojīkī* > *Bhoigī*- L 1013¹

Mahād : Sk. *Kānabhōja* > *Kānabhōa*- L 1072

31. We get *nagara*- also in Junnar inscriptions.

32. Instead, *negama*- occurs more often in Kaṇhēri inscriptions.

33. This is the name of a mountain

34. We get *mahābhōja*- too in the Kuḍā inscriptions.

§ 173. Cerebrals : (a) The change of a surd to a sonant is observed in the case of both -ṭ- and -ṭh-.

(i) Change -ṭ- > -ḍ- : It occurs from the second century B.C. and is maintained in later inscriptions.

Bhājā	: Sk. <i>Naṭaśarva</i> > <i>Naḍasava</i> (?) L 1078.
Beḍṣā	: Sk. <i>Mārakuṭa</i> > <i>Mārakuḍa</i> L 1110.
Kuḍā	. Sk. <i>Karahākaṭa</i> > <i>Karahākaḍa</i> L 1055 Sk. <i>Ṣaṭ-gairin</i> > <i>Saḍageri</i> L 1037, L 1045.
Junnar	. Sk. <i>vaṭa</i> > <i>vaḍa</i> L 1162 Sk. <i>mukuṭa</i> > <i>-mukaḍa</i> L 1163. Sk. <i>kuṭira</i> > <i>kuḍira</i> (or <i>kuṭira</i> -) L 1177
Nāsik III	Sk. <i>kuṭumbinī</i> > <i>kuḍumbinī</i> L 1132, L 1134.
Paḍaṇa	Cf. <i>kuḍabika</i> L 976.
Śailārwaḍi	Sk. <i>Dhenukākaṭa</i> > <i>Dhenukākaḍa</i> L 1121 ; also cf. <i>kuḍubini</i> L 1121.
Kaṇhēri	Cf. <i>kuḍubini</i> L 1024 ³⁵
Banavāsi	Sk. <i>Viṣṇukaṭa</i> > <i>Viṣṇukaḍa</i> L 1186 ³⁶

(ii) Change -ṭh- > -ḍh appears very late and only in a proper noun

Kaṇhēri Sk. *Mālharipuṭra* > *Ma[Mā]ḍharipuṭra* L 1001³⁷

(b) Change of sonant -ḍ- > -ṭ- occurs in a plausible example of the second century A.D.

Banavāsi . Sk. *taḍāka* > *taṭāga* L 1186³⁸

In Sanskrit we have also *taṭāka*, though of not frequent use

(c) Change of -ḍ- or -ḍh- > -ṭ- or -ṭh- is found in this group from the second century B.C.

Beḍṣā	: Sk. <i>Aṣāḍha</i> > <i>Asāṭa</i> L 1110
Kuḍā	. Sk. <i>Aṣāḍha</i> > <i>Asāṭa</i> L 1066, and <i>Asāṭha</i> L 1041
Nāsik IV	. Sk. <i>garuḍā</i> > <i>garuṭa</i> L 1123
Kārlē II	. Sk. <i>ṣoḍaśā</i> > <i>soṭa[sa]</i> L 1099 ³⁹
Kaṇhēri	. Sk. <i>patrikā</i> > <i>*paḍikā</i> > <i>palika</i> L 1024 ⁴⁰ etc We also get <i>soṭasaka</i> L 1024 ⁴¹ , <i>solasaka</i> ⁴² L 1006 ⁴³ , and <i>solasa</i> L 998 ⁴⁴

(d) Change -ḍ- > -n- is found in a numeral

Junnar . Sk. *ṣaḍ-vimśati* > *ṣanuvīsa*⁴⁵ L 1163

(e) In a few cases we find that some cerebrals lose their character and become dentals

(i) Change -ṭh- > -ṭh- occurs rather late and only in the case of the root √*sthā*.

Nāsik IV : Sk. *pratiṣṭhāpana* > *paṭiṭhāpana* L 1123.

Kaṇhēri . Sk. *pratiṣṭhāpita* > *paṭiṭhāpita*⁴⁶ L 1006⁴⁷.

(ii) Change -ḍ- > -ḍ- occurs even in the first century B.C.

Kuḍā : Sk. *Māṇḍapa* > *Māṇḍava*⁴⁸ L 1037 etc

35. Cf. below the loss of cerebralisation

36. Perhaps under the influence of Sk. *śaṇ-ṇavati*.

37. We get *paṭiṭhāpita* also in Kaṇhēri inscriptions. These changes are rather to be considered as a result of the double treatment of √*sthā*, dental and cerebral, and not a change from cerebral to dental or vice versa.

38. The derivation is doubtful. LUDERS seems to take it from *Māṇḍava*.

Junnar : Sk. *ṣoḍaśá-* > *so-dasa* L 1152.

Here it is not as much the case of loss of cerebralisation as of the preservation of original Sanskrit dental *ḍ*.

(iii) Change *n* > *ṇ* is found in many instances and from a period much anterior to the beginning of the Christian era.

Also cf in termination *putena* L 1067

- , Nādsur : Sk. *Śivagaṇaka-* > *Śivaganaka-* L 1067.
 Sk. *śramaṇá-* > *-samana-* L 1124
 Kārlé I : Sk. *vānījá-* > *vāṇya-* EI 183263 and 3279
 Sk. *ghṇī-* . *gharṇi*³⁹ EI 18328.11
 Kuḍā : Sk. *brāhmaná-* > *bammhana-* L 1050
 Nānāghāt I : Sk. *várūna-* > *varuna-* L 1112
 Sk. *várna-* > *vana-* L 1112
 Sk. *dákṣinā-* > *dakhinā-* L 1112

There are numerous other examples for the change is universal here

- Nāsik I : Sk. *Kṛṣṇa-* > *Kanha-* L 1144
 Junnar : Sk. *śreni-* > *semi-* L 1165
 Sk. *gaṇá-* > *gana-* L 1158
 Nānāghāt II : Sk. *Śātakarni-* > *Satakani-* L 1120
 Nāsik IV : Sk. *kārṣāpana-* > *kāhāpana-* L 1139
 Sk. *śramaṇá-* > *-samana-* L 1124
 Kanphēri : Sk. *manūkārā-* > *manikara-* L 1005
 Sk. *haranyaka-* > *heramka*⁴⁰ L 993¹

(iv) Change *-l-* > *-ḷ-* occurs in a few cases

- Nāsik IV : Sk. *Pulūmāvi-* > *Pulumāi-* L 1147
 Kanphēri : Cf the examples *solasaka-* L 1006⁷ and *solasa* L 998⁷ quoted above

§ 174 Dentals (a) The change of a surd to sonant occurs in the case of *-t-*⁴¹. It has started from the first century B C

- Kārlé I : Sk. *pūrvataḥ* > *puvādo* L 1089
 Nāsik I : Sk. *Śātavāhana-* > *Sādavāhama-* L 1144
 Padana : Sk. *Uttara-* > **Ūtara-* > **Ūdaa-* (?) L 974
 Nāsik IV : Sk. *Śātakarni-* > *Sadakani-* L 1125
 Sk. *khātaka-* > *-khādaka-* L 1124, L 1125 etc

(b) The weakening of a consonant takes place both in the case of *-t-* and of *-d-*.

(i) Change *-t-* > *-y-* is rather rare

- Kuḍā : Sk. *Gautamā-* > *Goyammā-* L 1053

(ii) Change *-d-* > *-y-* has started early in the second century B C and is maintained in later inscriptions

- Bhājā : Sk. *Bhadanta-* > *bhayanta-* L 1081 etc
 Kārlé I : Sk. *vedikā-* > *veykā-* L 1089, L 1103, L 1104. We also get *bhayata-* or *bhayamta-* L 1089, L 1195 etc.

39 Pk. *ghara-* < IE**g^hhoro-* and not Sk. *gha-*.

40. But *heramka-* L 998¹, 1033¹.

41. This occurs very often in the N-Western Kharoṣṭhī.

Kuṣā : Cf. *bhayata-* and also *bhadata-* L 1041, L 1060 etc.; also cf. Junnar (L 1172), Nāsik IV (L 1128), and Kanḥēri (cf. *bhayata-* L 993³, L 1012¹ etc.).

Nāsik III : Sk. *pāḍona-* > *pāyūna-* L 1133.

(c) *d-* > *dh-* is found once due to anticipation.

Kanḥēri : Sk. *duhitṛ-* > *dh[u]tu-* L 1020².

(d) Change *-t-* and *-d-* > *-ṛ-* is found in numerals.

(i) Change *-t-* > *-ṛ-* :

Nāsik III : Sk. *saptatī* > **sattatī* > *satarī* L 1133

(ii) Change *-d-* > *-ṛ-* :

Nānāghāt I : Sk. *dvādaśā-* > *bārasa-* L 1112

Sk. **traya-daśa-* > *terasa-* L 1112

Junnar : Sk. *pañcadaśā-* > *panarasa-* L 1158, also cf. *bārasa-* L 1166.

Nāsik III : Cf. *bārasa-ka-* L 1133, *panarasa* L 1133, L 1135.

Nāsik IV : Cf. *bārasa-ka-* L 1139; *terasa* L 1123.

Kanḥēri : Cf. *bārasa-* L 1000², L 1007⁴.

(e) Change of sonant *-d-* > *-t-* may be obtained from the following example :

Kanḥēri : Sk. *sādas-* > *sata-* L 985²

(f) In the end we come to the loss of intervocal dentals which is found in cases of *-t-* and *-d-*.

(i) *-t-* is lost in a few cases in inscriptions of first and second century A.D. It occurs only in proper names.

Kōl : Sk. *Āghātakarṣa-* > *Āghākasa-*

Kanḥēri : Sk. *Pratiṣṭhāna-* *Paṭhāna-* L 988².

(ii) The loss of *-d-* is more definite than that of *-t-* though even here the examples are few

Junnar : Sk. *pādonadvika-* > *pāonaduka-* L 1165

Padana : Sk. *Nandipada-* > *Nandipaa-* L 980

Nāsik IV : Sk. *vedikā-* > *vetkā-* L 1143

§ 175. Labials (a) We do not find here instances of the change from surd to sonant or vice versa. Instead we get here the change of a labial to *v*.

(i) Change *-p-* > *-v-* in some cases and from early times

Ajanṭā : Sk. *upavaraka-* > *-uvavaraka-* L 1198

Nānāghāt I : Sk. *prapā-* > *-puvā-* L 1120

Junnar : Sk. *upāsaka-* > *uvasaka-* L 1162

Sk. **aparilla-* > *āvarila-* L 1167

Kanḥēri : Sk. *sapātina-* > *savata-* L 987¹¹

(ii) Change *-bh-* > *-v-* is noted in a few cases

Kārlē I : Sk. *stambha-* > *thamva-*⁴² EI 18 326 2 (once only); we also get *thabha-* EI 18 325 1¹ etc

Nāsik III : Sk. *Rṣabhadatta-* > *Uṣavadāta-* L 1132.

(iii) Change *-m-* > *-v-* :

Nāsik IV : Sk. *dharmasetu-* > *dhavasetu-* L 1124.

42. i.e. < **thamba-* with dissimilation due to the initial aspirate, see infra under § 175(b).

(b) The loss of aspiration is found in the change *-bh-* > *-b-* where the second aspirate is dissimilated by the initial one.

Pittalkhorā : Sk *stambha-* > *ṭhaba-* L 1188

Kārlē I : Sk *stambha-* > *ṭhaba-*⁴³ L 1095

Kaṇhēri : Sk. √*stubh-* > *ṭhuba-* L 993⁴

§ 176. Semi-vowels : The semi-vowels are also generally preserved in all positions. In the western group we do not get any example indicating the change *r* > *l*. The following few peculiarities of this class are, however, to be noted

(a) The semi-vowel *y* undergoes the following changes :

(i) Change *-y-* > *-v-* . The examples are only from inscriptions of the first and second century A D

Nāsik IV : Sk *Bhadṛāyaṇīya-* > *Bhadāvāṇīya-* L 1123

Sk *vinayika-* > *vinavika-* L 1124, L 1125

Mahād : Sk *cātya-* > **cētya-* > *cēṭva-* L 1072

(ii) Change *-y-* > *-j-*⁴⁴ This also occurs in the first century A D

Nāsik IV : Sk *bhāryā-* > **bhariyā-* > *bhariyā-* L 1146.

(iii) Change *-y-* > *-ṣ-* in a very doubtful instance

Nāsik IV : Sk *Pāṇyāṭra-* > *Pāṇcāṭa-* L 1123

(iv) Loss of intervocal *-y-* is met with mostly from the inscriptions of the first century A D

Junnar : Sk *kalyāṇa-* > *kallaṇa-* L 1177, L 1179.

Nāsik IV : Sk *ḍṛya-* > **aṇya-ka-* > **aṇa-ka-* > *aṇa-ka-* L 1124.

Kaṇhēri : Sk *ācāryā-* > *ācāṇa-* L 999¹.

Sk *cātya-* > *cēṭa-* L 988²,⁷ Also cf *kaṇa-* L 988⁵ ; the gen sg fem nouns in *-ā* (*-ya* > *-a*), *bhayā* L 993¹, *pavatikā* L 1006²

Mahād : cf *cēṭa-* L 1073

(b) The semivowel *r* is dropped in a solitary instance of doubtful derivation

Padana : Sk *Uttara-* > *Ūda-* L 974

(c) As in the case of *y*, the semivowel *v*, which is otherwise well preserved, undergoes a few changes

(i) Change *-v-* > *-b-* This change in the initial position which is supposed to have occurred at a very early date is indeed highly doubtful

Vakālā : Sk *Vadhū-* > *Badhu-* L 970

(ii) Change *-v-* > *-p-* due to assimilation

Junnar : Sk *Pallava-* > *Palapa-* L 1158

(iii) The weakening of intervocal *-v-* to *-y-* occurs rarely Its first appearance is noted in the first century B C

Kuṇḍā : Sk *apavaraka-* > *uyaraka-* L 1058

Nāsik IV : Sk *Puṣumāvi-* > *Puṣumāyī-*⁴⁵ L 1122

(iv) The loss of intervocal *-v-* is found in equally few cases

Nāsik IV : Sk *Puṣumāvi-* > *Puṣumā-* L 1147.

Kaṇhēri : Sk *cīvanika-* > *cīanika-* L 1006⁷.

43 We also get *ṭhabha-* L 1097 etc and *ṭambha-* L 1093 etc.

44 This occurs in the eastern, northern and north-western versions of Aśoka.

45. The intervocal *-v-* is preserved in *Puṣumāvi-* at Kārlē II (L 1106¹)

§ 177. Sibilants : As a general rule all the three Sanskrit sibilants are reduced to the single dental sibilant *s* in these inscriptions. It is only in a few inscriptions at Nāsik that the distinction between the three sibilants is maintained

(a) The palatal sibilant ś > s in all positions.

- Vakālā . Sk. *Śatrumardana* > *Satumaḍana* L 968.
 Bhājā . Sk. *Kauśikī* > *Kosikī* L 1079.
 Nādsur : Sk. *Śiva* > *Siva* L 1067.
 Kārle I : Sk. *Śaila-grha* > *śela*-[*ghara*]- L 1087.

In one of the Kārle inscriptions lately published by VATS we get *Śegaputrasa* (cf *EI* 18 329 13). VATS remarks that *śe* may be *ge*. To me, however, it seems to be *Śaśa-putrasa*.

- Kuṇḍā : Sk. *śaila* > *śela* L 1045.
 Nānāghāt I . Sk. *śūra* > *sūra* L 1112
 Sk. *śakaṭa* > *sakaṭa* L 1112.

Haku-siri L 1117 . There is some difficulty in the derivation of this name of a prince. BUHLER throws out an initial suggestion to derive it from Sk. *Saktu-śrī* 'he whose glory is in the (sacrificial) barley-flour'. But in his additional remarks he proposes to identify this prince with *Sati* whose name occurs in L 1112. He, therefore, would like to derive it from Sk. *Śakti-śrī*.⁴⁶

It is indeed very difficult to accept either of the two derivations proposed by BUHLER. The linguistic difficulties appear to be almost unsurmountable. The change of initial ś > *h*-, and still more the assimilation of the cluster *-kt-* > *-kk-* (and not to *-tt-*), not to mention the change of final *-a* > *-u* in the latter case, are too unusual. The only thing that may be said in favour of the proposed derivation is that inasmuch as *Haku-siri* was a young prince, such changes could be regarded as possible in terms of endearment.

- Nāsik I . Sk. *Śātavāhana* > *Sātavāhana* L 1144

In one instance -ś- is preserved, Sk. *cāturdiśa* > *cātudiśa* L 1140

- Junnar : Sk. *Śiva* > *Siva* L 1170, L 1173

- Nāsik II : In this group there are a few more instances of the preservation of the palatal ś

Sk. *cāturdiśa* > *cātudisa* L 1127 ; but cf Sk. *Śaka* > *Saka*.⁴⁷ L 1148

Sk. *Daśapura* > *Daśapura*.⁴⁷ L 1148

Sk. *Śakasya* > *Sakaśa* L 1149 due to assimilation.⁴⁸

- Nāsik III (i) . ś > s Sk. *śuddhā* > *sudha* L 1135.

- (ii) : ś > ś . As noticed above it is in this group particularly that the distinction between the three sibilants seems to have been appreciably felt.

Sk. *śatā* > *sata*.⁴⁹ L 1133

Sk. *śuddhā* > *śudha* L 1133.

Sk. *Śaka* > *Śaka* L 1135.

46 ASWI 564, No 7

47 These are perhaps loan words

48 Note however *-śa* as gen. sing. term. in Ceylonese inscriptions,

49 We get *sata* in L 1133, L 1135,

It is possible to say that all these three words are simply loans from the Sanskrit, though it is difficult to point out why exactly these were picked up as loan-words.

Padana	Sk. <i>Kauśikeya</i> > <i>Kosikaya</i> - L 974.
Kōl	Sk <i>Sivadatta</i> > <i>Sivadata</i> - L 1076, L 1077
Nānāghāt II	cf <i>Sopāraya</i> - L 1119.
Nāsik IV	Sk <i>Śātakarva</i> > <i>Sadakaru</i> - L 1125, also cf <i>-satu</i> - L 1123, <i>cātudisa</i> - L 1128, L 1139
Kārle II	Sk. <i>Śivaskanda</i> > <i>Sivakhada</i> - L 1105 ^a , also cf <i>-sata</i> - L 1099 ^{2,3} .
Kanhēri	cf <i>cātudisa</i> - L 998 ⁴ etc <i>Siva-pāhita</i> - L 993 ²
Banavāsī	cf <i>Sātakammi</i> - L 1186 ¹

(b) The sibilant *ṣ* disappears from all inscriptions except a few at Nāsik

Beḍṣā	Sk <i>Asādha</i> > <i>Asāḷa</i> - L 1110
Kārle I	Sk <i>Rṣabha</i> > <i>Usabha</i> - L 1097, also cf <i>Asaḍhamitā</i> - L 1098
Kudā	cf <i>Asūlha</i> - L 1041 or <i>Asāḷa</i> - L 1066
Junnar	Sk <i>Rṣi</i> > <i>Isi</i> - L 1176
	Sk <i>ṣoḍaśā</i> > <i>sodasa</i> - L 1152

The cerebral *ṣ* is preserved in the following numeral

	Sk. <i>śaḍ-vimśati</i> > <i>ṣanu-visa</i> - L 1163
Nāsik II	Sk <i>Puruṣa</i> - <i>Purisa</i> - L 1127
Nāsik III	Sk <i>śreṇsu</i> > <i>śrenisu</i> L 1133.

But the sibilant *-ṣ-* is preserved in a proper name

	Sk <i>Rṣabha</i> > <i>Uṣava</i> - L 1132—L 1135.
Nānāghāt II	: Sk <i>Damaghoṣa</i> > <i>Damaghosa</i> - L 1120
Nāsik IV	Sk <i>nirviśesa</i> > <i>-nviśesa</i> - L 1123, also cf <i>-purisa</i> - L 1123; <i>Usabha</i> - L 1125
Kārle II	cf <i>Usabha</i> - L 1099 ¹ , <i>soḷa[sa]</i> - L 1099 ²
Kanhēri	cf <i>Isipāla</i> - L 1000 ¹ ; <i>solaśa</i> - L 998 ⁷ , L 1020 ⁸
Banavāsī	: Sk <i>śiṣya</i> > <i>sisa</i> - L 1186 ^a

§178 The aspirate *h* : The aspirate *h* is usually preserved in all positions. The following sporadic changes may be noted

(i) *-h-* > *-kh-* due to assimilation

Nāsik IV	: Sk <i>Kṣaharāta</i> > <i>Khakharāta</i> - L 1123
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(ii) Loss of intervocal *-h-* occurs in an inscription of the first century A.D.

Sailārwaḍī	: Sk <i>Śimhagupta</i> > <i>Siaguta</i> - L 1121
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§ 179 Palatalisation. The law of palatalisation under the operation of which mostly the dentals become palatals in the presence of the semivowel *y* and the sibilant *s* is discussed here. The dentals that are usually affected are *t* and *d*.

(a) Palatalisation of the dental *t* :

(i) Change *-ty-* > *-c-*. It has started from very early times. The examples that we get are almost of a stereotyped character.

Kudā	: Sk <i>rajāmātya</i> > <i>rājamaca</i> - L 1053.
Nāsik I	cf <i>rāyāmaca</i> - L 1141.
Nāsik IV	Sk <i>satyā</i> > <i>saca</i> - L 1123; cf. <i>āmaca</i> - L 1124 etc
Kārle II	: cf <i>amaca</i> - L 1105 ¹ , and Banavāsī (L 1186 ²).

(ii) Change *-t- > -c-* under the influence of the vowel *i* is rather peculiar. It has occurred about the beginning of the Christian era.

- Nāsik II . Sk *nir-yānta- > m-yānta-* L 1127.
 (iii) Change *-ts- > -ch-* : This has also occurred from early times.
 Pittalakhorā . Sk *Vātsī- > Vachī-* L 1191 etc.
 Kuḍā . Sk. *Kautsīputra- > Kochi-puta-* L 1058.
 Junnar . Sk *Vatsa- > Vacha-* L 1174
 Nānāghāt II . Sk *Samvatsarā- > Savachara-* L 1120.

It also occurs at Nāsik IV (L 1126, L 1146 etc.), Kārle II (L 1100¹, L 1106^{1,4}), Kanheri (L 1001²), and Banavāsī (L 1186¹).

Where the cluster *-ts-* does not occur in the body of a word but is due to sandhu the cluster is assimilated to the sibilant *cī* Nāsik IV . Sk *ut-savā- > usava-* L 1123.

(b) Palatalisation of the dental *d*

(i) Change *-dy- > -j-* :

- Pittalkhorā . Sk *vadya- > -veja-* L 1191 etc. ; also cf. Karle I (EI 24 282 No 16¹) and Kuḍā (L 1048)
 Junnar . Sk *travadya- > tevija-* L 1171. Also cf. *mahāveja-* L 1163
 Nāsik IV . Sk *Vidyādhara- > Vijādhara-* I. 1123.
 Sk *Adyakāla- > Ajakāla-* L 1125

(c) Palatalisation of the dental *dh* :

(i) Change *-dhy- > -jh-* :

- Nāsik IV . Sk *Vmdhya- > Vijha-* L 1123

(d) Palatalisation of the nasals *n* and *ṇ* .

(i) Change *-ny- > -ñ-* :

- Junnar . Sk. *punyārtha- > puñatha-* L 1174

(ii) Change *-n- > -ñ-* .

- Junnar . Sk *Kalyāna- > Kalāña-* L 1177, L 1179.

(iii) Change *-ny- > -mñ-* or *-ñ-* .

- Nānāghāt I . Sk *Dhānyagiri- > Dhamñagiri-* L 1112 B¹
 Junnar . Sk *dhānyika- (?) > dhamñika-* L 1180.

(iv) Change *n- > ny-*

- Nāsik II . Sk *naigama- > nyegama-* L 1127

(e) Palatalisation of *kṣ* :

(i) Change *kṣ > ch* in all positions

- Nānāghāt I . **kṣat* (> OIA *śāt*) > *cha* L 1112
 Junnar . Sk. *Lakṣmī- > Lachi-* L 1176
 Nāsik IV . Sk *sasthā- chaṭha-* L 1122.
 Sk *kṣana- > chana-* L 1123^a
 Sk *Rkṣaval- > -(a)chavata-* L 1123^a.
 Sk *kṣiptā- or kṣupta- > chata-* L 1125^a, L 1126^{a,1}.
 Kārle II . cf *chata-* L 1105^a
 Mahād . Sk *kṣētra- > cheta-* L 1073.

§ 180 Cerebralisation Under the operation of the law of cerebralisation the dentals are turned into cerebrals under the influence of certain sounds. These sounds

are usually *r*, vocalised or unvocalised, and the sibilant. In very few instances dentals, except the nasal *n* which changes to *ṇ* very often, become cerebrals without the influences noted above. As the examples noted below will bear out, the phenomenon has already a limited sphere of action and it becomes of some frequent occurrence in the inscriptions from the first century A.D. onwards. The changes at all places are, however, not of universal application.

(a) Cerebralisation of the dental *t* :

(i) Change *-ṛt-* > *-aṭ-* : The first instance occurs in the first century B.C.

Junnar : Sk. *Kṛta-putraka* > *Kaṭaputaka* L 1162
cf. however, *kata-* in L 1174

Nāsik IV : cf. *kaṭa-* L 1124 etc. and Kārie II (L 1105^a).

(ii) Change *-ṛt-* > *-ṭ-* : The examples are quite few,

Nāsik IV : Sk. *parivartaka* > *paṛivaṭaka* L 1124.

Banavāsi : Sk. *nartaka* > *naṭaka* L 1186^a

(iii) Change *-ṛ- ṭ-* > *-ṭ-* : The change is met with almost exclusively in the preposition *prati-*.

Nāsik III : Sk. *pratika* > **paṭika* > *paḍika* L 1133^{2,3}.
Sk. *Kṣaharāta* > [*kṣaharā*]*ṭa* L 1135
Sk. *apratī-dātavya* > **a-paṭī-dātava* > *a-paḍī-dātava* L 1133.

Nāsik IV : Sk. *pratisaṃstarana* > *paṭisaṭharana* L 1124 Also cf.
cf. *paṭī-puna* L 1123

Kaṇhēri : Sk. *pratyāṅga* > **paṭī-aga* > *paḍī-aga* L 998^a
Sk. *pratiṣṭhāpita* > **paṭīṣṭhāpita* > *paḍīṣṭhāpita*

Thus in some cases we get a double change. First the change of *-t-* > *-ṭ-* and then that of *-ṭ-* > *-ḍ-*.

(iv) Change *-tr-* > *-ṭ-* : This type of change has made its appearance perhaps in the first century B.C.

Junnar : Sk. *Citra* > *Ciṭa* L 1182

Nāsik IV : Sk. *patrikā* > *paṭikā* L 1124, Kārie II (L 1105^a).

Kaṇhēri : cf. *paḍika* L 1006^a

(v) Change *st-* and *-st-* > *ṣh-* and *-ṣh-* (or *-ṭ-*). This change has taken place since early times

Pittalkhorā : Sk. *stambha* > *ṣhaba* L 1188

Nānāghāt I : Sk. *hastin* > *haṣhi* L 1112 B

Nāsik IV : Sk. *Śristana* > *Śriṣṭana* (?) 1123

Sk. **nirastī* > *niraṣṭī* L 1123.

Kaṇhēri : Sk. *vāstavyā* > *vaṣṭhava* L 1002^a

Sk. *hāsta* > *haṣṭha* L 1024^a

(vi) Change *t* > *ṭ* without the influence of *r* or a sibilant

Nāsik IV : Sk. *Svetagiri* > *Seṭagiri* L 1123

(b) Cerebralisation of the dental *th* :

(i) Change *-rth-* > *-ṭh-* : It is found from the first century B.C. It may be noted that the cerebral is found only in the equivalents of the word *-artha-*.

Kuṣṭhā : Sk. *sārthavāha* > *saṭhāvāha* L 1066

We find the dental -th- in *sathavāha*- L 1062, L 1065.

Kāphēri : Sk. *sukhārtha* > *-sukhaṭha*- L 1016⁹; but
cf. *-sughatha*- L 1024⁹.

Sk. *puṇyārtha* > *pu[ñā]ṭha*- L 986¹¹.

(ii) Change -r-th- > -ṭh- : This is noticed even in the earliest inscriptions.

Beḍṣā Sk. *Mahārathinā* > *Mahārathim*- L 1111

Kārlē I cf. *mahārathī*- L 1088; also Nānāghāt I L 1112,
L 1116.

Nāsik IV Sk. *pariharatha* > *parihareṭha* L 1126

Kāphēri cf. *mahārathini*- L 1021⁹.

(iii) Change *sth*- or *-sth*- > *ṭh*-, *-ṭh*- :

Ajaṇṭā Sk. *sthānaka* > *ṭhānaka*- L 1198

Junnar Sk. *upasthāna* > *upaṭhāna*- L 1151; also cf. *Viraṭhāna*-
L 1168.

Kārlē II . Sk. *viṇyastha* > *viṇyaṭha*- L 1105⁹

All these examples are connected with the base √*sthā*-.

(iv) Change -th- > -ṭh- without apparent reason

Nānāghāt I Sk. *Dakṣināpatha* > *Dakhi[nāpa]ṭha*- L 1112.

Kārlē II . Sk. *pātha* > *pāṭha*- I, 1106¹.

Kāphēri . Sk. **i-ttha* > *eṭha* L 998⁹, L 1024¹¹; we get *eṭha* also
L 987¹⁵.

The cerebral *ṭh* appears to be due to confusion between the two hypothetical bases
**i-tra* and **i-ttha*.

(c) Cerebralisation of the dental *dh* :

(i) Change -rdh- > -dh- It is attested from early times.

Kārlē I : Sk. *vardhakin* > *vaḍhaki*- L 1092⁹

Junnar Sk. *vardha* > *-vadha*- (?) L 1152, we get *-dh*- in
Mudhakiya- L 1151.

Nāsik IV Sk. *mahardhika* > *-maḍḍhika*- L 1123

(ii) Change -r-dh- > -ḍh- The word *poḍhi*- (usually mas, but sometimes
neut L 1177, L 1180) in the sense of 'a tank, a cistern' is of frequent occurrence in
Prakrit inscriptions. The Sanskrit equivalent of this word is not quite certain. It
is proposed here to derive it from Sk. *pradhī*-⁵⁰ 'a well'. In that case the intervocal
-dh- > -ḍh- under the influence of *r*. The word occurs in the inscriptions at Bhājā
(L 1079), Nāsik I (L 1140), Junnar (*passim*), Nāsik II (L 1148 etc), Nānāghāt
II (L 1119), Kāphēri (L 995⁹ etc), and Mahād (L 1072).

(d) Cerebralisation of the dental *n* :

(i) The cerebralisation of -n- is observed in the Western inscriptions from
early days. However the dental -n- is also very often preserved.

Kārlē I : Though the dental *n* is usually preserved still a ten-
dency to cerebralise it in the intervocalic position can
be noticed.

Sk. *Dhenukākaṭa* > *Dhenukākaṭa*- L 1092; we get
Dhenu- L 1093.

50. The change of *a* > *o* is probably due to the influence of Sk. *protha*- 'a cave'.

- Sk. *layana* > *lena* L 1107
 Sk. *yavana* > [*ya*]*vana* EI 18 327.6.
- Kuṣā** . These inscriptions further demonstrate a marked tendency to cerebralise *n*. An example is noted where the change takes place even in the initial position
 Sk. *Nandā* > *Namdā* L 1037
 Sk. *bhāḡineyī* > *bhāḡmeyī* L 1041
 Sk. *antevāsini* > *ātivāsini* L 1060, but *atevāsini* L 1041
- Nāsik I** . Sk. *yavana* > *yona* L 1140; also cf *lena* L 1144.
Karāj cf *lena* L 1184
Junnar . Sk. *bhōjana* > *bhojana* L 1182
 Sk. *jāna* > *jana* L 1151, also cf *yavana* I. 1182
- Nāsik II** . We get examples of initial cerebralisation too
 Sk. *nyukta* > *nyula* L 1127
 Sk. *nr-yātita* > *vu-yācita* L 1127
 Sk. *kuḷumbini* > *kuḷumbni* L 1127
- Nāsik III** cf *lena* L 1133
Śailārwaḍi . Here *n* becomes *n* in all cases and in all positions
 cf *Namda* L 1121, *Dhenukākala* L 1121 etc etc
- Nāsik IV** Though not invariably, *n* becomes *n* very often
 Sk. *paryavasāna* > *payavasāna* L 1146
 Sk. *senā* > *-senā* L 1146
 Sk. *varnana* > *vanana* L 1124 etc etc
- Kārlē II** . Sk. *yāpanārtha* > *yāpanatha* L 1099¹, also cf *lena* L 1099¹, but *lena* L 1100¹, L 1105¹
- Kanhēri** The cerebralisation is observed frequently
 Sk. *pāṇiya* > *pāṇiya* L 1006¹ etc but cf *pāṇiya* L 1016¹.
 Sk. *bhagmī* > *bhagmu* L 1021¹, but cf *bhagmī* L 1006¹
 Sk. *Ananda* > *Anada* L 999¹, L 1024¹,
 cf *lena* L 1072
- Mahād** Sk. *natlaka* > *natlaka* L 1186¹
Banavāsī

(11) The change of *n* > *n* in terminations is dealt with here separately, as the presence of *-n-* in terminations need not be necessarily taken as changing Sk. *-n* > *-n-* but as merely the case of preserving original Sk. *-n*. It will be noticed that whereas the earlier inscriptions preserve the dental *-n-* of terminations, the later ones change it to *-n-* after the fashion in Sanskrit.

- Bhājā** *-n-* not cerebralised in terminations
 Sk. *dharmagiriṇām* > *Dhamagiriṇām* L 1080
 Sk. *sthaviraṇām* > *therānam* L 1080 etc.
- Nādsur** *-n-* not cerebralised as above
 Sk. *-putrena* > *-putena* L 1067
 Sk. *bhrātṛ* > *bhātu-no* L 1068
- Pittalkhorā** Here also *-n-* remains unchanged.
 Sk. *putrāṇām* > *putāna* L 1188

- Kārlē I : -n- is sometimes changed to -n-
 Sk. *putreṇa* > *-puteṇa* L 1092, but
 cf *Rohamutreṇa* > *Rohamutena* EI 18 326 5¹.

On this analogy we also get some examples where -n- > -n- though Sanskrit does not require it

- Nāsik I Sk. *hamantānām* > *hematānam* L 1107.
 Sk. *svāminā* > *sāmīna* L 1092
 Sk. *śreṣṭhinā* > *selhinā* L 1087
 But cf *putena* L 1140
 Junnar . Sk. *bhrātṛnām* > *bhātūnam* L 1169.
 Sk. *trīni* > *tiṇi* L 1163.
 Sk. *dvi-* > *be-na* L 1151

But it is not cerebralised in *camdānam* L 1156 The -n- of the suffix is, however, not cerebralised here

- Nāsik III Sk. *bhikṣu-nī* > *bhikkhu-ni-* L 1152
 Sk. *Lakṣmī-nukā-* > *Laciu-nukā* L 1176
 Contrary to our expectations these inscriptions show a tendency not to cerebralise -n- in terminations
 Sk. *putrena-* > *putena* L 1133
 Sk. *trīni* > *trīni* L 1133
 Sk. *nālikerānām* > *nālikerāna* L 1133
 Sk. *sahasrāni* > *-sahasāni* L 1133, but cf *sahasrām* L 1133
 Sāilārwaḍī -n- > -ni- though Sanskrit does not require it
 Sk. *grhapatī-nā* > *gahapatī-nā* L 1121
 Nāsik IV Sk. *grī-mānām* > *gimhāna* L 1126
 Sk. *kuṭumbikena* > *kuṭumbikena* L 1147 etc
 But cf *putena* L 1130
 Kārlē II -n- > -n- in some cases
 Sk. *brāhmanānām* > *brahmanāna* L 1099¹.
 Sk. *sahasradena* > *-sahasade-na* L 1099²

But cf *bhikkhuna* L 1105², *putena* L 1099¹, 1100²,³ etc

- Kanhēri In many cases it is cerebralised
 Sk. *sarvena* > *savena* L 998-
 Sk. *stharvānām* > *therānam* L 987¹⁰, *therāna* L 1006¹
 cf also the following examples
 Sk. *ālmanah* > *āpana* L 1024⁷.
 Sk. *bhikṣu-* > *bhikkhuno* L 998⁷
 Sk. *sanghena* > *samghena* L 1024¹³, etc

The dental -n- is preserved in some cases as

- Mahād Sk. *śiṣyena* > *sīsena* L 987²⁰
 Sk. *parivāreṇa* > *parivārena* L 998², etc
 . Sk. *sarvena* > *savena* L 1073
 Sk. *kṣetrām* > *chetām* L 1073
 Sk. *yāni* > *yāni* L 1073

(e) Cerebralisation of the cluster *-ñ-* :

(1) Change *-ñ- > -n-* occurs in very few instances of about the first century A.D.

Nānāghaṭ II : Sk. *rāmāh* > *raṇo* L 1120.

Nāsik IV : Sk. *āñāpta-* > *ānata-* L 1124, L 1126.

(f) Cerebralisation of the liquid *l* :

(i) *-l- > -ḷ-* in a few examples .

Junnar : Sk. *Nandabāḷikā-* > *Nadabāḷikā-* L 1176

Kārlē II : Sk. *Autkhalakīya-* > *Okhalakīya-* L 1100²

(ii) *-l- > -ḷ-* (or *-r-*)

Junnar : Sk. *Syāmala-* > *Sāmaḷa-* or *Sāmara-* L 1175

III CONSONANT CLUSTERS

§ 181 The consonant clusters in these inscriptions are usually simplified by the process of assimilation. The method of assimilation is the usual one followed in Pāli and literary Prakrits where two consonants of equal value form a cluster, the former is assimilated to the latter and in case of unequal value the stronger of the two prevails. Though these assimilated conjuncts are represented in writing as a single consonant with only one symbol, they were no doubt, pronounced as double ones, except of course in the initial position and in all likelihood where the quantity of the preceding short vowel was lengthened. Thus the method of putting down a single symbol for an assimilated conjunct forms only an orthographical peculiarity and does not always represent the correct pronunciation. In the following discussion the words are quoted as they actually appear in the inscriptions and not with the restored spelling.

Very few conjuncts have been dissolved by the addition of a vowel—i.e. *svara-bhakti*—and some of them have been preserved without assimilating the conjunct. The following discussion is centred round only the important clusters. Such clusters as exemplify the normal assimilation, as for example, *kt > tt*, *pt > tt*, *ngh > mgh* (or *gh*), *nt > mt* (or *t*) are not illustrated.

§ 182 As noted above the double consonants are normally represented orthographically as single ones. But the following few instances show the double ones.

Padana : *-tt-* is found in,

Sk. *Musaladatta-* > *Musaladatta-* L 978, L 981

Nāsik IV *-ddh-* is found in,

Sk. *siddha-* > *siddha-* L 1123, L 1124

But cf. *sīdha-* L 1122 etc

§ 183 Consonant clusters with Stops. A cluster of two stops is normally assimilated to the latter. The following discussion only deals with stops clustered with sibilants and semivowels.

(a) Clusters with sibilants + gutturals .

(1) Change *sk > kh*

Kuḍā : Sk. *Skanda-* > *Khamda-* L 1037, L 1045

Nāsik IV : Sk. *skandhāvāra-* > *khadhāvāra-* L 1125

Kārlē II : Sk. *Śivaskanda-* > *Sivakhada-* L 1105⁶

Kanheri : Sk. *Skandanāga-* > *Khamdanāga-* L 1021².

Banavāsī : cf. *Sivakhada-* and *Khadāsī-* L 1186².

(ii) Change *-šk-* > *-k-* :

Paṭhyār . Sk *puṣkarinī* > *pukaruṇ-* L 91.

(b) Clusters with sibilants + cerebrals :

(i) Change *-ś-* > *ṭh-* :

Nānāghāt I . Sk *īśā* > *yṭha-* L 1112.

Sk **laṣṭi* > *-laṭhi-* L 1112

Junnar . Sk *aśā* > *aṭha* L 1168

It is found also at Nāsik III (L 1133), Kārle II (L 1099^a), Kaṇhēri (L 1021^a), Mahād (L 1072, L 1073)

(ii) Change *-ṣṭh-* > *ṭh-* :

Beḍṣā . Sk *śreṣṭhin-* > *seṭhi-* L 1109

Pittalkhorā . Sk *Pratiṣṭhāna-* > *Paṭiṭhāna-* L 1187 etc

Ajanṭā . Sk *Vāsiṣṭhī-* > *Vāsiṭhi-* L 1197.

Kārle I . cf *seṭhi-* L 1087.

Kuḍā . Sk *kaṁṣṭhā-* > *kaneṭha-* L 1045

Nāsik I . Sk *mṣṭhāpita-* > *mṭhāpāpita-* L 1141.

Kōl . cf *seṭhi-* L 1075.

Nānāghāt II . cf *Vāsaṭhiṭpita-* L 1120

Nāsik IV . Sk *adhṣṭhāna-* > *adhṭhāna-* L 1123

Sk *śaṣṭhā-* > *chaṭha-* L 1122.

Kārle II . Sk *mṣṭhita-* > *nṭhita-* L 1106^a

Kaṇhēri . cf *Paṭiṭhāna-* L 988^a etc

Mahād . cf *seṭhi-* L 1073

(iii) Change *-ṣṭh-* > *-th-* . This loss of cerebralisation is met with very rarely. It is worth noting that in the following examples the original Sk root has the dental and not the cerebral :

Nāsik IV . Sk *pratiṣṭhāpana-* > *paṭiṭhāpana-* L 1123 ; also cf. *paṭiṭhāpita-* L 1006^a

(c) Clusters with sibilants + dentals :

(i) Change *st* > *th* both initially and medially

Bhājā . Sk *stūpa-* > *thupa-* L 1080 , also cf Beḍṣā (*thupa-* L 1110) and Nādsur (*thūpa-* L 1068)

Nāsik I . Sk *stambha-* > *thabha-* L 1088 etc

Sk *hastin-* > *hathi-* L 1089

Kuḍā . cf *thambha-* L 1045.

Nānāghāt I : cf *hathi-* L 1112

Nāsik II . Sk *vāstavyā-* > *vāthava-* L 1148

Nāsik III . cf *vāthava-* L 1133

Sailārwaḍī . cf *vāthava-* L 1121

Nāsik IV . Sk *hāsta-* > *hatha-* L 1139

Kārle II : cf *vāthava-* L 1105^a, L 1106^a

Kaṇhēri : Sk **stubha-* > *thuba-* L 993^a

(ii) Change *st* > *th*. Cf above cerebralisation § 180, (v)(iii) Change *sth* > *th* .

The word *thera-* > Sk *sthāvira-* occurs at Bhājā (L 1081 etc.), Kārle I (L 1089), Kuḍā (L 1040 etc.), Junnar (L 1171), and Kaṇhēri (L 987^a etc.). Also cf.

Kaṇhēri : Sk *upasthāna-* > *upathāna-* L 988^a.

- (iv) Change *sth* > *t* with the loss of aspiration.

Kārlē I . Sk. *gr̥has̥tha-* > *gahata-* L 1091

- (v) The cluster- *-sth-* is once preserved in an inscription of about second century A.D.

Kārlē II Sk *-sthiti-* > *sthata-ye* L 1106^a

- (d) Cluster with semivowel *r* + *dentals*⁵¹ :

- (i) Change *-rt-* > *-t-* :

Junnar Sk *mvārtana-* > *mvatana-* L 1162 etc

Nāsik III . Sk *Kārttika-* > *Kātika-* L 1133

Nāsik IV . Sk *var̥tita-* > *-vatita-* L 1123

Also cf *mvatana-* L 1125

- (ii) Change *-rth-* > *-th-* .

Kārlē I Sk *ār̥tha-* > *atha-* EI 18 326.5

Kudā Sk *sār̥thavāha-* > *sathavāha-* L 1062, L 1065

Junnar Sk *puṇyār̥tha-* > *puñatha-* L 1174

Nāsik III Sk *fir̥thā-* > *tiṭha-* L 1135.

Kan̥hērī cf *-sughatha-* L 998⁵ etc ; *puṇyatha-* L 1000³

- (iii) Change *-rd-* > *-d-* :

Vakālā Sk *maṛdana-* > *-madana-* L 968

Nāsik I Sk *cāṭur̥dīśa-* > *cātudīśa-* L 1140, also Nāsik II (L 1127), Nāsik III (L 1133), Kārlē II (L 1099^a etc), and Kan̥hērī (L 998^a etc)

Nāsik IV cf *madana-* L 1123

- (iv) Change *-rdh-* > *-dh-*

Kudā Sk *Ardhagacchaka-* > *Adhagacchaka-* L 1058

Nānāghāt I Sk *kulavardhana-* > *kulavadhana-* L 1112

Nāsik III Sk *Govardhana-* > *Govadhana-* L 1133

Nāsik IV Sk *dhanur̥dhara-* > *dhanudhara-* L 1123

Kan̥hērī Sk *ardhā-* > *ādha-* L 1024¹¹

§ 184 Consonant Clusters with the Semivowels .

- (a) Clusters with stop + *y* . In the treatment of palatalisation one aspect of the clusters with *dentals* has already been noticed Under this head some other aspects are dealt with

- (i) Change *-gy-* > *-g-*

Nāsik IV Sk *ārogya-* > *aroga-* L 1126

- (ii) Change *-jy-* > *-j-*

Nāsik III Sk *bhojya-* > *bhoja-* L 1133

- (iii) Change *-ty-* > *-tiy-* :

The word *cetiya-* < Sk *cetiya-* occurs in most of the cave inscriptions cf Kudā (L 1050, L 1058), Nāsik I (L 1140, L 1141), Junnar (L 1153, L 1178), and Kan̥hērī (L 987^a)

- (iv) Change *-ty-* > *-t-* .

Nāsik IV Sk *ācintya-* > *acita-* L 1123

51. Contrast this treatment with that of cerebralisation above § 180.

(v) The cluster -ly- is preserved in a few examples :

Junnar : Sk. *amātya*- > [ā]mātya- L 1174

Nāsik III : Sk. *naityaka*- > *netyaka*- L 1135

(b) Clusters with the semi-vowel *r* + *y* . The treatment of this cluster is rather varied

(i) Change -ry- > -riy- :

Kārlē I Sk. *bhāryā* > *bhariyā* EI 24 282.16²

Nānāghāt I . Sk. *brahmacārya*- > -*bramahacariya*- L 1112
Also cf *bhāriyā*- L 1112

Nāsik I cf *bhāriyā* L 1141.

Junnar Sk. *ganūcārya*- > *ganācariya*- L 1171.

Nāsik IV cf **bhāriyā* > *bhariya*- L 1146

Kanhēri Sk. *ācāryā*- > *ācariya*-¹, 987³

Banavāsī cf *acariya*- L 1186²

(ii) Change -ry- > *-riy- > -ria-⁵²

Kanhēri Sk. *ācāryā*- > *ācariya*- L 999¹

(iii) Change -ry- > -y- by assimilation .

Kuḍā Sk. *bhāryā* > *bhayā* L 1037, L 1045 etc

Nānāghāt Sk. *Āptor-yāma*- > *Atuyāma*- L 1112

Nāsik I Sk. *nir-yātita*- > *nir-yātita*-⁵³ L 1140

In these two examples the cluster is rather -r-y- and not -ry-

Junnar cf *bhayā*- L 1155, L 1176

Nāsik III cf *nir-yātita*- L 1133

Nāsik IV Sk. *pariyavasita*- > -*payavasita*- L 1146

Kārlē II cf *bhayā* L 1099³, and Kanhēri (L 993¹)

Once the cluster is represented as a double one

Kanhēri Sk. *āryaka*- > *āryyaka*- L 1002⁵

(iv) Change -ry- > *-riy- > *-yir- > *-ir-

Nāsik IV Sk. *aryaka*- > *airaka*- L 1124, also *ayakā*- L 1123

(c) Clusters with the semivowel *l* + *y* As in the case of *ry*, *ly* has also developed in various ways

(i) Change -ly- > -liy- .

Kanhēri Sk. *Kalyāna*- > *Kāliyana*- L 998³ etc
We also get *Kāliyiniki*- L 1014¹

(ii) Change -ly- > -lay-

Kanhēri Sk. *Kalyāna*- > *Kālayāna*- L 1024³

(iii) Change -ly- > -l- by assimilation

Nāsik III . Sk. *mūlya*- > -*mūla*- L 1133

Nāsik IV Sk. *tulya*- > *tula*- L 1123

(iv) Change -ly- > *-liy- > -lla- .

Junnar Sk. *Kalyāna*- > *Kāliāna*- L 1177, L 1179

Kanhēri cf *Kāliana*- L 988³, L 1000¹

⁵² cf above the loss of intervocalic -y- § 176 (iv).

⁵³ The word can also be derived from Sk. *nir-yātita*- cf HULTZSCH, *Inscr. of Aśoka*, p lx1, note 1.

(v) The cluster *-ly-* is once preserved at Nāsik III in *mūlya-* (L 1133) probably as a loan word

Nāsik III Sk *mūlya-* > *mūlya-* L 1133

(d) Clusters with the semivowel *v* + *y* The cluster is regularly assimilated to *v* in later inscriptions

(i) Change *vy* > *v* initially and medially

The word *vāthava-* < Sk *vāstavyā-* occurs at various places Cf Nāsik II (L 1148), Nāsik III (L 1133), Śātlār-wādī (L 1121), Kārle II (L 1105¹, L 1106²), and *vāthava-* at Kanhēri (L 1024³) We may also cf *-vatava-* < Sk *vaktavya-* at Nāsik IV (L 1126) and *dātava-* < Sk *dātavya-* at Nāsik IV (L 1139), and Kanhēri (L 998⁴)

(e) Consonant clusters with sibilants + *y* The clusters are usually assimilated to *s* In a very few cases they are preserved

(i) Change *-śy*, *-ṣy-*, and *-sy-* > *-s-*

Kudā Sk *Puśyā-* > *Puśā-* L 1045, also *Pusanaka-* L 1065

Nāsik I Sk. *uddiśya* > *udisa* L 1140, also Nāsik II (L 1148)

Nāsik III Sk *bhaviśyati* > *bhaviśati* L 1133

Nāsik IV Sk. *aprāveśya-* > *apavesa-* L 1125 etc

Sk *kṛśyate* > *kaśate* L 1126

Kanhēri Sk *śiśya-* > *śisa-* L 987²⁰

(ii) In the genitive singular termination of the masculine and neuter nouns ending in *-a*, *-sy-* > *-s-* It is only in the inscription of King Pulumāyī at Kārle that the cluster is preserved

Kārle II Sk *vāstavyasya* > *vathavyasya* L 1106²

Sk. *putrasya* > *puttasya-* L 1106²

Sk *Sauvarṣakasya* > *Sovasakasya* L 1106²

(f) Consonant Cluster with the aspirate *h* + *y*

(i) Change *-hy-* > *-y-*

Nāsik IV Sk *pratigṛhya* > *patigaya* L 1124

(ii) *-hy-* is preserved in Nāsik IV Sk *Sahya-* > *Sahya-* L 1123 (as a loan word ?)

(iii) Change *-hy-* > *-yh-* by metathesis

Nāsik IV Sk *pratigṛhya* > *patigayha* L 1124

§ 185 Consonant Clusters with the Semi-vowel *r* In a large number of instances the cluster is generally assimilated But in some cases the cluster is preserved This tendency to preserve the cluster with *r* is noted especially in the North-Western (and Western) inscriptions of Aśoka and in later period it is noticed in inscriptions of Western India more than in any other individual group of Prakrit inscriptions (except of course the North-Western)

(a) Clusters with stop + *r*

(i) Change *-(s){tr}* > *-th-*:

Nāsik IV Sk. *rāṣṭrā-* > *raṭha-* L 1124, L 1125

(ii) Change *-tr-* > *-t-*:

Vakālā Sk *Satrumardana-* > *Satumadana-* L 968.

Bhājā Sk *putrā-* > *-puta-* L 1079

Beḍṣā Sk *Asādhamitra-* > *Asālamita-* L 1110.

- Nādsur : cf. *puta-* L 1067.
 Pittalkhorā . Sk *Mitradeva-* > *Mitadeva-* L 1187.
 Ajaṇṭā cf *puta-* L 1197.
 Kārle I . Sk *Svātrimitra-* > *Sātimita-* L 1094.
 Kuḍā . cf *Sātimita-* L 1040
 Nānāghāt I . Sk *trivātra-* > *trivata-* L 1112 ;
 also cf. *-Dasarata-* L 1112.
 Nāsik I Sk *mahāmātra-* > *mahāmāta-* L 1144.
 Karāḍ . cf *-puta-* L 1184
 Junnar Sk *Buddhamitra-* > *Budhamita-* L 1169
 Also initially Sk *traviḍya-* > *teviya-* L 1171.
 Nāsik II . cf *Sivamita-* L 1138
 Śailārwaḍī cf *puta-* L 1121 , also Nānāghāt II (L 1120).
 Nāsik IV Sk *kṣatriya-* > *Khatiya-* L 1123. And initially
 Sk *trivarga-* > *-tivaga-* L 1123
 Kārle II Sk *kṣatrapa* > *khatapa-* L 1099¹

It is represented as a double consonant in *putta-* L 1106²

- Kaṇhērī cf *S[ī]vamita-* L 998³.
 Mahāḍ Sk *kṣātra-* > *cheta-* L 1073
 Banavāsī cf. *-puta-* L 1186⁴

(iii) Change -tr- > -tar- .

- Karāḍ Sk *Saṅghanultra-* > *Samgham[ī]tara-* L 1184
 Nāsik III Sk *jāmālā* > *jāmātārā* L 1133
 Kārle II Sk *mātrā* > *mātārā*⁵⁴ L 1106⁴ , also *jāmātārā* L 1199⁵.

(iv) The cluster -tr- is preserved in a few cases from the inscriptions of early times

- Beḍṣā Sk *putrā-* > *putra-*⁵⁶ L 1109
 Pittalkhorā Sk *Vātsīputra-* > *[Vachīpu]tra-* L 1189
 Kārle I Sk *Agnimitra-* > *Agimitra-* L 1088
 also *putra-* EI 18 329 13
 Sk *Gauḍīputra-* > *Gotīputra-* L 1088 ,
 Nānāghāt I Sk *putrada-* > *putrada-* L 1112

It is also preserved initially in the proper name *Tranakayiro* But the reading is uncertain as the symbol can as well be read as *bha* or *va*

- Nāsik II cf *-putra-* L 1148
 Nāsik III Sk *catra-* > *celra-* L 1135
 Sk *trū* > *trū* L 1133
 Sk *Kṣatrapa-* > *Kṣatrapa-* L 1132-L 1135 ,
 also *putra-* L 1132, L 1134 , and Kaṇhērī . cf. *-putra-*
 L 100³

(v) Change -dr- > -d- .

- Kārle I Sk *Bhadraśarman-* > *Bhadasama-* L 1101, L 1102.
 Nānāghāt I Sk *Candra-* > *Camda-* L 1112.
 Sk *Indra-* > *Ida-* L 1112.

54. This is, however, doubtful.

55. FRANKE's reading cf ZDMG 50.593.

- Junnar : cf. *Caṇḍa*- L 1156
 Nāsik IV . Sk. *samudrā*- > *-samuda*- L 1123.
 Also cf *Mahāda*- L 1123, *Cada*- L 1123
- (vi) The cluster *-dr-* is preserved in a few instances from Nāsik group.
 Nāsik I Sk *Indrāgnī*- > *īdrāgnī*- L 1140
 Nāsik III . cf the place name *Cikhala-padra*- L 1133
- (vii) Change *-dhr-* > *-dh-* :
 Nāsik II : Sk. *alparandhra*- > *aparadha*- L 1148
- (viii) Change *pr* > *p* initially and medially :
 Pittalkhorā Sk *Pratiṣṭhāna*- > *Patukhāna*- L 1187 etc.
 Kuṇḍā : Sk *pravrajitkā*- > *pāvajitkā*- L 1041
 Junnar : Sk *prayoga*- > *payoga*- L 1158
 Sk *pramukha*- > *-pamugha*- L 1153
 Nāsik III Sk *a-prati*- > *a-padi*- L 1133
 Nāsik IV Sk *prīyā*- > *-piya*- L 1123
 Sk *prathamā*- > *pathama*- L 1146
 Kārle II . cf *pathama*- L 1100¹, *pavajita*- L 1099¹, L 1105²
 Kanherī Sk *pralokana*- > *-palogana*- L 1012²
- (ix) Change *-pr-* > *-pīr-* .
 Kuṇḍā Sk. *Śiva-prīta*- > *Śivapīrita*- L 1051
- (x) Cluster *pr* is preserved :
 Nāsik III Sk *prayukta*- > *prayuta*- L 1133
- (xi) Change *br-* > *b-* .
 Kolhāpur Sk *Brahman*- > *Bamha*- L 1185¹
 Nāsik IV Sk *brāhmanā*- > *-bamhana*- L 1123
- (xii) The cluster *br* is preserved in the following examples
 Nānāghāṭ I . Sk. *brahmacārya*- > *-brahmacarīya*- L 1112
 Nāsik III Sk *brāhmanā*- > *brāhmana*- L 1133, L 1135
 Kārle II cf *brahmana*- L 1099²
- (b) Clusters with semi-vowel *v* + *r* .
 (i) The cluster is always assimilated to *v* as for example Sk *pravrajita*- > *pavajita*- The word occurs almost in all inscriptions
 (ii) The cluster is once initially preserved perhaps as a loan word
 Nānāghāṭ I Sk *vratā*- > *vrata*- L 1112
 (c) Clusters with sibilant + *r* : The clusters are usually assimilated to *s*
 (i) Change *śr-* > *s-*
 Beḍṣā . Sk *śreṣṭhin*- > *sethi*- L 1109 The word recurs in many later inscriptions
 Junnar Sk. *śreni*- > *semi*- or *seni*- L 1162, L 1165
 (ii) Change of *śr* > *sr* is found in the word *siri*- < Sk *śrī*- in all cases
 (iii) *śr-* is preserved as *śr-* or *sr-* in a few cases
 Nāsik III Sk. *śreni*- > *śreni*- L 1133
 Sk. *śrāvītā*- > *srāvita*- L 1133
- (iv) *-sr-* is preserved in .
 Nāsik III Sk *sahāśra*- > *-sahasra*- L 1133, L 1135

§ 186. Consonant clusters with the semivowel *l* :(i) Change *kl-* > *kil-* :Nāsik IV . Sk *klinna* > *-kilina* L 1123.(ii) Change *-hl-* > *-lh-* by metathesis :Nāsik IV . Sk *Pahlava* > *Palhava* L 1123

§ 187. Consonant clusters with the semivowel *v* In a majority of cases the cluster is assimilated In a few cases, however, it is dissolved by svarabhakti or is preserved.

(a) Clusters with stop + *v* .(i) Change *-tv-* > *-t-*Junnar Sk *catvāri* > *catāri* L 1167Kārlē II Sk *sattivā* > *-sata-* L 1106³Kāṇhēri cf *-sata-* (L 1016⁵) and *-satu-* (L 998⁵)(ii) Change *dv-* > *b-* It usually occurs in the numeralsBeḍṣā Sk *dvītyikā* > *bitiyakā* L 1111.Kuḍā Sk *dvaū* *be* L 1039 , also cf *bitiyakā* L 1065.Nānāghāt I Sk *dvādaśā* > *bārasa-* L 1112Junnar cf *be* L 1163 , *bārasa* L 1163Nāsik III cf *be* L 1133 , *bārasaka-* L 1133Kol cf *bitiyakā* L 1076Nāsik IV cf *bārasaka-* L 1139 , *bitiya-* L 1123Kārlē II cf *bitiya-* L 1106¹Kāṇhēri Sk *dvi-garbha* > *bi-gabha-* L 998¹¹,
ba-gabha- L 998¹⁰Mahād cf *be* L 1072(iii) Change *dv* > *d* initially and mediallyKārlē I Sk *Jambudvīpa* > *Jabudīpa-* L 1087Junnar Sk *pādonadvika-* > *pāonaduka-* L 1165Sk *dvāra* > *-dāra-* L 1150Nāsik II Sk *dvaū* > *do* L 1148Nāsik III Sk *dvi-* > *dī-* L 1133Nāsik IV Sk *dviṣā* > *dīṣa-* L 1123(iv) Change *dv-* > *v-*Kārlē I Sk *dvaū* *ve* L 1101, *EI* 124 282 (No 16³)(v) The cluster *dv* is rarely preservedJunnar Sk *dvi* *dve* L 1164(vi) Change *-dv-* > *-nuv-* in a numeralJunnar . Sk *śāḍvīṣaṭi* > *ṣanuviṣa*⁵⁶ L 1163.

(b) Clusters with the semivowel *r* + *v* The cluster is always assimilated to *v* in later inscriptions as for example Sk *sārva* > *sava-* It is only once represented as a double consonant at Kāṇhēri cf *savva-* L 987¹⁴

(c) Clusters with the sibilants + *v* The cluster is usually assimilated to *s* :(i) Change *sv* or *śv* > *s* initially and mediallyKārlē I Sk *Svātīmitra* > *Sātīmitā-* L 1094Kuḍā cf *Sātīmitā-* L 104056 Perhaps, under the influence of *śān-ṇavati-*.

- Nānāghāt I Sk *śva-* > *asa-* L 1112
 Nāsik IV . Sk. *pāśvā-* > *-pasa-* L 1123
 Sk *patheśvara-* > *-pathesara-* L 1123
 Sk *svāmu-* > *-sāmi-* L 1125, L 1146

It occurs also at Kārlē II (L 1100¹) and Kaṇhērī (L 986¹, L 1024²)

- (ii) The cluster *sv* is sometimes preserved initially

- Kuḍā . Sk *svāmiputra-* > *svāmipula-* L 1062
 Nāsik IV cf *-svāmi-* L 1124, L 1125 and also Kaṇhērī (L 1001¹).

§ 188 Consonant clusters with the sibilants .

(a) The cluster *kṣ* is generally assimilated to *kh* in all positions It is only at times palatalised to *ch*⁵⁷ in these inscriptions which seems to have been the early western treatment of this cluster

- (i) Change *kṣ* > *kh* initially and medially

- Nādsur Sk *Sangha-rakṣita-* > *Sagha-rakhita-* L 1068
 Kārlē I Sk *bhikṣu-* > *bhikhu-* L 1101
 Kuḍā cf *Isi-rakhita-* L 1048
 Nānāghāt I . Sk *dākṣiṇā-* > *dakhinā-* L 1112
 Sk *dikṣā-* > *dikhā-* L 1112
 Nāsik I . cf *bhikhu-* L 1140, *-rakhita-* L 1140
 Junnar Sk *akṣaya-* > *akhaya-* L 1152, L 1155
 Sk *kṣetra-* > *kheta-* L 1168
 Nāsik II . cf *bhikhu-* L 1127
 Nāsik III . Sk *Dakṣa-* > *Dakha-* L 1132, L 1134
 Nānāghāt II . Sk *pakṣā-* > *-pakha-* L 1120
 Nāsik IV Sk *ketra-* > *-kheta-* L 1125
 Also cf *-pakha-* L 1123 etc., *bhikhu-* L 1123 etc
 Kārlē II Sk *Kṣaharāta-* > *Khaharāta-* L 1099¹
 Also cf *bhikhu-* L 1105^{2,4}, *pakha-* L 1100¹ etc
 Kaṇhērī . cf *bhikhu-* L 998^{1,7}, *akhaya-* L 1006⁸ etc
 Mahāḍ . cf *-rakhita-* L 1073
 Banavāsī cf *pakha-* L 1186¹

(ii) The cluster *kṣ* is preserved in some Nāsik III inscriptions cf *Kṣaharāta-* L 1132, L 1133 and *Kṣatrapa-* L 1132 etc

(b) The cluster *ṛś* (or *ṛṣ*) is assimilated to *s* and sometimes with a nasal to *ms* In some cases the cluster becomes *h* and in fewer cases still the cluster is dissolved by svarabhakti

- (i) Change *-ṛś-* and *-ṛṣ-* > *-s-*

- Nānāghāt I . Sk *varṣā-* > *-vasa-* L 1112 It occurs also at Junnar (L 1174), Nāsik III (L 1133), and Nāsik IV (cf *vāsa* L 1125, L 1139)
 Nāsik IV Sk *dārśana-* > *-dasana-* L 1123
 Kārlē II Sk *Sauvarṣaka-* > *Sovasaka-* L 1106²,
 also *anuvāsa-* L 1099¹
 Kaṇhērī cf *vasa-* L 1000⁶, *vāsārata-* L 998⁷
 Banavāsī Sk *varṣasattā-* > *vasasatā-* L 1186¹

57 For this treatment cf above palatalisation § 179 (e).

(ii) Change *-rś-* > *-ñs-* :Kudā : Sk *Sudarśana-* > *Sudāmsana-* L 1054Nānāghāt I : Sk *Sankarśana-* > *Samkamsana-* L 1112

This is probably due to assimilation

(iii) Change *-rś-* > *-h-* Sk *kārśāpana-* is generally represented as *kāhāpana-* or *kāhāpana-*, cf Nānāghāt I (L 1112), Junnar (L 1152, L 1158), Nāsik III (L 1133), Nāsik IV (L 1139), and Kanheri (L 998⁷, L 1006^a etc)

(iv) Change *-rś-* > *-rīs-* .Nāsik IV : Sk *varśā-* > *varīsa-* L 1146Sk *rājarśi-* > *rājarīsi-* L 1123(v) The cluster *-rś-* is preserved probably in a loan wordNāsik III *kārśāpana-* L 1133§ 189 Consonant clusters with *h* It is dissolved by svarabhakti(i) Change *-rh-* > *-rah-* :Nāsik I : Sk *Arhat-laya-* > *Arahalaya-* L 1141

§ 190 Consonant clusters with Nasals The clusters with nasals follow the general treatment of such clusters in Prakrit inscriptions. When a nasal precedes a stop, the nasal is represented as an anusvāra which is either preserved in writing or not. Thus Sk *sangha-* will always become *saṃgha-* or *ṣagha-*. Similarly Sk *dhārma-* will always be *dhamma-* or *dhama-*. But some clusters with *ñ*, *n*, *n* and *m* show certain peculiarities which are noted below

(a) Clusters with the nasal *ñ*

1 The cluster *jñ* is generally assimilated to the following nasal and is represented as *mñ* or *ñ*. But in some cases it is replaced by the dental *n* and in a few cases by *n*.

(i) Change *jñ* > *mñ* or *ñ* in all positions :Nānāghāt I : Sk *yajñā-* > *yamñā-* L 1112, *yāñā-* L 1112Sk *rājñah* > *rañho* L 1114

Nāsik III : Sk *jñāyale* > *ñāyale* L 1135, also cf *rañho* L 1135, *rañho* L 1133, L 1134. It occurs also at Nāsik IV (L 1122 etc, *Siri-Yañā-* L 1146), Kārlē II (L 1099^a etc), Kanheri (L 987^a etc, *Siri-Yañā-* L 1024^a), and Banavāsī (L 1186^a)

(ii) Change *jñ* > *n* initially and mediallyBhājā : Sk *jñāta-* > *Nāya-* (?) L 1078Nāsik IV : Sk *ā-jñap-* > *ā-√napa-* L 1124, L 1125.Kārlē II : cf *ānata-* L 1105^aKanheri : Sk *jñāti-* > *nāti-* L 999^a, L 1020^a(iii) Change *jñ* > *n* cf cerebratisation § 180 (e) above

2 Cluster *ñc* becomes *ñc* or *c* in most cases. In a few cases, however, it becomes *n*.

(i) Change *-ñc-* > *-mc-* or *-c-*Junnar : Sk *pañcagarbha-* > *pa[ca]gabha-* L 1157Nāsik III : cf *pamca-* L 1133.

Nānāghāt II : cf *pacama-* L 1120, also Nāsik IV (L 1122, L 1126),
Kārle II (L 1100¹), and Kanhēri (cf *pacama-*
L 987³).¹

(ii) Change *-ñc-* > *-n-* in some numerals

Junnar Sk *pañcadaśā* > *panarasa* L 1158

Nāsik III cf *panarasa* L 1133, L 1135

(b) Clusters with the nasal *n*

1 The cluster *mn* becomes *mn* or *n* in earlier inscriptions and thus in this treatment *n* loses its cerebral aspect. Later on, however, the cerebral *n* establishes itself⁵⁸

(i) Change *-mn-* > *mn-* or *-n-*

Nānāghāt I Sk *suvarna-* > *suvamna-* L 1112 B etc

Sk *varna-* > *vana-* L 1112

(ii) Change *-mn-* > *-mn-* or *-n-*. It will be seen that the dental *n* does not appear in inscriptions dating after the beginning of the Christian era

Junnar Sk *suvarnakāra-* > *suvanākāra-* L 1177

Nāsik III Sk *Barnāsā* > *Banāsa-* L 1135

cf *suvana-* L 1135

Nāsik IV Sk *pūrnā-* > *-puna-* L 1123

Sk *varnana-* > *vanana-* L 1124

Sk *Sātakarni-* > *Sātakam-* L 1123 etc

Kārle II cf *Banāsā* L 1099²

Kanhēri cf *suvana-* L 986¹, *Sātakam-* L 1024²

Banavāsī . cf *Sātakamni-* L 1186¹

(iii) The cluster *-mn-* is once preserved

Nāsik III cf *suvarna-* L 1133

2 The cluster *sn*. Excepting a few instances from Nāsik I, the assimilated conjunct preserves the cerebral

(i) Change *-śn-* > *-nh-*

Bhājā Sk *Viśnu-* > *Vmhu-* L 1079

Kondāne Sk *Kṛṣṇa-* > *kanha-* L 1071.

Kuḍā cf *Vmhu-* L 1060

Nāsik IV cf *Vmhu-* L 1124, L 1125, *Kanha-* L 1123, L 1130

Kanhēri cf *Vmhu-* L 1001³, L 1002³, *Kanha-* L 1024³

Mahād cf *Vhemu-* L 1072, and Banavāsī cf *Vmhu-* L 1186¹

(ii) Change *-sn-* > *-nh-*

Nāsik I Sk *Kṛṣṇa-* > *Kanha-* L 1144

(iii) The cluster *-sn-* is once preserved

Nāsik II Sk *Viśnu-datta-* > *Viśnu-data-* L 1148

The compound is apparently a loan word

3 The cluster *-nd-* is represented either as *-ḍ-* or *-mḍ-*⁵⁹.

(i) Change *-nd-* > *-ḍ-*

Beḍṣā Sk *paṇḍapātika-* > *peḍapātika-* L 1110

Nāsik I Sk *bhāṇḍāgārika-* > *bhaṇḍakārika-* L 1141

58. Cf with this the treatment of single *n* above §173, (e. iii)

59. The derivation of *Mamḍava-* or *Madava-* (Kuḍā L 1037, L 1045) < Sk *Māṇḍapa-* or *Māṇḍavya-* is highly doubtful. LUDERS seems to derive the forms from *Māṇḍava-*.

4 The cluster *-nn-* becomes *-n-* in almost all later examples. Its earlier treatment in west seems to have been *-n-* or *-ñ-*

(i) Change *-ny-* > *-n-* :

Beḍṣā . Sk *āraṇyaka-* > *āraṇaka-* L 1110
 Junnar . Sk *hairanyaka-* > *heranuka-* L 1179
 Kanhēri . cf *heranuka-* L 996^a

(ii) Change *-ny-* > *-n-* :

Kanhēri . cf. *heranuka-* L 993^a

(iii) Change *-ny-* > *-ñ-*, cf above palatalisation § 179 (d)

(c) Clusters with the nasal *n* .

1 The cluster *-gn-* is either assimilated to *-g-* or is rarely preserved

(i) Change *-gn-* > *-g-*

Kārlē I . Sk *Agumitra-* > *Agimuta-* L 1088 ,
 also cf *Agī-la-* EI 18 326 5

Kuḍā : cf *Āgimuta-* L 1041

(ii) Preservation of the cluster is met with in the following example

Nāsik I . Sk *Indrāgmīdatla* > *īdragmīdatn-* L 1140

2 The cluster *-tn-* is assimilated to *-t-* or dissolved into *-tm-*

(i) Change *-tn-* > *-t-* .

Kanhēri . Sk *sapātina-* > *savata-* L 987¹¹

(ii) Change *-tn-* > *-tm-* .

Nāsik IV . Sk **senāpatnī-* > *seṇāpatim-* L 1146

3 The cluster *sn* is dissolved by svarabhakti

(i) Change *sn-* > *san-*

Kuḍā . Sk *snāna-* > *sanāna-* L 1056

4 The cluster *-ny-* is palatalised to *-ñ-* in earlier inscriptions . It appears as *n* later on

(i) Change *-ny-* > *-ñ-* . cf above palatalisation § 179 (d iii)

(ii) Change *-ny-* > *-n-*

Nāsik IV . Sk *Dhānyakala-* > *Dhanakaḷa-* L 1124¹²

Kārlē II . Sk *anya-* > *ana-* L 1106 , also Kanhēri (L 988¹¹).

(d) Clusters with the nasal *m*

1 The cluster *-tm-* is rarely preserved

Nāsik I . Sk *dharmātmanā* > *dhammātmanā* L 1140

2 The cluster *-dm-* > *-dum-* by svarabhakti

Kuḍā . Sk *Padmanikā* > *Padumanikā-* L 1041

3. The cluster *sm* or *ṣm* is usually changed to *mh*

(i) Change *-sm-*, *-ṣm-* > *-mh-* (or *-m-*)

Kārlē I . Loc sg term. *-smun* > *-mhi* L 1087.

Nāsik I : cf *-mhi* L 1140, and *-mī* in L 1141

Nāsik IV . Sk *asma-* > *amha-* L 1124, L 1125, etc

Sk *grīṣmā-* > *gimha-* L 1122, L 1123, etc

Kārlē II . cf *gimha-* L 1100¹ and also Kanhēri (L 987³ etc).

(ii) The cluster *-sm-* is preserved in one example

Nāsik III . Sk *maṣmūn* > *maṣmīn*.

4 The cluster *hm* is usually preserved in the form *mh* which it obtains by metathesis. But sometimes it is preserved in its original form

(1) Change *-hm-* > *-mh-*

Kolhāpur	Sk <i>Brahma-</i> > <i>Bamha-</i> L 1185 ¹
Kuḍā	Sk <i>brāhmanā-</i> > <i>bammhana-</i> L 1050 or <i>bammani-</i> L 1050
Nānāghāt	Sk <i>brahmacaryā-</i> > <i>bramhacariyā-</i> L 1112
Padana	cf <i>bamhacāri-</i> L 976
Nāsik IV	cf <i>bamhana-</i> L 1123

(ii) Cluster *hm* appears in

Nāsik III	cf <i>brāhmana-</i> L 1133, L 1135
Kārlē II	cf <i>brahmana-</i> L 1099 ²

5 The cluster *mbh* is usually represented as *mbh* or *bh* In some cases, however, the stop *bh* > *b* or *v*, cf for this treatment above under Labials § 175 (ii)

6 The cluster *-mr* > *-b-* (through **-mb-* ?)

Junnar	Sk <i>āmtrakā-bhrti-</i> > <i>ābikā-bhati-</i> L 1164
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MORPHOLOGY

A DECLENSION

§ 191 Bases ending in *-a* and *-ā*

(a) Masculine and Neuter Nouns in

Nom sg Mas The termination is *-o*, in a very few cases *-e* is noticed It may be noted that *-mukha* and *-ghara* are used as masculine nouns, and *kāhāpana* is mas and neut both

Nom sg Mas

(1) *-o*

Bhājā	<i>gābho</i> L 1078
Beḍsā	<i>thupo</i> L 1110
Pittal	<i>ṭhabo</i> L 1188
Ajaṇṭa	<i>gharamukho</i> L 1197
Kārlē I	<i>thabho</i> L 1088 etc
Kuḍā	<i>uyarako</i> L 1058 ; <i>cetiyaigharo</i> L 1050
Nānāgh I	<i>aso</i> L 1112
Nāsik I	<i>cetiyaigharo</i> L 1140
Junnar	<i>maṭapo</i> L 1174 ; <i>uvasako</i> L 1162
Nāsik II	<i>ovarako</i> L 1127
Nāsik III	<i>ovarako</i> L 1132 etc
Padana	<i>ārāmo</i> L 973 ; <i>pavato</i> L 975
Nāsik IV	<i>yakho</i> L 1143 <i>gāmo</i> L 1126 etc.

Nom pl Mas

(1) *-ā*

Kuḍā	<i>thambhā</i> L 1045
Nānāgh I	<i>asā</i> L 1112 , <i>kāhāpanā</i> L 1112.
Nāsik III	<i>brāhmanā</i> L 1135 ; <i>kāhāpanā</i> L 1133
Nāsik IV	<i>kārūtā</i> L 1143
Kaṇhēri	<i>ovarakā</i> L 988 ⁷ ; <i>therā</i> L 987 ¹⁶
Mahād	<i>ovarakā</i> L 1072.

Kārle II	<i>maḍaṇo</i> L 1106 ² , <i>gāmo</i> L 1100 ³ etc
Kaṇhēri	<i>cakamo</i> L 998 ⁴ , <i>-āramo</i> L 988 ¹⁰
Mahād	<i>dalo</i> L 1072
Banav	<i>viḥāto</i> L 1186 ² <i>amaco</i> L 1186 ²
(ii) -e .	
Nāsik IV	<i>ukute</i> L 1146 , <i>khetapaṇihār[e]</i> L 1125
(iii) -a	
Bhājā	<i>thupa</i> L 1080.
Beḍṣā	<i>kāṇṭa</i> L 1110.
Kārle I	<i>gharamugha</i> L 1090 etc
Kārle II	<i>navagabha</i> L 1106 ³ <i>deyadhama</i> L 1106 ²
Kaṇhēri	<i>thuba</i> L 993 ⁴

These are probably instances where bases are used without the addition of terminations

Acc sg Mas The anusvāra is almost in all cases dropped Once at Kārle we get the term -e

Acc sg mas

(i) -a	
Nāsik IV	<i>āmaca</i> L 1124 , <i>gāma</i> L 1123 etc
Kārle II	<i>paṇihara</i> L 1105 ¹ , <i>amaca</i> L 1105 ¹

(ii) -e

Kārle II	<i>paṇihāre</i> L 1105 ⁵
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Nom sg Neut . The anusvāra is occasionally dropped

(i) -am (or -a) .

Bhājā	<i>dānam</i> L 1078 ; <i>deyadhama</i> L 1079
Koṇḍāṇe	<i>kataṃ</i> L 1071
Beḍṣā	<i>dāna[m]</i> L 1109 , <i>deyadhama</i> L 1111
Nādsur	<i>kata</i> L 1067
Kolh	<i>dānam</i> L 1185 ¹
Pittal	<i>dānam</i> L 1188 , <i>dāna</i> L 1187

Acc pl Mas

(i) -e	
Nāsik IV	<i>paṇihāre</i> L 1124

Nom pl Neut (i) -m .

Junnar	<i>nivalaṇām</i> L 1158 ; <i>kāhāpaṇāni</i> L 1152
Nāsik III	<i>datām</i> L 1133 , <i>sahasrām</i> L 1133 etc
Nāsik IV	<i>nivalana-satām</i> L 1125
Kaṇhēri	<i>deyadhamām</i> L 988 ¹¹ , <i>ovarakāni</i> L 1024 ¹⁰ <i>Kāhāpaṇām</i> L 1024 ¹⁰ .
(ii) -ni .	
Nāsik IV	<i>bahukām</i> L 1146 , <i>varisām</i> L 1146

Ajaṇṭā	<i>deyadhamam</i> L 1198; <i>dāna</i> L 1197.	Mahāḍ	. <i>chetāṇi</i> L 1073.
Kārle I	. <i>mīthūnam</i> L 1102. <i>mīthūna</i> L 1101		
Kuḍā	<i>lenam</i> passim , <i>deyadhamma</i> passim		
Nānāgh I	<i>sakaṣaṇ</i> L 1112		
Nāsik I	<i>ceṭiya-gharam</i> L 1141, <i>leṇa</i> or <i>lenam</i> L 1140		
Karāḍ	<i>lena</i> , <i>deyadhama</i> L 1184		
Junnar	<i>bigabham</i> L 1169 , <i>dāna</i> L 1157		
Nāsik II	<i>lenam</i> L 1127 etc		
Nāsik III	<i>deyadhamam</i> L 1134 , <i>tiṭha</i> L 1135		
Padana	<i>Namdi-paam</i> L 980		
Kōl	<i>deyadhamam</i> L 1075 , <i>ceṭiyaghara</i> L 1075, L 1076		
Śaṭlār	<i>lena</i> , <i>deyadhama</i> L 1121		
Nānāgh II	<i>deyadhama</i> L 1119, L 1120		
Nāsik IV	<i>khelam</i> L 1126 etc , <i>khela</i> L 1125, L 1126		
Kanhēri	<i>nivesanam</i> L 998 ¹¹ , <i>ceṭia-ghara</i> L 988 ⁷		
Mahāḍ	<i>lenam</i> L 1073, <i>ceṭiyaghara</i> L 1072		
Banav.	<i>taḍāgam</i> L 1186		
(ii)-e			
Nāsik III	<i>kuśanamūle</i> L 1133		
Nāsik IV	<i>khelaparthāre</i> L 1126		
(iii) -ā,	probably due to loss of final		

anusvāra

Nāsik IV	<i>anatā</i> L 1124 (but cf <i>ānatam</i> L 1125)
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Inst sg (1) -*na* The term with dental
n is found since the earliest inscriptions

Kondāne	. <i>Balakena</i> L 1071
Bedśā	- <i>mitena</i> L 1100
Nādsur	. - <i>putena</i> L 1067
Kolh	<i>Dhamagālena</i> L 1185 ² .
Kārle I	[<i>Nam</i>] <i>dikenā</i> L 1104, <i>Bhūtapālcnā</i> L 1087

Inst pl (1) -*hi* The term is noticed
everywhere

Nānāgh I	. <i>yañehi</i> L 1112.
Nāsik IV	- <i>samanehi</i> L 1124 ¹² <i>parihārehi</i> L 1124, L 1125
Kārle II	<i>parihārehi</i> L 1105 ⁴ .
Kanhēri	<i>upamnehi</i> L 987 ³
Mahāḍ	<i>cheteḥi</i> L 1073

The vowel stroke of *nā* is not certain It may be a crack

Rohamutena EI 18 326 5.

Nāsik I *samanena* L 1144, *putena* L 1140

Nāsik III *-putrena* L 1133, *sahasradena* L 1135

Nāsik IV *-nikāyena* L 1124, *Usabhadatena* L 1125

Kārle II *-Somadevena* L 1100¹, *pūtena* L 1099¹ 1100- etc

Kaṇhēri *bālakena* L 1024¹, *sīsena* L 987²⁰.

Banavāsī *sīsena* L 1186¹, *naṭakena* L 1186¹.

(ii) *-na* The term with cerebral *-n-* is less frequent

Kārle I *-putena* L 1092¹, *Dhenukākāṭena* L 1092¹.

Nāsik I *mahāmātena* L 1144

Junnar *udesena* L 1163, L 1166

Śailar *putena* L 1121

Nāsik IV *kutumbikena* L 1147

Kārle II *-sahasradena* L 1099²

Kaṇhēri *savena* L 998², *Anadena* L 1024¹

Dat. sg. (i) *-ya*

Dat pl *-hi* (?)

Kārle I *saṃghāya* L 1107
athāya EI 18 326 5

Nāsik IV *vimbadhakārehi*
L 1124

Junnar *puññathaya* L 1174,
sukkhāya L 1153

Kaṇhēri *-sukkhāya* L 987²;
L 1007¹ etc

Abl sg (i) *-ā* This term is rather of frequent occurrence

Pittal *Paṭiṭhānā* L 1187 etc

Kārle I *Sopārakā* L 1694¹, L 1095¹

Dhenukākātā L 1090 etc

Kuḍā *lekhakā* L 1037

Nāsik IV *nāgavara-khadhā* L 1123,

-khadhavārā L 1125

Kaṇhēri *Sopārakā* L 995¹

(ii) *-ā-to* The termination is rarely used

Beḍṣā *Nāsikāto* L 1109

Nāsik IV *khetāto* L 1130

Kaṇhēri *Kahya[na]to* L 1032¹

Gen sg (i) *-(a)sa-*

Gen pl (i) *-nam* This term together
with *-na* occurs frequently

Vakālā *satumadanasa* L 1079

Konḍāṇe *Kaṇhasa* L 1071

Beḍṣā *putasa* L 1109

Nādsur *Mitasa* L 1068

Kolh *Bamhasa* L 1185¹

Pittal *Mitadevasa* L 1187

Ajaṇṭā *Vāsūhiputasa* L 1197

Kārle I *gharasa* L 1092²

Kuḍā *pavāntasa* L 1063

Nānāgh *dhammasa* L 1112

Bhājā *Aṃpikmakānam*
L 1081

Beḍṣā *Pedapātikānam*
L 1110

Kārle I *therānam* L 1089¹ etc

Kuḍā *putānam* passim

Nānāgh. *-sūtānam* L 1112

Nāsik I *Nāsikanam* L 1142

Nāsik I	<i>yoṇakāṣa</i> L 1140	Junnar	<i>ganācarīyānam</i> L 1171
Karāḍ	<i>-putasa</i> L 1184	Nāsik III	<i>brāhmaṇānam</i> L 1133, L 1135
Junnar	<i>saṃghasa</i> L 1174	Nāsik IV	<i>śapurīsānam</i> L 1123
Nāsik II	<i>lekhaḥkasa</i> L 1148	Kārle II	<i>savasatānam</i> L 1106 ^a
Nāsik III	<i>Kṣaharātasa</i> L 1132	Kanhēri	<i>therānam</i> L 1012 ¹
Padana	<i>pavotasa</i> L 973		
Kol	<i>-putasa</i> L 1075		
Śailar	<i>kuḍubikasa</i> L 1121		
Nānāgh II	<i>Govimdadāsasa</i> L 1119		
Nāsik IV	<i>nīlayasa</i> L 1123		
Kārle II	<i>gāmāsa</i> L 1105 ¹		
Kanhēri	<i>upāsakasa</i> L 1020 ¹		
Mahāḍ	<i>kumārāsa</i> L 1072		
Banavāsī	<i>acarīyasa</i> L 1186 ²		
(ii) <i>-(e)sa</i>	This is of rare occurrence	(ii) <i>-na</i>	
Bhājā	<i>Nāyesa</i> L 1078	Beḍṣā	<i>āranakāna</i> L 1110
Junnar	<i>dhanuṃmaṅgamaṣa</i> L 1153	Pittal	<i>-putāna</i> L 1188
Kanhēri	<i>vathaveṣa</i> L 1002	Kārle I	<i>Dhamutariyāna</i> L 1094 ¹
		Kuḍā	<i>Pālīmatāna</i> L 1041
		Junnar	<i>janāna</i> L 1151
		Nāsik III	<i>devāna</i> L 1135
		Nāsik IV	<i>pavapitāna</i> L 1125 L 1126
		Kārle II	<i>brahmanana</i> L 1099 ² <i>pavapitāna</i> L 1105 ²
		Kanhēri	<i>savasatāna</i> L 1016 ³
		Banav	<i>hemamitāna</i> L 1186 ¹
(iii) <i>-sa</i>	occurs according to FRANKL in one inscription at Pittalkhorā	(iii) <i>-nām</i> or <i>-nā</i>	This is less frequent
Pittal	<i>rājave sa, Magulaṣa,</i> <i>Vachīputaṣa</i> all in L 1191	Bhājā	<i>therānām</i> L 1080, L 1081
		Kārle I	<i>culayaka[n]ām</i> EI 18 327 6
(iv) <i>-sa</i>	due to assimilation	(iv) <i>-nam</i>	
Nāsik II	<i>sakaṣa</i> L 1149	Kārle I	<i>hematānam</i> L 1107 ¹
		Kuḍā	<i>therānam</i> L 1060
		Kanhēri	<i>savasat[ā]nam</i> L 1024 ^a
(v) <i>-sya</i>	in a late inscription	(v) <i>-na</i>	
Kārle II	<i>Sovasakasya</i> and <i>-puttasya</i> in L 1106-	Kārle I	<i>pavapitāna</i> L 1107 ³
		Kuḍā	<i>therāna</i> L 1040
		Junnar	<i>putāna</i> L 1169

Nāsik IV *gimhāna* L 1123,
 hemantāna L 1146.
 Kārle II *brahmanāṇa* L 1099¹.
 Kanheri *therāṇa* L 1006¹ etc ;
 [pa]vayitāna L 988
 etc

(vi) Once in Nāsik IV we get *hemantā* (L 1147) where the term. is apparently lost

Loc sg (1) -*mhi* The term occurs only in early inscriptions

Kārle I *Jabudipamhi* L 1087,

Loc pl (1) -*su* everywhere

Junnar *kāsakātesu* L 1165 ,
 Aparāntesu L 1158

Nāsik III *netyakesu* L 1135
 Kārle II *Valūrakesu* L 1099¹ ,
 vālarakesa L 1105¹ and
 lenesa L 1105¹ are ap-
 parently mistakes for
 -*su*

Kanheri *aṭhasu* L 1020⁶
 Mahād *pasesu* L 1072

(ii) -*su* · cf

Junnar⁷ *Puvānadesu* L 1158

(ii) -*e*, occurs very often

Kudā *mahābhoje* L 1058
 Nāsik I *pavate* L 1140
 Junnar *saghe* L 1182,
 gāme L 1158
 Nāsik III -*māse*, *lene* L 1133
 Śailar *Dhenukākade* L 1121
 Nānāgh II *pacame*, *divase*
 L 1120
 Nāsik IV *sātame* L 1146,
 hathe L 1139
 Kārle II *Pabhāse* L 1099⁷
 Kanheri *vāsārate* L 998⁷,
 Kanhasele L 1024⁸

(b) Feminine nouns in -ā As in literary Prakrits the terminations for the instrumental, dative, ablative and genitive singular are the same

Nom sg (1)

Kārle I *veyikā* L 1089¹
 L 1103

Nānāgh I *dakḥnā* L 1112

Nāsik II *ekā* L 1148

Nānāgh II *paṇṣyapuvā* L 1120

Nāsik IV *veikā* L 1143

Kārle II *katā* L 1105⁶

Kanheri *dinā* L 1006²,
 [da]tā L 988⁴ etc

(ii) -*a* .

Nom pl (i)

Kārle I *uparimā* and *hethimā*
 L 1089²

Nānāgh I *dinā* L 1112

Kanheri *patitthā* (or-*thāu*-) *putā*
 L 1006², L 1007³

(ii) -*yo*

Nāsik III	<i>data</i> L 1133	Nānāgh II	<i>. dakkhmnāyo</i> L 1112
Nāsik IV	<i>data</i> L 1139		
Kanhēri	<i>bhojanacātusāla</i> L 998 ¹⁰		

Inst sg. (1) -ya		Inst pl (1) -hi	
Kārlē I	<i>Vasumitāya</i> EI 24 282 16 ¹	Kudā	<i>Lohitāhi</i> L 1060 ; <i>Venhuyāhi</i> L 1060.
Kudā	<i>bhayāya</i> L 1037	Kanhēri	<i>sunh[ā]hi</i> L 1024 ⁸ .

Nānāgh I	<i>bālāya</i> L 1112
Junnar	<i>bhayāya</i> L 1155 , <i>Svapālankāya</i> L 1155

Kārlē II	<i>upāsikāya</i> L 1106 ¹
Kanhēri	<i>-bālikāya</i> L 1021 <i>Bodhisamāya</i> L 1001 ¹

(11) -ye	
Kārlē I	<i>Jayamitāye</i> EI 24 282 16 ² *

(11) -ā In Nānāgh I we get *bhāmyā*
(L 1112) Is it from *bhāmyā* + *a* (< *ya*)
or is the nom sg form used as instru-
mental ?

Dat sg (1) -ya	
Nāsik I	<i>pujāya</i> L 1140 , <i>bhāmyāya</i> L 1141
Nāsik III	<i>visāya</i> L 1133
Kanhēri	<i>pūjāya</i> L 987 ¹²

(11) -ā In Kārlē II once we get *pujā*¹¹ L 1106¹ where the termination seems
to have been dropped cf, however, the note given above

Abl sg (1) -ye	
Nāsik IV	<i>senāye</i> L 1125
Gen sg (1) -ya	This termination is of frequent occurrence
Vakālā	<i>Datāya</i> L 969 , <i>Ugudeveya</i> (?) L 972
Bedśā	<i>bitiyākāya</i> L 1111 , <i>-bālikāya</i> L 1111
Pittal	<i>Datāya</i> L 1192
Kārlē I	<i>bhāytilāya</i> L 1091 ²
Kudā	<i>pāvaynikāya</i> L 1041 , <i>Sapāya</i> L 1045, L 1048
Nānāghāt I	<i>Nāyanukāya</i> L 1114
Junnar	<i>bitiyākāya</i> L 1170 , <i>Nadabālikāya</i> L 1176
Nāsik III	<i>Dakhamitrāya</i> L 1132, L 1134
Kōl	<i>bitiyākāya</i> L 1076
Sāilar	<i>Siagutanikāya</i> L 1121
Nāsik IV	<i>Jivasutāya</i> L 1126 ; <i>bharjāya</i> L 1146
Kanhēri	<i>Dāmitāya</i> L 1013 ² , L 1014 ¹ ; <i>Svapālankāya</i> L 993 ²
Banavāsī	<i>-bālikāya</i> L 1186 ¹ , <i>vasasatāya</i> L 1186 ¹

61 BUHLER ASWI 4 113 f No 21 reads *pūjāya*,

- (ii) -yā of rare occurrence.

Bhājā : *jayāyā* L 1084 ; *Bādhayā* L 1084.Kārlē I . *Dhamada(de)vayā* EI 18 328 12.

- (iii) -ye of equally rare occurrence

Kārlē I *Asadhamitāye* L 1098.

Thus the two terminations -yā and -ye are not to be found at all in later inscriptions.

- (iv) -va, probably due to -y- > -v-
- ⁶²

Kuḍā *bhayava* L 1058 , *Voludalāva* L 1058Nāsik II *Purisadalāva* L 1127

- (v) -a, obviously due to -ya > -a by loss of intervocalic -y⁶³ Naturally it occurs only in very late inscriptions

Kanḥērī *pavatikāa* L 1006² , *bhayāa* L 993¹ , *P[o]nakiasanāa* L 1006²

Loc sg (i) -ya

Kārlē I *puvāya* L 1107¹Nāsik III *Banāsaya* L 1135,*-sabhāya* L 1133Nāsik IV *puvāya* L 1147Kārlē II *puvāya* L 1100² , *Abulāmāya* L 1106¹.Kanḥērī *puvāya* L 1001² , L 1021².

- (ii) -yam occurs in a few examples

Junnar *Vaḍalikāyam* L 1162Kanḥērī *Mukudasivay[ithā]yam* L 998¹⁰

- (iii) -yā occurs only in

Kārlē II *Banāsāyā* L 1099² This is probably due to loss of the final anusvāra

§ 192. Bases ending in -i and -ī

- (a) Masculine Nouns in -i

Nom sg (i) -ī

Bhājā *podhī* L 1079 , also cf

Kārlē I (L 1107),

Kuḍā (L 1041), Nā-

sik II (L 1149), and

Kanḥērī (L 998³ etc)

Nom pl (i) -yo .

Nāsik I *poḍhiyo* L 1140 ; also

Junnar (L 1154),

Nāsik II (L 1148),

Mahād (L 1072).

- (ii) -i

The word *poḍhi*⁶¹ occurs at various places such as Kuḍā (L 1061), Junnar (L 1150), Nāsik II (L 1148), Nānāgh II (L 1119)

Nāsik IV *Puḷumāvi* L 1124 , *-Sadakam* L 1125Banavāsī *Khadasāhi* L 1186²

Inst. sg (i) -nā .

- (ii) -o

Kuḍā *podhuo* L 1039.

Inst pl. (i) -hi

62. cf above § 176 (a, i)

63. cf above § 176 (a, iv)

64. In all these cases LUDERS seems to read the word with long -ī.

Kārlē I	<i>Bhayabhūtā</i>	Kanhēri	<i>nātsi</i> L 999 ^a
	<i>EI</i> 24 282 16 ^a		
	Nāsik IV	[Sā] <i>takanā</i> , <i>-senāpatinā</i>	L 1124
(ii) -nā			
	Śailar	<i>gahapatinā</i>	L 1121
Abl sg (i) -mhā			
	Kuḍā	<i>Sivabhūtmhā</i>	L 1045
Gen sg (i) -no		Gen pl (i) -nām	
Ajanṭā	<i>Kaṭahādino</i>	Bhājā	<i>Dhamagṛnām</i> L 1080
Kārlē I	<i>gahapatī[no]</i>		
	<i>EI</i> 18 328 12		
Kuḍā	<i>gahapatino</i>		L 1058
Nānāgh I	<i>Sātakanino</i>		L 1114
	<i>Satino</i>		L 1112
Junnar	<i>Sivabhutino</i>		L 1173
(ii) -no		(ii) -nam	
Kuḍā	<i>guha[pu]tino</i>	Beḍsā	<i>Gobhūtinam</i> L 1110
	L 1062.	Kanhēri	<i>Mutabhūtinam</i>
			L 1012 ^a
(iii) -sa		(iii) -na	
Ajanṭā	(Āndhra period)	Nāsik IV	<i>Tekirasina</i> L 1125
	<i>yatipatisa</i>		L 1199
Kārlē I	<i>Nadipatisa</i> (or) <i>-putasa</i> (?)		L 1094
Kuḍā	<i>Sivabhūtisa</i>		L 1037
Nānāgh I	<i>Vedisirisa</i>		L 1112
Junnar	<i>gahapatisa</i>		L 1170, <i>Sivabhūtisa</i> L 1175 (This term is here more frequent than -no)
Nāsik II	<i>gahapatisa</i>		L 1127
Nānāgh II	<i>gahapat[ī]sa</i> and <i>Satakamisa</i>		L 1120
Nāsik IV	<i>-senāpatisa</i>		L 1146, <i>apānahaśārucisa</i> L 1123
Kārlē II	<i>Puṣumāvīsa</i>		L 1106 ^a
Kanhēri	<i>Sātakamisa</i>		L 1024 ^a , <i>gahapatisa</i> L 1001 ^a
	<i>-ssa</i> , <i>Sotakamnissa</i>		L 987 ^a
Mahād	<i>gahapatisa</i>		L 1073
Banav	<i>-Sātūkamnisa</i>		L 1186
		Loc pl (i) -su	
		Nāsik IV	<i>Kakhaḍisu</i> (?)
			L 1126 It is a village name
(b) Feminine nouns in			
Nom sg (i) -ī			
Nāsik III	<i>akṣayamvī</i>		L 1133, <i>vrddhī</i> L 1133
Padana	<i>Sīdhavasatī</i>		L 975
Nāsik IV	<i>-nivī</i>		L 1139, <i>-nirāṭhī</i> L 1123
Kanhēri	<i>nivī</i>		L 988 ^a etc, <i>kuṭī</i> L 988 ^a
(ii) -ī			
Kanhēri	<i>mvī</i>		L 998 ^a .

Dat. sg. (1) -ye		
Kārlē II	-sthataye L 1106 ^a	
Gen. sg -ya :		
Junnar	podhiya ⁶⁵ L 1152	
Loc. sg -mhi		Loc pl (1), -su :
Nāsik III	Anugāmimhi (?) L 1135	Nāsik III śremsu L 1133
(c) Feminine nouns in -ī		
Nom sg (1) -ī		Nom pl (1) -yo
Paṭhyār	pukarim L 91	Nānāgh I kubhiyo and rupāmayyo L 1112
(11) -ī		
Nāsik IV	mahādevī L 1123	
Inst sg (1) -ya		Inst pl (1) -hi
Kuḍā	atevāsīmya L 1041	Kārlē I atevāsīmhi L 1107 ^a
	Nānāghāt I māśopavāsīmya L 1112	
	Kaṇhēri bhagīmya L 1006 ^a , -devīya L 1024 ^a	
Abl. sg (1) -to		
Kārlē I	Vejayamtito L 1087	
(11) -ye		
Nāsik IV	Vejayamtīye L 1125	
Gen sg (1) -ya		Gen pl (1) -nam
Vakālā	Bhemīya L 969	Nānāgh I gavinam L 1128
Beḍṣā	mahādevīya L 1111, mahārāṭhīya L 1111,	(11) -na
Kārlē I	bhikkhūmya L 1104, gharīmya EI 18 328 11	Kārlē I atevāsīmma L 1107 ^a
Kuḍā	mahābhokīya L 1054, bhāgīneyīya L 1041	
Nānāghāt I	pathavīya L 1112	
Junnar	senīya L 1162, L 1180 etc	
Nāsik II	kutumbīmya L 1127	
Nāsik III	kuḍumbīmya L 1132	
Kōl	Dhamasīya L 1076	
Śailar	kudubīmya L 1121	
Nāsik IV	mahādevīya L 1123, L 1126, amtevāsīmya L 1128 etc	
Kaṇhēri	bhikkhūmya L 1014 ^a , therīya L 1006 ^a	
Mahāḍ	Vādasīya L 1073	
Banavāsī	Mahābhuvīya L 1186 ^a , -nāgasīya L 1186 ^a	
(11) -ye		
Kārlē I	natiye ⁶⁶ EI 18 328 12	
Junnar	senīye L 1165	
Kaṇhēri	atevasūniye L 1006 ^a (once)	

65 The word is apparently used as feminine

66 From Sk *nāpī* or *nāpī* VATS derives it from Sk *māti*-

(iii) -yā .

Kāṇhērī

Bhoigiyā L 1013¹ (once)

(iv) -yā-va :

Nāsik IV

Nadāsinyāva This appears to be an instance of double termination It is also possible to treat *Nadāsinyā-* (< Sk *Nandaśrikā-*) as the base and then the termination would be -va

(v) -sa probably used in mistake

Bhājā

Bhogavatasa (for -tisa ?) L 1078

Loc. sg (1) -ya .

Nāsik III

Ujemya L 1135

Nāsik IV

Kanhhūmya L 1130 *aparliya* L 1130

Kāṇhērī

dasomya L 1021-

(ii) -ye

Nāsik III

-nadiye L 1135

Nāsik IV

Aparakhadiye (?) L 1125

(iii) -ya[m]

Kāṇhērī

Gandhārakābhāmya[m] L 998^o

(iv) -yā .

Kārlē II

nadiyā L 1099

§ 193. Bases ending in -u and -ū

(a) Masculine nouns in -u

Nom. sg (1) -u .

Nāsik IV

-hetu L 1124.

Kāṇhērī

hetu L 987¹

Inst pl (1) -hi

Nāsik IV

bhikkhihi L 1124

Gen sg (1) -sa

Kārlē I

bhikkhusa L 1101

Gen pl (1) -nam

Nāsik III

bhikkhunam L 1133

Nāsik IV

dhamasetusa L 1123,
L 1124

Nāsik IV

bhikkhūnam L 1126

Kāṇhērī

Apārenusa L 1024¹

(ii) -na

(ii) -no occurs rarely

Nāsik IV

bhikkhūna L 1126

Kāṇhērī

bhikkhuno L 998⁷

Kārlē II

bhikkhuna L 1105^o

Loc sg (1) -mhi

Nāsik I

Tīraṇhumhi L 1140

Nāsik IV

Tīraṇhumhi L 1126 etc

(ii) -mi

Nāsik I

Tīraṇhumhi L 1141

(b) Feminine nouns in -ū

Gen sg (1) -ya .

Vakālā

Badhuya (?) L 970

Nāsik IV

Vāsuya L 1146

§ 194 Bases ending in -ṛ

(a) Masculine nouns in -ṛ .

Inst sg -ā

Inst pl -hi

Nāsik III	<i>jāmātarā</i> L 1133.	Nāsik IV	<i>m[ātā]-pituhi</i> L 1147.
Kārle II	<i>ja[mā]tarā</i> L 1099 ¹ .		
Gen sg. (i) -no		Gen pl (i) -nam :	
Nādsur	<i>bhātuno</i> L 1068.	Kuḍā	: <i>bhātūnam</i> L 1045.
Junnar	<i>natuno</i> L 1171, L 1178.	Kārle II	: <i>mātāpitunam</i> L 1106 ² .
Kaṇhēri	<i>bhātuno</i> L 999 ¹	Kaṇhēri	: <i>-pitunam</i> L 98 ¹⁰ , L 1000 ²
(ii) -u :		(ii) -nam	
Nāsik III	<i>jāmā[tu]</i> L 1135	Junnar	<i>bhātūnam</i> L 1157, L 1169

(b) Feminine nouns in *ṛ* :

Nom. sg. (i) -ā .

Nāsik IV *mahārāja-mātā* L 1123

Inst sg (i) -u

Nānāghāṭ I *Vedīsiri-mātu* L 1112Kaṇhēri . *Ānada-mātu* L 1024⁶

(ii) -ya and -ye

Kaṇhēri *-mātuya* L 1021³, *mātuye* L 1001⁸.

(iii) -(ṛ)a

Kārle II *mātara* L 1106⁴.

Gen sg. (i) -u .

Gen pl -nam .

Pittal *duhutū* L 1192Kuḍā *duhutūnam* L 1045.Kārle I *mātu* L 1091⁵, L 1104Nāsik III *dīhūtu* L 1132,
L 1134Kārle II *mātu* L 1106⁴

(ii) -ya

Kuḍā *duhutuya* L 1054 and *-mātuya* L 1065 The former occurs also in Nāsik I (L 1141), Nāsik II (L 1127), Kōl (L 1076), and Kaṇhēri (cf *dhutuya* L 1020²). The latter occurs in Nānāgh I (L 1112), Nāsik I (L 1141), and Nāsik IV (L 1123, L 1126)

The nom and acc dual forms are perhaps preserved in such cases as *mātāpitara* at Nāsik I (L 1140), Nāsik II (L 1146), Kaṇhēri (L 998¹, L 1016⁶), and *mātāpitara* at Kaṇhēri (L 1027⁷) They may equally be regarded as plural forms ⁶⁷

§195 Bases ending in -au

(a) Feminine nouns in -au

Nom pl -o . Nānāgh I *gāvo* L 1112Gen pl -ām Nāsik III *gavām* L 1135

§ 196 Bases ending in consonants

(a) Masculine nouns ending in -at

Nom sg. -o .

Nānāghāṭ I *sirimāto* L 1113, *mahoto* (?) L 1112

⁶⁷ The final -o could be taken from < -au or < -aḥ The final -a in the Kaṇhēri form is obviously a mistake.

Gen. sg. -sa

Ajaṇṭā . *bhagavatasa* L 1199.Nānāgh. I *sūratasa* L 1112

Gen. pl. (i) -nam .

Nānāgh I *mahimāvalānam*
L 1112.Nāsik IV *pativasatānam* L 1126

(ii) -ām

Nāsik III *bhagavatām* L 1133

(iii) -ā, the anusvāra being dropped

Nāsik III *bhagavatā* L 1135

Loc. sg. -i

Nāsik IV *satī* L 1126

(b) Masculine and Neuter nouns in -an

Nom sg mas -ā

Nānāghāṭ I *rāyā* L 1113

Nom sg. neut -am

Mahāḍ *kamam* L 1072

Inst sg (i) -nā

Nāsik I *dhammānā* L 1140Kārle II *rāñā* (doubtful) L 1105.

Gen. sg (i) -sa

Kārle I *Bhadasamasa* L 1101Nānāghāṭ I *rāyasa* L 1112Junnar *Asasamasa* L 1169

(ii) -ñō

The word *rāñō* occurs at various places such as Nānāgh I (L 1112, L 1114), Nāsik (L 1134), Nāsik IV (L 1122, L 1123 etc, but -*rājasa* in compound cf L 1123), Kārle II (L 1099¹, L 1100¹), Kanhēri (L 987¹ etc), and Banav (L 1186⁶)

(iii) -no or na rarely used .

Nānāghāṭ II *rano* L 1120Kanhēri *apano* L 1016⁶, *apana* L 1024.

Loc sg -ni

Nāsik I *rajni* L 1144

(c) Feminine nouns in -an

Loc sg -e, *nagarasīme* L 1126.

(d) Masculine and Neuter nouns in -as

Gen sg. -sa :

Nāsik IV *-sama-tejasa* L 1123 (in compound)

Loc sg -si

Nāsik IV *-samarasīrasī* L 1123 (in compound)

(e) Masculine nouns in -in

Nom sg (i) -i (rarely -ī)

Kārle I *hathi* L 1089¹Nānāghāṭ I *mahārathi* L 1116, *hathi* L 1112.Paḍaṇa *bamhacāri* L 976Nāsik IV *-svāmi* L 1124, L 1125

Inst. sg (i) -nā .

Beḍṣā *[amte]vāsina* L 1110.

Koṇḍāṇe	. <i>amtevāsīnā</i> L 1071.
Kāṛle I	<i>vaḍhakīnā</i> L 1092 ¹
Nāsik IV	<i>Sujivīnā</i> L 1126 ; <i>Dhamanandīnā</i> L 1130.
Kāṛle II	<i>-hārathīnā</i> L 1100 ^s
Kaṇhēri	<i>Venhunadīnā</i> L 1001 ^s , <i>-hathīnā</i> L 1001 ⁷ .

ii) *-nā* :

Kāṛle I	. <i>sethīnā</i> L 1087 , <i>sāmmā⁶⁸</i> L 1092 ¹ .	
Gen. sg (i) <i>-sa</i>		Gen pl (i) <i>-nā</i> .
Bhājā	<i>mahārathisa</i> L 1079	Beḍṣā <i>Mārakudavāsīnā</i>
Beḍṣā	<i>seṭhisa</i> L 1109	L 1110
Kāṛle I	<i>amtevāsisa</i> L 1094 , <i>mahārathisa</i> L 1088	
Kōl	<i>seṭhisa</i> L 1075	
Kāṛle II	<i>mahārathisa</i> L 1100-	
Kaṇhēri	<i>venhunandisa</i> L 1001 ^s ; [<i>amtevā</i>] <i>sisā</i> L 1016 ¹	
Mahāḍ	<i>seṭhisa</i> L 1073	
(ii) <i>-no</i>		(ii) <i>-nom</i>
Kuḍā	<i>seṭhino</i> L 1056	Kāṛle I <i>hathīnam</i> L 1089 ¹ .
Nānāgh I	<i>mahārathino</i> L 1112	Kuḍā <i>upaḥivīnam</i> L 1045.
Junnar	<i>Isimulasāmīno</i> L 1176	Junnar <i>amtevāsīnam</i> L 1171.
		Kāṛle II <i>lenavāsīnam</i> L 1099 ⁴ .

(iii) *-no* :

Kuḍā	<i>seṭhino</i> L 1063
(f) A few other consonantal bases	
Gen sg mas of a base ending in <i>-j</i> <i>-sa</i>	
Ajaṇṭā	<i>vaṇṇa sa ⁶⁹</i> L 1198
Gen pl neut of a base ending in <i>-h</i> <i>-na</i>	
Kaṇhēri	<i>upāhanāna</i> L 998 ^s

PRONOUNS

§197 DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUNS

(a) The pronominal base *idam*

Nom. sg mas		Nom pl mas.	
Kāṛle II	<i>ima</i> L 1106 ²	Nāsik IV	<i>ime</i> L 1125
Nom. sg neut	Nāsik I	<i>imam</i> and <i>ima</i>	L 1140
	Nāsik III	<i>imam</i>	L 1133
	Nāsik IV	<i>ina</i>	L 1147
Inst sg	Nāsik III	(a) <i>nena</i>	L 1133 , also Nāsik IV (L 1139).
Gen sg	Nāsik II	<i>asa</i>	L 1127 etc
Loc. sg	Nāsik III	<i>imasman</i>	L 1133

68 Perhaps *sāmīnā* cf. EI 7.53.6, note 269 The base may be *vaṇṇa-* and not *vaṇṇi-*

(b) The pronominal base *etad*

Nom sg mas		Nom. pl mas	
Junnar	<i>esa</i> L 1164	Nāsik III	<i>ete</i> L 1133 also
	<i>eto</i> L 1152		Nāsik IV (L 1125)
Nom Acc sg neut		Inst pl	
Nāsik III	<i>eta</i> L 1133.	Nāsik IV	<i>eteḥi</i> L 1125 ,
Nāsik IV	<i>etata</i> L 1124		<i>etahi</i> L 1125
	<i>eta</i> L 1123, L 1125 etc	Kārlē II	<i>eteḥi</i> L 1105 ¹
Mahād	<i>esa</i> L 1072	Abl pl	
Abl sg		Nāsik III	<i>eto</i> (?) L 1133 ³
Nāsik IV	<i>eto</i> L 1130		

Gen sg The word *etasa* occurs in Junnar (L 1152 etc), Nāsik IV (L 1123 etc), Kārlē II (L 1105¹), Kanphēri (L 1016⁶, L 1024¹⁰), and Mahād (L 1072) We have *etesa*¹⁰ in Nāsik IV (L 1126), and Kārlē II (L 1105¹)

Loc. sg	Kanphēri	<i>etesi</i> L 998 ¹⁰
Loc sg fem	Nāsik IV	<i>etya</i> L 1147
	Kārlē II	<i>etāya</i> L 1100 ²
	Kanphēri	<i>etāya</i> L 1001 ² etc

§ 198 Relative Pronoun.

(a) The pronominal base *yad*

Nom sg fem		Nom pl mas	
Nāsik II	<i>yā</i> L 1148	Nāsik IV	<i>ya</i> (?) L 1124
Nom. sg neut		Nom pl neut	
Nāsik III	: <i>ye</i> L 1133 ,	Mahād	<i>yām</i> L 1073
	<i>yā</i> (?) L 1133		
Nāsik IV	<i>ya</i> L 1124 etc		

§ 199 Personal Pronouns

(a) The first personal pronoun .

		Inst pl	
		Nāsik IV	<i>amheḥi</i> L 1124, L 1126
Dat sg			
	Kārlē II	<i>me</i> L 1106 ⁴	
Gen sg		Gen pl	
Nāsik II	<i>me</i> L 1148	Nāsik IV	<i>na</i> L 1125 etc
Nāsik III	<i>mama</i> L 1133		

(b) The base *lad* .

Nom sg mas	Nāsik IV	<i>so</i> L 1126
Nom sg fem.	Nāsik II	<i>sa</i> L 1148
Nom sg neut.	Nāsik IV	<i>ta</i> L 1126.
Gen sg mas		Gen pl mas :
Nāsik II	<i>tasa</i> L 1126	Nānāgh I
Nāsik III	<i>tasa</i> L 1135	<i>tasa</i> (?) L 1112

70 For a similar change of -a- > -e- cf Gen sg mas ending in -a §191.

§200. Some other bases.

(a) The pronoun *sava* :Acc. sg. mas. *-am* : Kuḍā *savam* L 1059.Inst. sg. mas. *-na* :Kaphēri . *savena* L 998² etcMahād . *savena* L 1073Inst. pl. *-hi* :Kaphēri *savehi* L 999³.(b) The pronoun *ana*Nom sg. mas. *-o* :Kārle II : *ano* L 1106⁴Nom. pl. neut. *-ni* :Kaphēri *anām* L 988¹¹

NUMERALS

§201 Cardinals :

- | | |
|----------------------|--|
| (i) Three quarters | Nāsik III : <i>payūna-</i> L 1133 ³ |
| (ii) One | Nāsik II <i>ekā</i> (fem.) L 1148 |
| (iii) Quarter to two | Junnar <i>pāonaduka-</i> L 1165 |
| (iv) Two | The form <i>be</i> occurs in Kuḍā (L 1039), Junnar (L 1153, L 1163), Nāsik III (L 1133), Nāsik IV (L 1123), Kaphēri (L 998 ¹¹ etc), and Mahād (L 1072). But <i>dve</i> occurs in Junnar (L 1164), <i>ve</i> in Kārle I (L 1101), and <i>do</i> in Nāsik II (L 1148) |
| (v) Of two | Junnar . <i>bena</i> L 1151
Nāsik III <i>dina</i> L 1135 ⁵ |
| (vi) Three | Junnar <i>tim</i> L 1163, also
<i>trini</i> L 1133
Nāsik III <i>trim</i> L 1133) |
| (vii) Four | Junnar <i>catāri</i> L 1137 |
| Of four | Nānāgh I <i>catumnam</i> L 1112 |
| (viii) Six | Nānāgh I <i>cha</i> L 1112 |
| (ix) Eight | Junnar <i>atha</i> L 1167, L 1168; also cf
Nāsik III (L 1133), Kaphēri
(<i>aṭha-su</i> L 1020 ⁶), and Mahād
(L 1073) |
| (x) Nine | Junnar <i>nava</i> L 1162 |
| (xi) Ten | Kaphēri <i>dasa-ka</i> L 998 ¹¹ |
| (xii) Twelve | The form <i>bārasa</i> occurs in Nānāgh I (L 1112), and Junnar (L 1166). At Junnar (L 1167) we get <i>bāra</i> also. The word <i>bārasaka</i> is found in Nāsik III (L 1133), Nāsik IV (L 1139) and Kaphēri (L 1000 ⁸ , L 1007 ⁴) |
| (xiii) Thirteen | <i>terasa</i> Nānāgh I (L 1112), Nānāgh II (<i>tara</i> for <i>tera</i> L 1120), Nāsik IV (L 1123) and Kaphēri (L 988 ⁷) |
| (xiv) Fifteen | <i>panarasa</i> Junnar (L 1158) and Nāsik III (L 1133, L 1135). |

(xv) Sixteen	Junnar Kanhēri	<i>sodasa</i> L 1152 <i>solasa</i> L 998 ¹ ; <i>solasaka</i> L 1006 ¹ , L 1020 ² etc
(xvi) Nineteen	Nāsik IV	<i>ekunavisa</i> L 1123
(xvii) Twenty	Junnar	<i>visa</i> L 1162 A collection of twenty <i>visā</i> Nāsik III (L 1133).
(xviii) Twenty-one	Kārle II	<i>ekavisa</i> L 1106 ³
(xix) Twenty-four	Kārle II	<i>catuvisa</i> L 1106 ³
(xx) Twenty-six	Junnar	<i>sanuvisa</i> L 1163
(xxi) Thirty-five	Nāsik III	<i>pañcatrīsaka</i> (?) L 1133
(xxii) Fifty	Junnar	<i>pācasa</i> (?) L 1168
(xxiii) Seventy	Nāsik III	<i>sat-ṛi</i> L 1133
(xxiv) Hundred	Nāsik III	<i>sat-ṛi</i> L 1133
(xxv) Thousand	Nāsik III	<i>sahasra</i> L 1133 etc
(xxvi) Hundred-thousand	Nāsik III	<i>satasa[hasa]</i> L 1135, <i>satasāha[sī]</i> L 1135

§ 202 Ordinals

(i) First	<i>pathama-</i> Nānāgh I (L 1112), Nāsik IV (L 1146 ²); Kārle II (L 1100 ²)
(ii) Second	<i>bitīya-</i> Nānāgh I (L 1112), Nāsik IV (L 1123), Kārle II (L 1106 ³)
(iii) Third	<i>tatīya-</i> Kārle II (L 1106 ³)
(iv) Fifth	<i>pacama-</i> Kārle II (L 1100 ¹) and <i>pañcama-</i> Kanhēri (L 987 ²)
(v) Sixth	<i>chaṭṭha-</i> Nāsik III (L 1122)
(vi) Seventh	<i>sātama-</i> Nāsik IV (L 1146 ¹), <i>satama-</i> Kārle II (L 1100 ¹)
(vii) Tenth	<i>dasamī-ya</i> (fern) Kanhēri (L 1021 ²)

CONJUGATION

§ 203 Indicative Mood

Present third per sg - <i>ti</i>	First per pl - <i>ma</i> :
Nāsik IV <i>dadāti</i> L 1123	Nāsik IV <i>bhojakāpati</i> L 1024 ^{1,2}
<i>vasati</i> L 1126	L 1126
<i>ānapayati</i> L 1124,	<i>vitārāma</i> L 1124 etc
L 1125	<i>dadama</i> L 1105 ²
	Kārle II <i>vitārāma</i> L 1105 ⁴

third sg middle -*te*Nāsik III *bhujate* L 1135third sg passive -*te*Nāsik III *ñayate* L 1135Nāsik IV *kasate* L 1126third sg. causal (?) -*pa-ti* .Kanhēri *bhojakāpati* L 1024^{1,2}.

§ 204 Imperative Mood

Second per. sg (1) *-hi* ·Nāsik IV *pariharehi* L 1124¹¹Kārlē II *parihareh[ī]*
L 1105⁴Second per. pl. (1) *-tha* ·Nāsik IV *pariharetha* L 1126¹(11) *-pe-hi* in causal*mībadhāpehi* Nāsik IV (L 1124¹¹
L 1125⁵) and Kārlē II (L 1105⁴)(11) *-pe-tha* in causalNāsik IV *mībadhāpetha*
L 1126¹¹

§ 205. Imperfect

Third per sg *-la*

Kārlē II

bhojapayita (Causal) L 1099⁴

§ 206 Future

Thurd per sg *-sati*

Nāsik III

bhavisati L 1133²

§ 207 Present Participles (a) Active

(1) *-anta*,

Nāsik III

rasanta- L 1133²(11) *-ata*,

Nāsik IV

pativasata- L 1126⁸*sata*- (in *sati*) L 1126⁹

Kārhēri

vasata- L 998^{6,7}

(b) Middle

(1) *-māna*,

Nāsik IV

suja-māna- L 1146[·]*anuvīdhiyamāna*- L 1123¹⁰

§ 208 Past Passive Participles

(1) *-na*

Bhājā

-dina (in *Samghadina*- L 1082

Nānāgh I

dina- L 1112, also Kārlē II(L 1106³ once only)

Kārhēri

dina- L 999² etc, *upamna*-
L 987⁵(11) *-ṇa*

Kārhēri

dina- L 1020⁸(111) *-ta*

Vakālā

Dātā- (fem) L 969

Bhājā

-data- (in *Vm̐hudata*-) L 1079

Koṇḍāne

kata- L 1071

Beḍṣā

kārta- (causal) L 1110

Nādsur

kata- L 1067, *-rakhita*- L 1068

Kolh

kārta- (active in sense)L 1185²

Kārlē I

kata- L 1092³ etc,*parim̐hapita*- L 1087

Kuḍā

(Khamda)-*pāhita*- L 1037.(Ist)-*rakhita*- L 1048

Nāsik I

khānta- and *kārta*- (causal)L 1140^{2,3}*niṭhapāpita*- (causal) L 1141⁴

Junnar

-myuta- L 1153,*-rakhita*- L 1169

Nāsik II

-myuta- L 1127¹ etc

	Nāsik III	<i>prayuta-</i> L 1133 ² , <i>srāvita-</i> (causal) L 1133 ⁴ .
	Kōl	<i>-rakhita-</i> L 1075
	Nāsik IV	<i>bhūta-</i> (< Sk <i>bhukta-</i>) L 1125 ³ etc <i>myātita-</i> (causal) L 1139 ³ .
	Kārlē II	<i>ānata-</i> L 1105 ⁵ etc <i>mūhita-</i> L 1106 ⁴
	Kanḥērī	<i>parithāpita-</i> L 1006 ⁵ , <i>samāpita-</i> L 987 ¹⁰ , and <i>kārāpita-</i> L 988 ¹⁰ (all three being causal)
	Mahād	<i>-pāhita-</i> L 1072, <i>-rakhita-</i> L 1073.
	Banav	<i>kata-</i> L 1186 ³
(iv) <i>-ta</i>	Kārlē II	<i>kata-</i> L 1105 ⁶ (once)

§ 209 Potential Passive Participles

(i) <i>-ya,</i>	Nāsik III	<i>-bhoja-</i> L 1133 ³
	Nāsik IV	<i>deya-</i> L 1123, L 1126 ; <i>apavesa-</i> L 1125 etc
	Kārlē II	<i>apāvesa-</i> L 1105 ⁴
(ii) <i>-tava,</i>	Nāsik III	<i>-dātava-</i> L 1133 ³
	Nāsik IV	<i>-dātava-</i> L 1139 , <i>arogavatava-</i> L 1126
	Kanḥērī	<i>dātava-</i> L 999 ⁸ etc , <i>padīgatava-</i> L 998 ⁸

§ 210 Absolutives.

(i) <i>-ya,</i>	Nāsik I	<i>udisa-</i> L 1140 ⁷ , also Nāsik II (L 1148 ⁴)
	Nāsik IV	<i>paligaya-</i> L 1124 ¹² , <i>paligayha-</i> L 1124 ¹³

CHAPTER III

HISTORICAL LINGUISTICS OF THE SOUTHERN GROUP

Prakrit Inscriptions of South India

§ 211 INTRODUCTORY

The Prakrit inscriptions which comprise this group mostly come from the Guntur, Bellary and Kistna districts¹ of the Madras Presidency. Only two inscriptions from Mysore State have their find spots outside the limits of this Presidency. The distribution of the inscriptions from the view-point of time is not quite fair as there is a wide gap from about the 2nd century B C to the 2nd century A D. As usual the following paragraphs contain the relevant description of the inscriptions in this group.

1 Bhaṭṭiprōlu Buddhist Casket Inscriptions (L 1329-L 1339). The place Bhaṭṭiprōlu (Bhaṭṭ) where the casket was unearthed is situated in the Kistnā District of the Madras Presidency. The inscriptions quickly became popular with the scholars on account of their peculiar characters which, in general, agree with the characters of the Aśokan inscriptions. They contain no historical statement which may have enabled us to fix their date. Palaeographically, however, they can be assigned to about 200 B C.

The language of the inscriptions has also a peculiarity of its own in that it shows a lingual sibilant in the first ten inscriptions (L 1329-L 1338) and a palatal one in the last (L 1339). Though the two symbols for these two sibilants differ in appearance, BUHLER is of opinion that the sounds which they represent are the same.

2 Amarāvati Inscriptions (L 1205 a-L 1326). The Buddhist stūpa at Amarāvati (Amar) in the Kistnā Dist. is much older as is shown by a sculpture and the inscriptions. One among these is engraved in the Maurya characters. The date of the Amarāvati rail is, however, much later than that of the stūpa. It is said to have been erected through the influence of Nāgārjuna in the 2nd century A D. To the inscriptions listed by LUDERS we may now add fifty-eight more inscriptions lately published by Ramāprasāda CHANDA². These latter are also divided into two groups on palaeographic grounds according as they date either prior to the beginning of the Christian era or in the 2nd century A D. In the ensuing discussion these two groups are distinguished by styling them as Amar I and Amar II.

3 South Indian Inscriptions (S Ind Ins). For the sake of convenience some contemporary inscriptions, which are detailed below, have been included under this single heading. The general date of this group can be taken to be the 2nd century A D.

1 There is a fragmentary Prakrit inscription at Allūru, in the Nandigrāma taluk of the Kistnā Dist. It consists of 17 lines in Brāhmī characters of about the 2nd cent. A D. It records a number of gifts in the shape of land and money made by a certain Maha-talavara, accompanied by his wife, son and daughter-in-law. The gifts appear to have been made to a school (nigāya) of the Pūrvaśāliyas, a sect of Buddhist monks. Unfortunately the inscription is not read so far. Cf. *Ann. Rep. of the South Ind. Ep.* 1923-24 97 and plate, *Ann. Rep. ASI* 1923-4 93.

2 "Some Unpublished Amaravati Inscriptions", *EI* 15-258-75.

(i) China Stone Inscriptions (L 1340) The find spot of the inscription is situated in the Kistnā Dist. The inscription belongs to the time of rājan Gotamiputa Siriyāña Sātakaṇi. The characters are of the ordinary Āndhra type, but rather ornamental.

(ii) Maḷavaḷḷi Pillar Inscriptions (L 1195-L 1196) The place where the pillar was found is situated in the Mysore State. Both these inscriptions are found engraved on the same pillar and almost in the same type of characters which are closely allied to those of the latest Āndhra inscriptions at Nāsik and Amarāvati. L 1195 is a little older of the two and contains an edict in Prakrit in which mahārāja Hārītiṣṭa Sātakaṇi is mentioned. It is therefore to be assigned to the second half of the 2nd century A.D. In this inscription the double consonants are written in full and are not represented with a single symbol.

(iii) Kodavolu Well Inscription (L 1341) This well is situated at Kodavolu in the Godāvāri Dist. of the Madras Presidency. R.E.A. found on a hill called *danam dībba* or "mount of wealth" some structural remains which he thought were a Buddhist stūpa and perhaps other buildings. Close to the mount are three rectangular wells cut in the solid rock. On the inner side of one of them is a Prakrit inscription in the Brāhmī characters of about the end of the 2nd century A.D.

(iv) Dharanikota Dharmacakra Pillar Inscription. The place is situated in the Guntur Dist. of the Madras Presidency. The characters of the record belong to about the 2nd century A.D. Probably the present record refers itself to the reign of the Āndhra King Pulumāvi of the Śātavāhana dynasty.

(v) Ādōni Inscription of Sirī Pulumavi. The inscription is engraved on the eastern face of a large natural boulder of reddish granite in the Ādōni tāluk of the Bellary Dist., Madras Presidency. The alphabet resembles that of the Jagayyapēṭa inscription of Purisadata and belongs to the 2nd century A.D.

(vi) Jagayyapēṭa Pillar Inscriptions (L 1202-L 1204) Jagayyapēṭa is a town in the Nandigrāma tāluk of the Kistnā Dist. It is situated about thirty miles north-west of Amarāvati. A few letters found on the capitals of the pilasters surrounding the base of the stūpa so closely resemble the Maurya alphabet that there can be little doubt in assigning to the original structure a period considerably earlier than the beginning of the Christian era.

But the characters of the documents under consideration are of a much later date and allow themselves to be put after the inscriptions of Gotamiputa II Siriyāña Sātakaṇi. Sometime after this king and before the accession of the Pallavas to the throne of Vengi, Purisadata ruled over the Kistnā Dist.

(vii) Gurzāla Brāhmī Inscription. It is engraved on a grey marble slab at Gurzāla in the Palnād tāluk of the Guntur Dist. The script resembles that of the inscriptions at Nāgārjunikonda and belongs to the end of the 2nd century or the 3rd century A.D.

4 Maṭṭepād Plates of Dāmōdaravarman. The village Maṭṭepād (Matl) is situated in the Ongole tāluk of the Guntur Dist. The language of the plates is Sans-

3 P. Seshadri SASTRI, *EI* 42 256-60

4 V. S. Suktankar "A New Andhra Inscription of Sirī Pulumavi," *EI* 14 153-5

5 Prof. K. A. Nilakanta SASTRI, *EI* 16 123-5

6 E. Hultzsch, *EI* 17 327-30

krit, but the names of the donees appear in Prakrit. The alphabet of the plates is of early southern type of the 2nd century A.D. The plates are dated in the 2nd regnal year of the king Dāmōdaravarman.

5 *Nāgārjunikoṇḍa* Inscriptions: The place Nāgārjunikoṇḍa (Nāgār) where a Buddhist site was discovered in 1926, belongs to the Palnād tāluk of the Guntur Dist. There can be little doubt in stating that next to Amarāvati it is a very important Buddhist site found in South India.

The explorations at this site have brought to light numerous specimens of inscribed *āyaka*-pillars. The records refer to the Ikṣhāku dynasty of South India which is also referred to in the Jagayyapēṭa inscriptions. The king Mādhariṣa Sīri-Vīrapurisaḍa to whom the inscriptions refer flourished in all probability in the 2nd or 3rd century of our era.

The following remarks made by J. Ph. VOGEL in connection with the language and the script of the inscriptions are noteworthy: "A considerable difficulty in the way of interpreting the Nāgārjunikoṇḍa inscriptions is the want of precision of which they show ample evidence. The careless manner in which they have been recorded is astonishing. Not only single syllables, but whole words have been omitted. In other instances syllables have been repeated or interchanged (e.g. *bhamkham* for *khambham* in C 4 line 7). Very often the length of the vowels *ā* and *ī* is not marked. Even the name of the reigning monarch, Sīri Vīrapurisaḍa, is written with *vi* instead of *vī*. Much less frequently the long *ī* has been substituted for the short one.

"The sign for *dha* is sometimes substituted for *lha* whereas a certain confusion seems to prevail between *lha* and *tha*.

"The sign for anusvāra too has often been omitted, while in several cases it is difficult to decide whether what appears to be a dot over the aksara may not be a depression in the surface of the stone due to accident.

"This want of precision becomes especially manifest if we compare the various redactions of the inscription recording the grant of a state by the chief donor, the lady Cāntisūri. It is clear that these redactions are all based on the same text, but none of them produces that text without some omissions or mistakes."

6 *Copper Plate Inscriptions of South India* (Cop. Pl.) Just as a group of inscriptions is treated above under the head "South Indian Inscriptions", the following copper plate grants of South India are included under this heading. The general date of this collection is the 3rd century A.D. The *Matteṭṭād* plates have been separately treated as they are anterior to this group by about a century.

(1) *Hirahadagallī* Copper plate Inscription of Śivaskandavarman (L 1200). The place is situated in the Bellary Dist. The characters of the inscription closely resemble those that are used in the grant of Vijayabuddhavarman's queen. With the exception of the final *mangala* consisting of a single line in Sanskrit, the whole grant is written in Prakrit.

(11) *Mayīdavōlu* Copper plate Inscription of Yuvamahārāja Śivaskandavarman (L 1205). Mayīdavōlu is a small village, 12 miles east of Narasaraṇṇipēṭa, the headquarters of a tāluk in the Kistnā Dist. The date of this grant is given both in words

7 J. Ph. VOGEL. "Prakrit Inscriptions from a Buddhist site at Nāgārjunikoṇḍa", *EI* 20:1-37, and "Additional Prakrit Inscriptions from Nāgārjunikoṇḍa", *EI* 21:61-71.

and numerical symbols. KIELHORN⁸ has shown that neither numerical symbols nor season-dates have been found in records later than the eighth century A.D. But the state of characters and the Prakrit language of the inscription compel us to assign it to a period considerably earlier than the eighth century A.D. i.e. about the third century A.D.

(iii) Gunapadeya Copper Plate Inscription of Cārulevī, of the time of the Pallava mahārāja Vijayakhandavamma (L 1327) The find spot of the inscription is situated in the Guntur Dist. The characters of this inscription resemble those of the Hīrahadagallī plates, but are less ornamental and more irregular. Unlike other Prakrit inscriptions the orthography of Cārulevī's grant is in accordance with the literary Prakrits in that the double consonants are represented by two symbols. In this respect the above two grants of Śivaskandavarman occupy an intermediate position.

(iv) Kondamudi Plates of Jayavarman (L 1328) This village is situated in the Tenali tāluk of the Kistnā Dist. The alphabet of this inscription closely resembles that of the plates of Śivaskandavarman, though in all cases a single letter is used to serve the purpose of a double one. Except the two words Maheśvara and Brhatphalāyana and the Telugu village name Pāmtūra, the language of the plates is Prakrit.

(v) Elūrū Copper Plates of Vijayadevavarman (L 1194) Elūrū is situated in the Godāvārī Dist. The alphabet resembles that of the grants of Smhavarman and of the plates of Vijayanandivarman. This inscription also agrees with the literary Prakrits in representing a double letter by two symbols. Excepting the last two customary verses in Sanskrit, the rest of the plates appears in Prakrit.

§ 212 Note The following table shows the distribution of these inscriptions in their time sequence

	Period	Inscription	No.
1	3rd cent. B.C.	L 1329-L 1339	11
2	2nd cent. B.C. and 1st or 2nd cent. A.D.	L 1205 a-L 1326 A + 58 additions	180
3	2nd cent. A.D.	L 1340, L 1195-L 1196, L 1341, L 1202-L 1204, + 4 additions	
4	3rd cent. A.D.	L 1200, L 1205, L 1327, L 1328, L 1194, + 48 additions	53

PHONOLOGY

I. VOWELS

§ 213 Treatment of the Sk. vowel *ṛ* The vowel *ṛ* generally becomes *a* in these inscriptions. It is changed to *u* mostly in the words expressive of human relationship and in the presence of a labial. The vowel also becomes *i* in a few cases.

(a) Change *ṛ* > *a* It will be seen from the examples that *ṛ* > *a* sometimes even in the presence of labials

Amar I	Sk. <i>grhapati</i> > <i>gahapati</i> - EI 15 267 25 ¹
Amar II	Sk. <i>mṛgā</i> > <i>maka</i> - L 1254
	Sk. <i>vṛsabhā</i> > <i>vasabha</i> - L 1239 etc. etc

S. Ind Insc.	Sk <i>pratīkṛta-</i> > <i>patīkṛta-</i> L 1196
Nāgār	Sk <i>kṛpānā-</i> > <i>-kavana-</i> EI 20 16 C3 ⁴
	Sk <i>sal-kṛta-</i> > <i>-sakata-</i> EI 20 19 B5 ¹ etc
	Also cf <i>vasabha-</i> EI 20 18 B4 ² , 16 C3 ² etc
Cop Pl	Sk <i>vyāpṛta-</i> > <i>vāpata-</i> L 1205 ⁴ , L 1328 ⁷
	Sk <i>trna-</i> > <i>-tana-</i> L 1200 ⁹ , etc etc

(b) Change *r* > *i* In a very few examples

Amar. II	Sk <i>ṛṣ-</i> > <i>Isi-la-</i> L 1248 ¹
	Sk <i>kṛtya-</i> > <i>-kīca-</i> L 1261 ¹
Cop Pl	Sk <i>drṣta-</i> > <i>duha-</i> L 1200, L 1205

(c) Change *r* > *u* As noticed above mostly in names expressive of human relationship⁹

Bhaṭṭ	Sk <i>pitṛ-</i> > <i>-pitu-</i> L 1329, L 1330
	Sk <i>mātr-</i> > <i>mātu-</i> L 1339 ¹
Amar I	Sk <i>mṛdu-</i> > <i>mudu-</i> L 1266 ,
	cf <i>mātu-</i> EI 15 270 40 ¹
Amar II	Sk <i>bhrātr-</i> > <i>bhātu-</i> L 1243, L 1248 etc
	Sk <i>duhitṛ-</i> > <i>duhutu-</i> L 1206, L 1210 etc
	Sk <i>napitr-</i> > <i>natu-</i> ¹⁰ L 1229
S Ind Insc	Sk <i>bhrātr-ka</i> > <i>bhatu-ka-</i> L 1202 ⁴
Nāgār	cf <i>bhātu-</i> EI 20 22 F ² , <i>mātu-</i> EI 20 22 F ² , <i>pitu-</i> EI 20 22 F ² etc etc
Cop Pl	Sk <i>jāmātr-</i> > <i>jāmātu-</i> L 1200 ¹⁴ , also cf <i>bhātuka-</i> L 1200 ¹⁴

§ 214 Treatment of the Sk diphthongs *ai* and *au*. Sk *ai* and *au* regularly become *e* and *o* respectively

(a) Change *ai* > *e*

Bhaṭṭ	Sk <i>naigama-</i> > <i>negama-</i> L 1337 ¹
Amar I	Sk <i>cātya-</i> > <i>cetiya-</i> EI 15 268 29
	Sk <i>sānya-</i> > <i>sena-</i> L 1266
Amar II	Sk <i>śaila-</i> > <i>sela-</i> L 1280 ¹
	Sk <i>haranyaka-</i> > <i>heranika-</i> L 1239 etc
S Ind Insc	cf <i>-cetiya-</i> L 1202 ⁶
Nāgār	cf <i>-sela-</i> EI 20 22 F ¹ and <i>cetiya-</i> EI 20 22 F ² etc
Cop Pl	Sk <i>vaṇayika-</i> > <i>vejayika-</i> L 1328 ⁸ , L 1200 ⁹

(b) *ai* is preserved at Maṇavaḷḷi in *saila-* (L 1196) and *vaṇayanī-* (L 1196).

(c) Change *au* > *o*

Bhaṭṭ	Sk <i>Kauśika-</i> > <i>Kosaka-</i> L 1332 ⁹
Amar II	Sk <i>Gautamī-</i> > <i>Gotam-</i> EI 15 270.39

9. It may be noted that in the Ceylonese inscriptions of the 2nd century B.C. we get both *a* and *u* treatments in names of human relationship cf *pita-* EZ I 181⁸ and *bhatu-* EZ I, 145 10a

10. In L 1231 FRANKE reads *nati-* (< Sk. *napī-*), ZDMG 50 600-1,

S Ind Insc . Sk *Kaundinya* > *Kondinya*- L 1195.
cf *Gotami*- L 1340¹.

Nāgār Sk *saumya*- > *-soma*- EI 20 22 F¹

Cop Pl cf *Kosika*- L 1200^{1c}, L 1328²⁰ etc

§ 215 Treatment of Sk *aya*, *ayi* and *avi* All these become *e* in these inscriptions

(a) Change *aya* > *e*

Bhaṭṭ Sk *Jayanta-ka*- > *Jeta-ka*- L 1332⁸, L 1337³

Cop Pl . Sk *abhi-√arth-aya*- > *abhathe-mi* L 1200¹¹

(b) Change *ayi* > *e* (a)

Nāgār Sk *Ujjayinī*- > *Ujam*- EI 20 19 35³, but we are asked to read *Ujem*-

(c) Change *avi* > *e*

Amar I & II Sk *sthāvira*- > *thera*- L 1223, L 1289 etc

Nāgār cf *-thera*-EI 20 22 F² 24 H¹¹

§ 216 Treatment of Sk *ava* Generally it becomes *o*

Bhaṭṭ Sk *śravanottara*- > *Sonulata*-¹ L 1337¹¹

Sk *upavasatha*- > *uposatha* L 1332¹⁷

Nāgār Sk. *bhavalu* > *holu* EI 20 21 E-

Sk *vṛyavacchinna*- > *vochinna*- EI 20 16 C3⁸

Cop Pl Sk *lavanā*- > *-lona*- L 1205¹¹, L 1328²²

Sk *an-avamsya*- > *anomasā* L 1328¹¹

§ 217 Treatment of Sk vowel *a* The vowel *a* is usually preserved The following changes which it undergoes sometimes are noteworthy

(a) Change *a* > *ā* in a metrically long syllable, such changes are rather few

Amar I Sk *Gopriyasya* > *Gopriyāsa*¹² EI 15 262 1

Amar II Sk *śhāvīrasya* > *therāsa*¹² L 1250⁸

Sk *antevāsikasya* > |*amle*|*vāsikāsa*¹² L 1233

Nāgār Sk *agnistomā*- > *āgñthoma*- EI 20 19 C2²

Sk *āśvamedhā*- > *āsamedha*- EI 20 19 C2² etc

Both these are doubtful illustrations, for the change in the initial vowel can equally be attributed to sandhi with the preceding vowel in the compound cf *Agñhot-āgñthoma-vājapey-āsamedha*- etc

Sk *sa-naptika*- > *san[ā]tuk[a]*- EI 20.25.K¹

Cop Pl Sk *varsā*- > *vāsa*- L 1200¹⁸

Sk *catvāri* > *cāttāri* L 1200³⁰

(b) Change *a* > *ā* takes place sometimes irregularly

Bhaṭṭ Sk *sphatika*- > *phālga*- L 1330

Sk *pramukha* > *pāmukha*- L 1335

11. This derivation follows that of LUDERS, BUHLER takes it from *Suvarnottara*, cf EI 2.328 f

12. The termination seems to have been *-sa* and not *-ssa*.

Amar. II	Sk <i>sahá</i> > <i>sahā</i> L 1239
	Sk <i>Nāganikā</i> > <i>Nakānikā</i> ¹³ L 1248
	Sk <i>bhagavatah</i> > <i>bhagavāto</i> ¹⁴ L 1244
S. Ind Ins	cf <i>sahā</i> L 1202 ⁵
Nāgār	Sk <i>kathaka</i> > <i>-kāluka</i> EI 20 24 H ¹¹
	Sk <i>vardhaki</i> > <i>-vaḍhāki</i> EI 20.22 F ¹

(c) Change *a* > *i* due to the presence of *y*

Amar II	Sk <i>lokāditya</i> > <i>logātici</i> L 1271 ¹
S Ind Ins	Sk <i>kanyakā</i> > <i>kamkā</i> L 1202 ¹

(d) Change *a* > *i* occurs in mistake

Nāgār	Sk <i>Sri-Vira</i> > <i>Siri-Viripurisadala</i> ¹⁵ EI 20 20 C2 ¹¹ Elsewhere we get <i>vira</i> .
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(e) Change *a* > *u* due to assimilation

Amar II	Sk <i>napti</i> > <i>nutu</i> EI 15 274 56 ⁻ .
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(f) Change *a* > *'u* (due to *v*) > *o* in a metrically long syllable

Amar II	Sk <i>śastika</i> > <i>'suthika</i> > <i>sothika</i> L 1287 ¹
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(g) *a* is dropped at times in copper plates cf Sk *api* > *vi* L 1200^{5,20} (but *api* L 1200³⁷), Sk *khālu* > **khlu* > *khu* L 1200^{11, 17}

§ 218 Treatment of the Sk vowel *ā* Though the long vowel is usually preserved still the following changes may be noted

(a) Change *ā* > *a* before a consonant cluster¹⁶ This change is observed in more cases than *a* > *ā* in similar circumstances

Bhaṭṭ	Sk <i>arya</i> > <i>aya</i> L 1339 ¹ But this may have come from
	Sk <i>arya</i> as well
	Sk <i>Vyāghra-pād</i> > <i>Vaghavā</i> L 1332 ²
Amar II	Sk <i>Dhānyakaṭaka</i> > <i>Dhamñakaṭaka</i> EI 15 262 4
	Also cf <i>aya</i> EI 15 270 40 ³
Amar II	Sk <i>bhārya</i> > <i>bhaya</i> L 1248, <i>bhāryā</i> EI 15 267 27 ² ,
	(but cf <i>bhāryā</i> L 1277, L 1301)
	Sk <i>īās/ra</i> > <i>raḥa</i> L 1281
S Ind Ins	Sk <i>ārya</i> > <i>ayira</i> L 1280 ⁻ , <i>aira</i> L 1276, <i>aya</i> L 1270
	Sk <i>ālmānah</i> > <i>āpano</i> L 1202 ⁵ , L 1203 ⁵ etc ,
	(but cf <i>āpaṇo</i> L 1204 ⁵)
Nāgār	Sk <i>amātya</i> > <i>amaca</i> L 1341 ⁵ , etc etc
	Sk <i>Virūpākṣa</i> > <i>Virūpakha</i> EI 20 16 C3 ¹ etc
	Sk <i>rajñah</i> > <i>ramño</i> EI 20 16.C3 ⁵ etc
	Sk <i>ācāryā</i> > <i>ācarīya</i> EI 20 17 C1 ¹⁰ etc
Cop Pl	Sk <i>Kāśyapa</i> > <i>Kassava</i> L 1200 ¹⁵ , also cf <i>amaca</i> L 1341 ⁵ , etc

13 Is this due to metathesis?

14 Probably due to analogy with *therāsa*, cf above § 217 (a)

15 Is *-viri-* due to preceding *siri-*?

16 In a Ceylonese inscription we find *ā* > *e* before a cluster cf Sk *amātya* > *ameti*-
EZ III 250²

(b) Change $\bar{a} > a$ before terminations This change occurs only in later inscriptions.

Amar II Sk *upāsikā-* > *uvāsika-ya* L 1268
 Sk. *Sujātā-* > *Sujālam-yā* L 1264

Note the compensatory addition of a nasal¹⁷ It is important to note that in earlier inscriptions at Amarāvati this vowel is always preserved cf. *jāyāya* EI 15 254.12², *Utāyā* EI 15 264 13 etc Even in Amarāvati II this \bar{a} is more preserved than shortened cf *saputikāya* L 1287¹ etc , *uvāsikāya* EI 15 267 23

S Ind Ins Sk *bālikā-* > *bālika-m* L 1202¹
 Sk *kanyakā-* > *kanika-m* L 1202¹

We may also note here the nom sg ending of the fem nouns ending in $-\bar{a}$:
 Bhatt *majusa* L 1329 , but *majūsā* L 1338

(c) Change $\bar{a} > a$ before suffixes It occurs only in a few cases

Amar II Sk *sa-bhāryā-ka-* > [sa|bha|ri|ya-ka- L 1230¹
sabhaya-ka- L 1273¹
 S Ind Ins Sk *Samudrā-ni-* > *Samuda-ni-* L 1202¹.

(d) Change $\bar{a} > a$ occurs sometimes irregularly

Amar II Sk *jñāti-* > *-nati-* L 1230¹ etc
 Sk *prati|ḥāpita-* > [pa|ti|ḥap|ta|- L 1287¹ etc
 S Ind Ins Sk *Vāsi|hi-* > *Vasithi-* L 1341 , also cf *palithapita-*
 L 1202¹ etc etc
 Nāgār Sk *bālikā-* > *balikā-* EI 20 19 135³
 Sk *ācāryā-* > *acariya-* EI 20 24 G³

This change occurs in a good many cases cf the remarks on orthography in the introductory § 211 5

§ 219 Treatment of the Sk vowel i The short vowel is generally preserved The following changes, however, occur in the circumstances noted below

(a) Change $i > \bar{i}$ in a metrically long syllable occurs in a few cases

Bhatt Sk *Citraka-* > *Citaka-* (?) L 1337³
 Sk *Smha-* > *Ṣiha* L 1335
 Amar II Sk *Kalinga-* > *Kāṅga-* L 1251
 S Ind Ins Sk *vitrāsam* > *vītarāsam* L 1195.
 Nāgār Sk *Vāsi|hi-* > *Vāsi|hi-* EI 20 16 (footnote 6) D2³ or
Vāsi|hi- EI 20 16 (footnote 6) D4¹ , but we get
Vāsi|hi- also

(b) Change $i > e$ in a metrically long syllable

Amar II . Sk *paṇḍaka-* > *peṇḍaka-*¹⁸ L 1240² It becomes e
 once even without a cluster following it
 Sk *nvāsaka-* > *-nvāsaka-*¹⁸ EI 15 274 55¹

¹⁷ Also cf *patiṭham|pi|ta-* L 1240²

¹⁸ It is, however, possible to derive these words from the vrddhi forms **paṇḍa-* and **navāsi-*

- Nāgār. . Sk. *Vāṣṭi* /hi- > *Vāṣeṭhi*- EI 20 16 (footnote 6) C1⁴ etc.
 Cop PI . Sk **i-ttha* > *etiha* L 1200⁷.
- (c) Change ɪ > ī irregularly in a few cases
 Nāgār. Sk *cantiya* > **cetiya*- > *cetiya*- EI 20 18 132,⁶ 22 F²
 Sk *āryakā* > **ayī-kā* > *ayikā*- EI 20 22 F²
 Cop PI . Sk *bhūmi*- > *bhūmī*- L 1327⁹
 Sk *Agniveśya*- > *Agīvesa*- 1205⁸
- (d) Change ɪ > a
 Bhaṭṭ Sk *Kauśika*- > *Kośaka*- L 1332⁹
 Amar II . Sk *sa-bhagim-ka* > *sa-bhagina-ka*- L 1249¹.
 It appears to be due to dissimilation
- (e) Change ɪ > u due to assimilation .
 Amar. II Sk *duhit-* > *duhulu*- L 1206 etc.
 Nāgār cf *duhutā* EI 20 18 B2¹, *dhūtu*- EI 20.24 H⁹
- (f) Change ɪ > ā occurs in mistake
 Amar II *sa-pitr-ka* > *sa-palu-ka*- L 1256
- (g) The vowel ɪ is initially lost in *iti* and *idānim*-
 Amar II Sk *iti*- > *ti* L 1283, also cf S Ind Ins (L 1202⁷),
 Nāgār (EI 20 18 B2⁸ etc) and Cop PI (L 1200^{11, 48, 49},
iti L 1200^{17, 51})
 Cop PI Sk *idānim* > *dām* L 1205⁵, L 1328⁷

§ 220 Treatment of the Sk vowel ī The long vowel is usually preserved Yet in the following circumstances it is shortened to ɪ

- (a) Change ī > ɪ before a consonant cluster in a few cases
 Bhaṭṭ Sk *Sthūlaśīrṣa*- > *Thorasi*- L 1332¹
 S Ind Ins Sk *grīṣmā* > *gimha*- L 1195
 Nāgār cf |*gimha*|- EI 20 24 G¹⁰ (cf however *digha*-
 EI 20 17 C1¹¹, 19 C2¹¹)
 Cop PI cf *gimha*- L 1205²¹
- (b) Change ī > ɪ before terminations
 Bhaṭṭ Sk *Smhagoṣṭhi*- > *Sihagoṣṭhi-yā* L 1335
 Amar. I Sk *Reli*- > *Reli-yā* EI 15 263 6
 Amar II . Sk *ghinī*- > *gharaṇa-ya*¹⁹ L 1281 etc
 Sk *antevāsmi*- > *atevāsmi-ya* L 1286 etc
 But ī is preserved in *Bhagi-ya* L 1260¹
 S Ind Ins Sk *Nāgulanī*- > *Nāgulanī-m* L 1202¹, also
 cf *gharaṇa-m* L 1202³ etc
 Nāgār Sk *bhaginī*- > *bhagim-ya* EI 20 18 B1¹ etc ,
 also cf *gharaṇa-ya* EI 20 25 J¹ etc , it is preserved in
bhaginī-ya EI 20 22 F²

(c) Change ī > ɪ before a suffix in later inscriptions The examples are only few.

- Amar II . Sk *bhiksuni-kā* > *bhikkhum-kā*- L 1252 ; also
 cf *-neti-ka*- L 1230⁹

¹⁹ Pk *ghara*- < **g^hhoro*-

- (d) Change
- $i > i$
- at the end of the first member in a Compound
- ²⁰

S Ind Ins · Sk *Gautamī-putra-* > *Golamī-puta-* L 1340¹But cf *Vāsūthī-puta-* L 1341, *Hārītī-putta-* L 1195, L 1196, *Takmīcī-putta-* L 1195Nāgār cf *Vāsūthī-puta-* EI 20 16C3⁵, *Mādhari-puta-* EI 20.22 F¹ etc However, long i is preserved in *Vasūthī-puta-* EI 20 17 A3¹, *Mādhari-puta-* EI 20.20.C4⁶ etc

- (e) Change
- $i > i$
- occurs irregularly

Bhaṭṭ Sk *śārira-* > *sarira-* L 1330, L 1334Amar I Sk *trīnu* > *tim* EI 15 p 265, 18, 269 33⁷Sk *uṣṇa-* > *ūṣa-* EI 15 271 44Amar II Sk *pāṇiya-* > *pānya-* L 1279, also *uṣa-* L 1231, L 1251Nāgār Sk *Vīra-* > *Vira-* EI 20 16 C3⁶, also cf *tummi* EI 20 22 F¹ where a compensatory nasal is added, *uṣa-* EI 20 25 J¹, etcCop Pl Sk *pīdā-* > *pīlā-* L 1200¹⁰§ 221 Treatment of the Sk vowel u The vowel though normally preserved, becomes u , o or i in a few cases²¹

- (a) Change
- $u > ū$
- in a metrically long syllable occurs in some instances

Bhaṭṭ Sk *Kumbha-* > *Kūba-* (') L 1333¹Amar I Sk *uṣṇa-* > *ūṣa-* EI 15 271 42, 44Amar II ' *kṣulla-* > *cūla-* L 1285, but cf *uṣa-* 1231, L 1251 etcCop Pl Sk *dugdhā-* > *-dūdha-* L 1200¹¹

- (b) Change
- $u > o$
- in a metrically long syllable

Amar II Sk *Kubja-* > *Koja-*¹² L 1253Nāgār Sk *pudgala-* > *pōgala-*¹² EI 20 25 J¹

- (c) Change
- $u > i$
- occurs in the stock example,
- purisa-*
- cf S Ind Ins (L 1202
- ¹
-), Nāgār (EI 20 16 C3
- ¹³
- etc)

§ 222 Treatment of the Sk vowel $ū$ The vowel $ū$ is fairly well preserved The following sporadic changes may be noted

- (a) Change
- $ū > u$
- before a consonant cluster ·

Amar II Sk *ūrdhvā-* > *udha-* EI 15 275 57¹⁴ L 1243-S Ind Ins Sk *pūrva-* > *puva-* L 1202⁶, L 1340¹, also Nāgār (EI 20 22.F8 etc) and Cop Pl (cf *puvva-* L 1200¹²)

- (b) Change
- $ū > u$
- occurs sometimes irregularly

Bhaṭṭ Sk *mañjūsā*²³ > *majusa-* L 1329, L 1330, but cf *majūsā* L 1338

20 Cf WACKERNAGEL 'A: Gr II, § 56, p 134 for similar forms in Sk and § 167c supra.

21 In a 2nd cent A.D inscription from Ceylon $u-$ is initially lost in the following instance, Sk *udaka-* > *daka-* EZ III. 116⁵22 As noticed above in similar change of $i > e$, these forms could be derived from **Kaubja-* and **paudgala-* cf fn 18 supra23 Sk *mañjūsā* is also given by lexicographers, though it is not attested in literature.

Amar. I	Sk <i>sūci-</i> (or <i>sūci-</i>) > <i>suci-</i> EI 16 264 13, but cf <i>sūci-</i> EI 15.265 16
Amar II	Sk <i>bhūtā-</i> > <i>-bhuta-</i> L 1264 Sk <i>mūla-</i> > <i>-mula-</i> L 1243 ¹ , also cf <i>suci</i> L 1247 ² , L 1254 ³
S Ind Ins	Sk <i>Mūlāsri</i> > <i>Mula-siri</i> L 1243 ¹ Sk <i>rajūka</i> (or <i>raju-ka</i>) > <i>rajuka-</i> L 1195

§ 223 Treatment of the Sk vowel *e* The vowel is well preserved In Bhatt inscriptions Sk *Kubera-* > *Kubīra-* L 1338 and *Khubīra-* L 1335 probably in mistake The form *atavāsi-* which occurs in Amar II (L 1295) is probably to be derived from Sk *antar-vāsin-*

§ 224 Treatment of the Sk vowel *o* It is also well preserved The vowel *o* which is the result of sandhi between *a* + *u* is represented as *u* cf Amar II Sk *sattvottama-* > *satutama-* L 1234, L 1239

II SIMPLE CONSONANTS

§ 225 As in other Prakrit inscriptions the consonants in their initial position are almost rigidly preserved In their intervocalic position, however, they undergo a few changes of partial application

§ 226 Gutturals

(a) The change of intervocalic surds to sonants is observed in the following instances

(1) Change *-k-* > *-g-* is found since earliest times But the instances multiply only after the beginning of the Christian era

Bhatt	Sk <i>sphatika-</i> > <i>phāliga-</i> L 1330, L 1335
Amar II	Sk <i>lokā-</i> > <i>loga-</i> L 1271 ¹ Sk <i>Mukunda-</i> > <i>Muguda-</i> L 1232 ¹ Sk <i>sa-mātr-kā-</i> > <i>sa-mātu-gā-</i> EI 15 269 35
S Ind Ins	Sk <i>nikāyā-</i> > <i>niḡāya-</i> EI 24 259 ⁷
Nāgār	cf <i>niḡaya-</i> EI 20 20 C2 ¹⁰ Similarly for <i>Pūkiyānanī</i> EI 20 20 C5 ² we get <i>Pūḡiyānam</i> EI 20 21 E ¹

(11) Change *-kh-* > *-gh-* is observed in later inscriptions

Amar II	Sk <i>mukha-</i> > <i>-mugha-</i> L 1206 Sk <i>lekhaka-</i> > <i>legghaka-</i> L 1291 Sk <i>śikhara-</i> > <i>-siḡhara-</i> EI 15 273 50 ²
Nāgār	cf <i>Hugha-</i> EI 20 25 K ¹ But <i>sukha-</i> occurs very often

(b) The reverse change of a sonant into a surd²⁴ is observed in the following instances which are mostly proper names

(1) Change *-g-* > *-k-*

Amar II	Sk <i>Nāgāsri</i> > <i>Nakasiri</i> EI 15 273 52 ² , also cf <i>Nakāmikā</i> L 1248 ² Sk <i>Mṛgabuddhi-</i> > <i>Makabudhi-</i> L 1254 ¹
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24 Similar tendency is observed in the 2nd cent. A.D. inscriptions from Ceylon cf. Sk. *yavāgu-* > *yāku* EZ I 62 3, Sk. *nagara-* > *nakara-* EZ III 116⁶ (cf however *nagara-* in 4th cent. A.D. inscription EZ III 122²)

- S. Ind. Ins** : Sk. *Nāgacandra* > *Nākacaṇḍa*- L 1 02²,
also cf. *Nākabudhanika*- L 1202⁴
Sk. *Skandanāga* > *Khamdanāka*- EI 14 p 155
Sk. *tadāga*-²⁵ > *talāka*- EI 14 p. 155³
- Nāgār** Sk. *bhagmā* > *bak*[i|n|i] EI 20 37 Sculpture inscription
Sk. *koṣṭhāgāra* > *koth*[ā|kāra]- EI 20 2 F²
Also cf. *talāka*- EI 20 22 F³ and place names with
Nākā- EI 20 25 K⁴
- Cop Pl** . cf. *-talāka*- L 1327⁵
- (c) Change of a guttural to *y* is observed only in the case of *-k*-
- (1) Change *-k*- > *-y*- takes place only in the suffixes
- Amar II** Sk. *Buddhaśrāvīkā* > *Budhasāvīyā*- EI 15 27 1 55
Sk. *Samudrikā* > *Samuḍiyā*- L 1286
- Cop Pl.** Sk. *ardhika* > *addhiya*- L 1194¹¹
- (d) Change *-k*- and *-kh*- > *-kh*- and *-kh*- occurs rarely
- Bhatt** Sk. *Kuberaka* > *Khubiraka*- L 1335, but
cf. *Kubiraka*- L 1338
- S Ind Ins** Sk. *Iksvāku* > *Ikhākhū*- L 1202¹,
but cf. *Ikhāku*- L 1204¹
- (e) Change *-kh*- > *-k*- by loss of aspiration is equally rare²⁶
- S Ind Ins** Sk. *pakṣā* > **pakkha* > *pakka*- L 1195
- (f) Change *-gh*- > *-h*- by loss of occlusion occurs in a doubtful instance
- Bhatt** Sk. *Māgha* > *Māha*- L 1337⁶
- (g) The loss of intervocal *-k*- occurs once in a suffix
- Amar II** Sk. *Dharmaśrikā* > *Dhammasirū*- L 1284
- § 227 Palatals
- (a) The change of *-c*- > *-j*- is observed in a few cases²⁷
- Amar II** Sk. *sūci* > [sū|j]-²⁸ L 1241²
- Nāgār** . Sk. *ācāryā* > *-ajariya*- EI 12 62 G3¹¹
- (b) Change *j*- and *-j*- > *c* and *-c*- occurs in a very few cases
- Bhatt** . Sk. *Jaghanya-putra* > *Cagha*[ña]-*puta*- (?) L 1336
- Amar II** . Sk. *pravrajitā* > *pavacitā*- L 1270², EI 15 275 58
- (c) Change of a palatal into *y* is found both with *c* and *j*
- (1) Change *c*- and *-c*- > *y*- and *-y*-
- Amar II** Sk. *sūci* > *suyi*- L 1247²
- S. Ind Ins** . Sk. *ca* > *ya* L 1202⁵

25 But Sk. *-ga*- is itself MI-A development from PI-A *-ka*-

26 This change forms one of the principal traits of the Ceylonese Prakrit. The instances come from the 2nd cent BC and 2nd cent AD inscriptions, cf. the following.

Sk. *Dharmarakṣita* > **Dhamarakhita* > *Damarakṣita*- EZ I 181¹

Sk. *bhikṣu* > **bhiku* > *bhiku*- EZ I 623 (Also cf. EZ III 162²)

Sk. *√khan*- > *√kana*- EZ I 211³

Similarly we also get the change *-gh*- > *-g*-

Sk. *saṅgha* > *saga*- EZ I 181² (2nd cent BC) and EZ I 623 (2nd cent AD). It is however preserved in a 1st or 2nd cent BC inscription cf. *saṅgha*- EZ I 147 IIIa

27. The Ceylon inscriptions give one such instance cf. Sk. *prācina* > *paṇma*- EZ III 250¹.

28 Cf. Dravidian *sūn*-

- Cop. Pl : cf. *ya* L 1194¹².
 Sk. *vacanā* > *vayana*- L 1194¹.
- (ii) Change -j- > -y- :
 Amar. II Sk *vāṇijā* > *vāṇiya*- L 1229¹, L 1230¹ etc.
 Sk *Rājaśaila* > *Rāyasela*- L 1280¹
 S. Ind Ins. Sk *dhvajā* > *-dhaya*- EI 24 259⁸, L 1205²
 Cop Pl . Sk *Bhāradvāja* > *Bhāradāya*- L 1205², L 1328¹⁸.
- (d) The loss of intervocal -j- is rare
 Amar II Sk *pravrajita* > *pavaita*- L 1244
- (e) -c- is replaced by -d- obviously in mistake
 Nāgār Sk *mahācailya* > *mahādei ya*- EI 20 20.C4¹,
 EI 20 20.C5¹

§ 228 Cerebrals

- (a) The change of surd into sonant occurs both with -t- and -ṭh-

- (i) Change -t- > -ḷ- occurs since early times²⁹

Amar I Sk *Dhānyakataka* > *Dhaññakodḍaka*- EI 15.263.5.
 Amar II Sk *ghaṭa* > *ghada*- L 1273²
 S Ind Ins cf *Dhaññakada*- EI 24 259⁸
 Cop Pl Sk *bhata* > *-bhada*- L 1200¹⁰, L 1205¹¹
 Sk *koti* > *koḍi*- L 1200¹⁰, also *-komdi*- L 1200¹⁰
 also cf *Dhamñakada*- I 1205⁷

- (ii) Change -ṭh- > -dh-³⁰ occurs rather later

S Ind Ins Sk *Māthariputra* > *Mādhariputa*- L 1202¹.
 Nāgār cf *Mādhariputa*- EI 20 16C3⁰ etc, but cf forms with
 -ṭh- EI 20 21 E¹, 24 H⁸, 22 F¹
 Cop Pl cf *Mādhara*- L 1200¹⁴

- (b) The loss of cerebralisation is found with ṭh

- (i) Change -ṭh- > -th-

Nāgār Sk *pratiṣṭhāpita* > *patithapita*³¹ EI 20 16 C3¹² and
 cf *nithapita*³¹ EI 20 17 C1¹² The cerebral occurs in
patithapita- EI 20 20 C4⁸ etc

- (c) The change of -t- and -d- > -l- or -ḷ-

Bhaṭṭ Sk *sphatika* > *phālga*- L 1330, L 1335
 Amar II . Sk *Dravida*³² > *Damila*- L 1243
 S Ind Ins Sk *tadāga* > *talāka*- EI 14 155¹
 Nāgār cf *talāka*- EI 20 22 F¹
 Cop Pl Sk *pidā* > *pīlā*- L 1200¹⁰, L 1205²²
 Sk *guda* > *-gula*- L 1200¹²; also *-talāka*- L 1327⁵

29. Similar cases from Ceylon are extremely rare. cf Sk. *prati* > **paṭi* > *paḍi* EZ III. 166⁴

30. Like the change of *kh* > *k* and *gh* > *g* noted above we find also the change -ṭh- > -ṭ- in the Ceylonese inscriptions.

Sk *jyeshtha* > **jetha* > *jeta*- EZ III 154² (2nd cent. B.C.).

Sk *ariha* > **aṭha* > *aṭa*- EZ III 116⁵ (2nd cent. A.D.)

31. In both these cases perhaps the original Sk -ṭh- in √*sthā* is preserved

32. But this word itself is of Dravidian origin.

(d) Treatment of the cerebral *n*. In the early inscriptions at Bhaṭṭ *-n-* is preserved cf Sk *śramaṇá-* > *samana-* L 1332³, L 1337⁷, Sk *váruna-* > *V[a]runa-* L 1332⁹ etc. But in later inscriptions we find a tendency to change *-n-* > *-ṇ-*³³. The change, however, has in no way a sweeping application

Amar I	Sk <i>uṣṇisa-</i> > <i>ūmsa-</i> EI 15 271 44 , also cf <i>samana-</i> EI 15 264 11
Amar II	In a majority of cases <i>-n-</i> > <i>-ṇ-</i> , cf Sk <i>dákṣma</i> (also <i>ná-</i>) > <i>dakhma-</i> L 1229 ¹ , L 1255 ¹ Sk <i>cārana-</i> > <i>carana-</i> L 1272 , etc
Nāgār	Sk <i>vaṇṇj-</i> > <i>vaṇṇjaka-</i> EI 20 16 C3 ⁸ (but <i>vaṇṇja-</i> EI 20 16 (footnote 13) A3 ⁶ , A4 ⁷ , B3 ⁶ , C1 ⁷ etc), also cf <i>samana-</i> EI 20 21 E ² . But in a majority of cases <i>-n-</i> is preserved cf <i>samana-</i> EI 20 16 C3 ⁸ , <i>taruna-</i> EI 20 22 F ¹ , <i>kavana-</i> (< <i>kṛpānā-</i>) EI 20 10 C3 ⁸ etc
Cop P ¹	Sk <i>brāhmaná-</i> > <i>banmhana-</i> L 1328 ¹⁰ Sk <i>lavaná-</i> > <i>-lona-</i> L 1205 ¹⁷ L 1328 ³² (cf however, <i>-lona-</i> L 1200 ¹ , <i>pesana-</i> L 1200 ⁶)

§ 229 Dentals

(a) Change of surd to sonant affects both *-t-* and *-th-*

(i) Change *-t-* > *-d-* occurs from early times

Bhaṭṭ	Sk. <i>Bharata-</i> > <i>Bharada-</i> L 1332
Amar II	Sk <i>sa-dhātu-ka-</i> > <i>sa-dhādu-ka-</i> L 1229 ⁶ Sk <i>cātya-</i> > <i>*cētya-</i> > <i>cedīya-</i> L 1276
Nāgār	Sk <i>ñāti-</i> > <i>ñādi-</i> EI 20 25 K ¹
Cop P ¹	Sk <i>khātaka-</i> > <i>-khādaka-</i> L 1205 ¹¹ , L 1328 ⁹ Sk <i>krtā-</i> > <i>kada-</i> L 1200 ¹¹

(ii) Change *-th-* > *-dh-* also occurs from early times

Amar I	Sk <i>-kathika-</i> > <i>-kadhika-</i> EI 15 270 40 ³
Amar II	Sk <i>Nāthaśrī-</i> > <i>Nādhasrī-</i> L 1233 , cf <i>-kadhika-</i> EI 15 268 31
Nāgār	Sk <i>hastin-</i> > <i>hadhi-</i> EI 20 19 B5 ¹ Sk <i>arhanā-</i> > <i>adhanā-</i> EI 20 19 B5 ¹ Sk <i>Vāsīśhiputra-</i> > <i>*Vāsithīputra-</i> > <i>Vāsīdhīputra-</i> EI 20 16 (footnote 6) D4 ¹ , 16 C3 ⁷ , also cf <i>patidhapamta-</i> EI 20 18 B2 ⁶ for Sk <i>pratiśthāputa-</i>

(b) The hardening of *-d-* > *-t-* is found in

Amar I	Sk <i>vedikā-</i> > <i>vet[ṭ]ka-</i> EI 15 268 29
Amar II	Sk <i>pādukā-</i> > <i>pātukā-</i> L 1219 Sk <i>lokāditya-</i> > <i>logāṭica-</i> L 1271 ¹ , cf <i>vetikā-</i> L 1269, EI 15 271 46
Cop P ¹	Sk <i>maryādā-</i> > <i>majātā-</i> L 1200 ¹⁵

(c) The softening of *-d-* > *-y-* is observed only in the usual example

Amar II	Sk <i>bhadanta-</i> > <i>bhayata-</i> L 1223 etc
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(d) Change *d-* > *dh-* occurs due to anticipation

33. It may be noted that *-n-* is preserved in all Ceylonese inscriptions

- Amar II : Sk. *duhitṛ-* > *dhutu-ka-* L 1230^a, L 1244² etc.
(but cf. *duṭu-ka-* L 1300)
Nāgār cf *dhūtu-* EI 20.24 H^a.
- (c) Change *-th-* > *-t-* and *-dh-* > *-d-* occur very rarely³⁴
Cop Pl Sk *-pātha-* > *Aṁdhā-patiya-gāma-* L 1205^a
Amar. II Sk *deya-dharma-* > *deya-dama-* EI 15 273 53
- (f) The change *-n-* > *-v-* is found once at a late date
Cop Pl Sk *jananī-* > *-janavi-* L 1327¹

§ 230 Labials

(a) The labials are better preserved than any other class as a whole. The only important change that is noticed is that of a labial > *v*

- (i) Change *-p-* > *-v-* occurs from very early times³⁵
Bhaṭṭ Sk. *vyāghrapād* > *Vaghavā* L 1332²
Amar II Sk *upāsikū-* > *uvāsikā-* L 1206, L 1268³ etc.
Sk *dīpa-* > *diva-* L 1244⁶
Sk *mandapa-* > *-ma[d]va-* L 1230¹⁰
Sk **gopālī-* > *govālī-* EI 15 270 41
Maṭṭep Sk *Kāśyapa-* > *Kassava* EI 17.329¹¹
Nāgār Sk *sthāpita-* > *thavita-* EI 20 22 F³
Sk *upāri-* > *uvan-* EI 20 22 F³.
Sk *kṛpana-* > *kavana-* EI 20 16 C3⁸, also cf *uvāsikā-*
EI 20 22 F², *mamdava-* EI 20.22 F¹, *mamava-*
EI 20 21 F² etc
Cop Pl Sk *api-* > *vi* L 1200^{6, 20}, (also *api* L 1200¹⁷); also
cf *Kassava* L 1200¹⁸, *govallava-* L 1200⁵

- (ii) Change *-b-* > *-v-* occurs in a proper name
Maṭṭep Sk *Śabara* (+ *ārya-*) > *Savara-ṣṣa-* EI 17 329¹⁰

- (b) Change *bh-* > *b-* by loss of aspiration³⁶
Nāgār Sk *bhagnī-* > *bak[ī|n|ī]-* EI 20 37, Sculpture
Inscription

- (c) Change *bh-* > *h-* by loss of occlusion
Nāgār Sk *bhavalu* > *holu* EI 20 21 E³

(d) A curious change of *m > b* occurs in a Ceylonese inscription cf Sk *ārāma-* > *araba-* EZ III 116¹ (2nd cent AD)

34 But this is to be found in all Ceylonese inscriptions

Sk *sthavira-* > *thera-* > *tera-* EZ I 181¹ (2nd cent BC), also cf EZ I 144 4a

Sk *Dharmarakṣita-* > **Dhamarakṣita-* > *Damarakṣita-* EZ I 181¹ (2nd cent BC)

Sk *√dhṛ-* > *√dara-* EZ I 211³ (2nd cent AD)

35 This is also found in such instances from the Ceylonese inscriptions as *kāhavana-* (< *kārṣāpana-*) EZ I 211⁴ (2nd cent AD), *√khanava-* (causal from *√khan-*) EZ I 211⁵ (2nd cent AD) and *uvankeva-* (< *upamkṣepa-*) EZ III 251³

36 Cf the following from the Ceylonese Prakrit inscriptions

Sk *bhāryā-* > *bariya-* EZ I 181⁴ (2nd cent BC)

Sk *bhakta-* > *bala-* EZ I 623, EZ I 1455 (2nd cent AD) It is however preserved in *bhatu-* (< *bhrātṛ-*) EZ I 145 10a

Sk *vibhājaka-* > *vibajaka-* EZ I 211⁴⁻⁵ (2nd cent AD).

§ 231. Semivowels. As with stops, the semivowels are initially well preserved. It is only the semivowel *y* which sometimes becomes *j* even initially. In their medial position too they are well preserved, except for a few changes.

(a) The semivowel *y* is either preserved or in some cases becomes *j* or *v* or is totally dropped.

(i) Change *y-* and *-y-* > *-j* and *-j-* appears in later inscriptions

Nāgār Sk *Yak-á-* > *Jakha-* EI 21 68 N¹

Cop Pl Sk *yáh* > *jo* L 1200⁴¹, L 1205²¹

S Ind Ins Sk *déya-* > *dejja-* L 1195, L 1196

Nāgār Sk *vājapéya-* > *vājaveja-* EI 20 24 II¹ The change seems to have been also due to assimilation. We get however *vājapeya-* more often cf. EI 20 16 (footnote 4) A2² etc.

Sk *bhadanta-* > **bhayamta-* > *bhajamta-*

EI 20 17 C1^{1,2}

Cop Pl Sk *samyukta-* > *-samjulla-* L 1200¹, also cf. the term in *kāṛavejja-* L 1200⁴⁰

(ii) Change *-y-* > *-v-*

Amar I Sk *dyardha-* > **diyadha-* > *divadha-* EI 15 26 7 24

Amar II cf. *divadha* L 1328¹⁷

(iii) Intervocally *-y-* is lost only in some cases at a later date

Amar II Sk *calya-* > *celiya-* > *cetia-* L 1263¹

, Sk *ārya-* > **ayra-* > *aira-* I 1276

Nāgār In the gen sg term cf. *mahātalavari-a* (< *-ya*) EI 20 19 B5⁶

(b) The semivowel *r* is generally preserved in all its positions. There are, however, a few stray cases where *-r-* > *-l-*

Bhaṭṭ Sk *Udāra-* > *Oda* (or *dāila-* (?) L 1332¹

Sk *Udgāra-* > *V[u]ga[aka-* (?) L 1332¹

Amar II Sk *Kumāra-* > *Kumālā-* (fem) (?) L 1218-

Nāgār Sk *Kirāta-* > *Cilāta-* EI 20 22 F¹

(c) The semi-vowel *v* is also well preserved cf. however, the following few changes

(i) Change *v-* and *-v-* > *p-* and *-p-*

Bhaṭṭ Sk *Vigraha* > *Pigraha-* L 1331

Amar II Sk *bhagavat-* > *bhagapata-* L 1271¹

Cop Pl Sk *apṛaveśya-* > *apāpesa-* L 1205¹, L 1328¹¹

Sk *√avayava-* (denominative) > *√oyapa-* L 1328¹⁷.

(ii) Change *v* > *m* may be observed in Sk *Dravida-* > *Damila-* L 1243¹. But as the Sk word itself is of Dravidian origin this may not be a proper instance.

§ 232. Sibilants. In this group all the three sibilants are reduced to the single dental one with a few exceptions. In Bhaṭṭ we get all the three sibilants ś, ṣ and s of which ṣ and s appear in the first nine inscriptions and ś and s in the tenth. There is also some confusion in their treatment which finds its best parallel in the Aśokan

inscriptions at Kālsī³⁸ As at Kālsī this confusion has been attributed to the ignorance of the scribe.

(a) The palatal sibilant ś.

(i) Preservation of ś³⁹

Bhaṭṭ.	Sk <i>śramaṇā-</i> > <i>śamana-</i> L 1339 ^a ; but <i>samana-</i> L 1332 ^a Sk <i>uddeśa-</i> > <i>udeśa-</i> L 1339 ^a
S Ind Ins	Sk. <i>bhūmuveśa-</i> > [bhū]muveśa- L 1341 ^b Sk <i>Śivaskandavarman-</i> > <i>Śiva[khada]varman-</i> L 1196.

(ii) Change -ś- > -ṣ-

Bhaṭṭ.	Sk <i>Kauśika-</i> > <i>Koṣaka-</i> L 1332 ^a .
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(iii) Change ś > s

Bhaṭṭ.	. Sk. <i>śārira-</i> > <i>sarira-</i> L 1334 Sk <i>Śiva-</i> > <i>Siva-</i> L 1330
Amar. II	. Sk <i>śāla-</i> > <i>sela-</i> L 1280 ¹ . Sk <i>śikhara-</i> > <i>sighara-</i> EI 15 273 50 ² etc
S. Ind. Ins.	Sk <i>Sātakarni-</i> > <i>Sātakaṇi-</i> L 1340 ² , also cf. <i>saila-</i> L 1196
Nāgār	Sk <i>śaśr-</i> > <i>-sasi-</i> EI 20 22 1 ¹ etc Sk <i>dīsā</i> > <i>dīsā</i> EI 20 22 F ² .
Cop Pl	. Sk. <i>śatā-</i> > <i>sata-</i> L 1200 ^{10, 49} . Sk <i>śāsana-</i> > <i>sāsana-</i> L 1205 ²¹ etc

(b) The cerebral sibilant ṣ :

(i) Preservation of -ṣ-

Bhaṭṭ.	Sk <i>téṣām</i> > <i>teṣam</i> L 1335
Amar. II	Sk <i>Harṣa-</i> > <i>Haṣa-</i> EI 15 275 57 ¹ .
S Ind. Ins.	Sk <i>toṣa-</i> > <i>toṣa-</i> L 1195
Cop Pl.	Sk <i>Pauṣa-</i> > <i>Pauṣa-</i> L 1194 ¹⁵

(ii) Change -ṣ- > -s-

Bhaṭṭ.	Sk <i>pāṣāna-</i> > <i>pāsāna-</i> L 1335 Sk <i>mañjūṣā-</i> > <i>mañṣā-</i> L 1328, L 1329 etc.
Amar. I	. Sk. <i>uṣṇīṣa-</i> > <i>uṇsa-</i> EI 15 271 42, 44.
Amar. II	. Sk <i>viṣabhā-</i> > <i>vasabha-</i> L 1239; cf <i>uṇsa-</i> L 1231 etc
S Ind Ins	Sk <i>pūruṣa-</i> > <i>-purisa-</i> L 1202 ¹
Nāgār	. Sk. <i>doṣa-</i> > <i>dosa-</i> EI 20 22 F ¹ , also cf <i>vasabha-</i> EI 20 16 C3 ² etc
Cop. Pl.	. Sk <i>viṣaya-</i> > <i>visaya-</i> L 1200 ^{3, 36} Sk. <i>preṣaṇa-</i> > <i>-pesaṇa-</i> L 1200 ⁶

(iii) Change -ṣ- > -h-

Amar II	Sk <i>smuṣṭā</i> > * <i>sunhā-</i> > <i>sunhā-</i> L 1232 ²
Nāgār	cf <i>sumnhā</i> EI 20 22 F ³ and <i>sun(hā)-</i> EI 20 24 5

38. Cf HULTZSCH, *Aś Ins.* p lxxii

39. This is also preserved in the Ceylonese inscriptions cf. *catudisa* EZ I 18 1² (2nd cent B C), *Śivaguta-* and *Puṣaguta-* EZ I 145 6, 7 (1st or 2nd cent B C), but also cf *catudisa* EZ I. 19.4 (2nd cent. B.C.), *visiti* (< *viṣṭiti*) EZ I. 62.3 (2nd cent. A.D.).

(c) The dental sibilant *s* is, of course, preserved everywhere. In Bhaṭṭ inscriptions it is sometimes changed to *ṣ*, and sometimes to *h* in other inscriptions⁴⁰

(1) Change *s* > *ṣ* in all positions

Bhaṭṭ Sk *dāsā* > *-dāṣa-* L 1337⁸
 Sk. *Samudra* > *Ṣamuda-* L 1332⁹
 Sk the gen sg. term *-sya* > *-sa* etc. etc

(11) Change *s* > *h* .

Amar. II Sk *Sanghā* > *Hamghā-* L 1201¹, L 1271 etc
 (But *Samgha-* occurs in L 1283 etc.)
 Nāgār Sk *Sukha* > *Hugha-* (?) EI 20 25 K¹
 Sk *saṅgha-* > *-kaḡha-* EI 20 20 C2¹⁰ and
 hamgha- EI 20 17 C1¹¹

§ 233 Palatalisation. In some instances the dentals or the guttural *k* is palatalised under the influence of the palatal vowel *i* or the semivowel *y*

(a) Palatalisation of the guttural *k*

(1) Change *k* > *c* due to the presence of *i*

Nāgār Sk *Kṛtā* > *Cṛtā*-⁴¹ EI 20 22 F¹

(11) Change *kṣ* > *cc* or *ch*

S Ind Ins Sk *raḡṣā* > *-raicā-* L 1195 (cf the loss of aspiration with similar tendency in the Ceylonese inscriptions)
 Nāgār PI-A **ksa* (>Sk. *ṣāt*) > *chaḡha-* EI 20 21 E², 22.F¹,
 Cop PI Sk *kṣētra* > *chetta-* L 1327¹
 Sk *kṣobha* > *-cchobha-* L 1200^{8,2}, also
 cf *chaḡha-* L 1205²⁶

(b) Palatalisation of the dental *i*

(1) Change *-ty-* > *-c-*

Amar II Sk *lokāditya* > *logalica-* L 1239, L 1271¹
 Sk *kṛtya* > *-kica-* L 1261¹
 S Ind Ins Sk *amātya* > *amaca-* L 1341¹, EI 24 259⁸
 Nāgār Sk *atyanta* > *acamta-* EI 20 22 F³
 Cop PI. cf *amacca-* L 1200¹

(11) Change *-ts-* > *-ch-* or *-cch-*

Bhaṭṭ Sk *vatsa* > *vacha-* L 1337²
 Amar I Sk, *saṃvatsarā* > *savachara-* L 1248¹
 S Ind Ins cf *saṃvachara-* L 1202¹, L 1340², also
 cf *sammacchara-* L 1195 and *savvacchara-* L 1196

40 In the Ceylonese inscriptions *s* is either preserved or sometimes changed to *ṣ* and *h*, cf Sk *upāsikā* > *[u]paśika-* EZ I. 181² (2nd cent. B.C.).

Sk *saṅgha-* > *ṣaḡa-* EZ I 192b² etc (2nd cent. B.C.)

Thus change also occurs in the gen sg term. cf *sagaśa* EZ I 181², *teraśa* EZ I. 144.4a etc. The change *s* (< *ṣ*) > *h* is found in,

Sk *śāṭikā* > **śāṭikā* > *hāṭika-* EZ I 624 (2nd cent. A.D.)

The usual gen sg term *-sa* also appears as *-ha*, cf *Devaha* EZ I 193, *kulaha* EZ I 207, etc.

41 For similar palatalisation cf V 233 and H 1183.

- Nāgār : Sk. *vatsalā* > *vacholā*- EI 20 16 C3⁹; also
cf. *samvachara*- EI 20 21 E³
- Cop. Pl. cf. *samvvacchara*- L 1194¹⁴, L 1327¹
- (c) Palatalisation of the dental *dh*⁴²
- (i) Change *-dhy-* > *-jh-*, *-jhh-* :
Nāgār Sk. *Madhyama* > *Majhima*- EI 20 17 C1¹¹.
Cop Pl. Sk. *anudhyāta* > *-anujjhāta*- L 1194²
- (d) Palatalisation of the nasals *n* and *ṇ*
- (i) Change *-ny-* > *-ñ-* or *-mñ-* since the earliest times
Bhaṭṭ. Sk. *hiranya* > *hirañā*- L 1332²
Nāgār cf. *hiraṇñaka*- EI 20 18 B4³
- (ii) Change *-ny-* > *-mñ-*
Amar I Sk. *Dhānyakāṭaka* > *Dhamñā*- EI 15 262 4
The same form occurs in Amarāvati II (L 1271¹) and Copper Plates (L 1205⁷)
- (e) Change *-ry-* > *-j-* occurs very late
Maṭṭep Sk. *Rudrārya* > *Ruddaṇṇa*- EI 17 329⁸
Nāgār Sk. *sabhārya* > *sabhaja*- EI 20 25 J¹
Cop Pl Sk. *ārya* > suffix *-ja* cf. *Agisama-ja* L 1200¹³ etc etc.
Sk. *maryādā* > *maṇṇādā*- I. 1205¹⁷, *maṇṇātā*- L 1200⁴⁵.

§ 234 Cerebralisation As in other Prakrit inscriptions the dentals are sometimes cerebralised both initially and medially in the presence of *r* and *s*. Such cerebralisation is met with usually in the 2nd and 3rd cent. A.D.

- (a) Cerebralisation of the dental *t*
- (i) Change *-rt-* > *-ṭ-* (or *-ṭh-*) :
Nāgār Sk. *vaṭamāna* > *vaṭamāna*- EI 20 16 C3¹⁰,
EI 21 65 M1⁴ etc
Cop Pl cf. *√vatta*- L 1200¹⁶ and *√vaṭṭha*- (< Sk. *√vart*-)
L 1200⁴⁵.
- (ii) Change *-r-t-* > *-ṭ-* (> *-ṭh-*)
Amar II Sk. *pratt-* > *paṭṭ-* EI 15 274 55¹.
Nāgār cf. *paṭubhaga*- EI 20 16 C3⁸
S Ind Ins Sk. *pratiṣṭhāpita* > **paṭiṭhapita* > *paṭiṭhapita*-⁴³
EI 24 259⁸
- (iii) Change *-tr-* > *-ṭ-* or *-ṭṭ-*
Cop Pl Sk. *patrikā* > *paṭikā* L 1328⁴⁰, *paṭṭikā*- L 1200⁴⁸,
L 1205²⁸
- (iv) Change *-st-* > *-ṭh-* .
Amar II Sk. *vāstavyā* > *vaṭhava*- EI 15 272 48¹; but we get
vathava- also
- (b) Cerebralisation of the dental *th*
- (i) Change *-rth-* > *-ṭh-*⁴⁴ .

42. The usual Prakrit form *dhitā* appears as *jhitā* in a 2nd B.C. Ceylonese inscription Cf. EZ I 192b²

43. *paṭṭidina* occurs in the 1st or 2nd cent. A.D. inscription from Ceylon cf. EZ III 166¹ Also cf. Sk. *kṛtvā kaṭu* EZ I 62 4 (2nd cent. A.D.) and Sk. *√pat-* > *√pada*- EZ III 116⁶ (2nd cent. A.D.)

44. For the change *rth* > *th* and then to *ṭ* cf. above fn 30.

- Amar. II : *ārtha-* > *-aṭha-*⁴⁵ L 1281
 Nāgār : Sk *Siddhārtha-* > *sidhaṭhamṛkā-* EI 21.68 N³
 Cop Pl . cf. *atha-* L 1328³⁹
- (ii) Change *-ṛ-th-* > *-d-*
 S Ind Ins Sk *brathama-* > *padama-* L 1195, L 1196.
 (Majavallī)
- (iii) Change *sth-* > *th-*, only with forms of the verbal base $\sqrt{sthā}$ -
 Amar II Sk *sthāpita-* > *thāpita-* L 1238 ; but we get *thavita-* also
 Sk *smhasthāna-* > *sihaṭhāna-* L 1223.
 S Ind Ins Sk *sthāna-* > *thāna-* L 1195
 Nāgār cf *thāpita-* EI 20 17 C1¹³, 24 H¹³ ; but
 cf *anulūta-* EI 20 24 H¹⁴
 Cop Pl cf *ghara-tthāna-* L 1194¹¹
- (c) Cerebralisation of the dental *d*
 (i) Change *-dr-* > *-ḍ-*
 Amar II Sk *Samudrikā-* > *Samudiyā-* L 1286
- (ii) Change *-d-ṛ* > *-ḍ-*
 Bhaṭṭ Sk *Udāra-* > *Odala-*¹⁶ (?) L 1332¹²
 Amar II Sk *Mandara-* > *Māndara-*¹⁷ L 1234
- (d) Cerebralisation of the dental *dh*
 (i) Change *-rdh-* > *-ḍh-*
 Amar II Sk *divyārdha-* > *divadha-* EI 5 267 24
 Nāgār Sk *vardhaki-* > *vadhaki-* EI 20 22 F⁴ (but
 cf *vadhamka-* EI 20 21 E¹)
 Cop Pl Sk *Skanda + ṛddha-* > *Khamdadha-* L 1200²⁰ ,
 also cf *divadha-* L 1328¹⁷
- (e) Cerebralisation of the dental *n*
 (i) Change *-n-* > *-ṇ-* We do not find an instance of initial cerebralisation¹⁸
 Cases of medial cerebralisation have been found since early times
 Bhaṭṭ Sk *Kausthā-* > *kaṇṭha-* L 1331
 Sk. *Glāna-* > *Gilāna-* L 1332¹³
 Amar II Sk *ātmanah* > *āpano* EI 15 257 27¹
 Sk *sa-smuṣā-ka-* > *sasunhika-* L 1232²
 S Ind Ins Sk *sthāna-* > *thāna-* L 1195
 Sk *datta + danna-* L 1195 , also cf *āpano* L 1202¹⁹,
 L 1204³,⁶ etc

45 We get *Sidhatha-* L 1235¹, L 1244 etc.

46 This is BUHLER'S reading LUDERS reads the dental cf *Odāla-*. Looking to the fact that in a overwhelming majority of cases the cerebralisation has occurred only in later inscriptions BUHLER'S reading appears to be doubtful cf however, Pāli *urāla-* or *ulāra-*

47 This is FRANKÉ'S reading cf ZDMG 50 600

48 Even initial cerebralisation occurs in as late as 4th cent AD inscription from Ceylon cf *nagara-* EZ III 122² For other instances of medial cerebralisation cf *lena-* EZ I 18 1³ (2nd cent BC, etc., *dnni* (for *dinnā*) EZ I 21 Rock B. No 1 (2nd cent AD) and Sk. $\sqrt{khan-}$ > $\sqrt{kana-}$ EZ I 211⁵ (2nd cent AD)

For initial cerebralisation of *n* in southern Aśokan cf, above p 19, § 38 5,

- Cop. Pl · Sk. *vacaná-* > *vayana-* L 1194⁷.
 Sk. *śāsana-* > *-sāsana-* L 1200¹⁰
 Sk. *idānām* > *dām* L 1200⁷, etc etc

Thus it will be noticed that the tendency to cerebralise *n* has a very limited application. It is only in the copper plate inscriptions that we find sufficient instances to justify the presumption of a tendency towards cerebralisation. In the numerous inscriptions at Nāgār the dental *n* is generally preserved. It is cerebralised in suffixes as *Cāntisirimkā-* EI 20 16 C3⁸, *Hammasirimkā-* EI 20 19 C2⁸ etc

(11) Cerebralisation of *-n-* in terminations after *r* or *s*. In early inscriptions this *n* is not cerebralised cf

- Bhāṭṭ. Sk. *śarīrānām* > *śarīrānam* L 1330
 Sk. *putrānām* > *-putānam* L 1335

But in the inscriptions of the following centres this *n* is cerebralised cf

- Amar I Sk. *trīm* > *tim* EI 15 265 18; also cf *bhikkhuno*
 EI 15 262 3
 Gurzāla · cf *apano* EI 26 125¹. It also occurs in Amar II and
 S Ind Ins. Thus here *-n-* > *-n-* though Sk. does not
 require it, also cf *kadamānām* and *parityakthēna* at
 Maḥaviḥ (L 1196) and *-likhiteṇa* (L 1200⁵¹) in
 copper plates

- Cop. Pl Sk. *mānuṣānām* > *manusāna* L 1200⁶
 Sk. *saṃvatsarāṇi* > *saṃvaccarāṇi* L 1194¹⁴

But in the inscriptions at Dharanikota this original *n* is preserved (cf *putena* EI 24 259⁶), and so also in a large number of instances from Nāgār cf

- Sk. *sthavīreṇa* > *therēna* EI 20 22 F³
 Sk. *ācāryeṇa* > *acariyeṇa* EI 20 24 H¹³
 Sk. *putrānām* > *putānam* EI 20 22 F³

It is cerebralised only in stray cases as Sk. *trīm* > *tim* EI 20 22 F³

(f) Cerebralisation of nasal clusters. Sometimes the palatal *ñ* is cerebralised to *n*

- (1) Change *-ñ-* > *-n-* is met with only in later centuries

- S Ind Ins Sk. *ā-√jñap-* > *ā-√napa-* L 1195
 Cop. Pl Sk. *ājñapti-* > *ānatti-* L 1327¹⁸, also cf *saṃānatta-*
 L 1194¹³, *-ānata-* L 1200⁴⁹. But we get the dental also
 in *ānatī* L 1205²⁷, *ānata-* L 1328³⁸ etc

III CONSONANT CLUSTERS

§ 235 As usual the clusters are assimilated to the stronger of the two consonants coming together. As in other groups only the treatment of important clusters is detailed below.

§ 236 Consonant Clusters with Stops. The normal instances of assimilation of clusters with stops being excluded, the following discussion takes into account only those which are formed with sibilants and semivowels

- (a) Clusters with sibilant + guttural. The unaspirated guttural is aspirated.

- (i) Change *sk-* > *kh-*
 Amar. II Sk. *Skanda-* > *Khada-* L 1244²
 Sk. *skambha-* > *khambha-* L 1229⁴ L 1244⁶ etc
 S Ind Ins cf. *khambha-* L 1202⁶
 Nāgār cf. *khambha-* EI 20 22 F³ etc.
 Cop Pl Sk. *skandhāvāra-* > *khamdhāvāra-* L 1328¹, etc
- (ii) Change *sk-* > *k-* occurs rarely
 Nāgār Sk. *Skandaśrī-* > *Kamdasrī-* EI 20 16 C3⁷ etc
- (b) Clusters with sibilant + cerebral The unaspirated cerebral is aspirated
- (i) Change *-ṣ-* > *-ṭh-*
 Amar. II . Sk. *aṣṭā* > *aṭha* L 1264
 Sk. *ṛṣṭrā-* > *ṛaṭha-* L 1251
 S Ind Ins cf. *ṛaṭha-* L 1202²
 Nāgār . Sk. *agṛṣṭomā-* > *agṛṭhoma-* EI 20 16 (footnote 4 A2³ etc
 Sk. *aṣṭāṅga-* > *aṭha|ṃ|ga* EI 20 22 F¹
 Cop Pl Sk. *dṛṣṭa-* > *dṛṭha-* L 1200, L 1205, also
 cf. *aggṛṭhoma-* L 1200¹
- (ii) Change *-sth-* > *-ṭh-*
 Bhatt . Sk. *kamsthā-* > *kāṇṭha-* L 1331 etc
 Amar. II Sk. *adhṛṣṭhāna-* > *adhṛṭhāna-* L 1281
 S Ind Ins Sk. *pratiṣṭhāpita-* > *paṭiṭhapita-* L 1202⁷
 Nāgār cf. *paṭiṭh[ā]|pita-* EI 20 19 B5⁴ etc
 Cop Pl Sk. *śasthā* > *chaṭha-* L 1205¹⁰
 Sk. *kāṣṭha-* > *kaṭha-* L 1200¹
- (iii) Change *-ṣṭh-* > *-ṭ-* by loss of aspiration¹⁹ in a probable example
 Bhatt Sk. *Śreṣṭha-* > *Ṣeṭa-* L 1337¹, BUIHLER proposes to
 derive it from *Śratra*⁵⁰
- (c) Clusters with sibilants + dentals The unaspirated dental is generally aspirated For cerebralisation of dentals see above § 234
- (i) Change *st* > *th* in all positions
 Amar. I Sk. *stambha-* > *thambha-* EI 15 262 3
 Amar. II Sk. *svastika-* > *soṭhika-* L 1287¹, but cf. *soṭhika-* (according to Chanda's reading EI 15 272 47²)
 Sk. *hāsta-* > *hatha-* L 1269, etc etc
 S Ind Ins Sk. *vāstavyā-* > *vathava-* L 1203²
 Nāgār Sk. *śamstara-* > *santhara-* EI 20 22 F²; also cf.
thambha- EI 20 19 C2⁸ and *-vathava-* EI 20 17 C1¹¹,
 Cop Pl cf. *vaṭhava-* L 1200⁵ etc
- (ii) Change *st* > *t* without the addition of aspiration occurs only in a few cases :
 Amar. II Sk. *vāstavyā-* > *vatava-* EI 15 273 52¹

49 For a similar change in the 2nd cen¹ B.C. Ceylonese inscription cf. Sk. *ṛyeṣṭha-* > *ṛeṭa-* EZ III 154²

50 cf. EI 2 328, fn 8.

- S Ind. Ins Sk. *stambha* > *tambha*- L 1196.
 (Ma|ava||i)
 (iii) Change *sth* > *th*
 Bhaṭṭ Sk. *Sthaurasīrṣm* > *Thorasīsi*- L 1332⁴.
 Amar II Sk. *sthāvira* > *thera*- L 1223 etc.
 Sk. *dharmasthāna* > *dhammathāna*- L 1244⁶.
 S Ind Ins Sk. *sthāpita* > *thāpita*- L 1341⁶.
 Nāgār cf. *thera*- EI 20 22 F¹

(d) Clusters with semivowel *r* + dentals The semivowel is assimilated to the dental This treatment may be contrasted with cerebralisation of dentals §234 above.

- (1) Change *-rih-* > *-ih-* (or *-lth-*)
 Amar II Sk. *Siddhārtha* > *Sidhatha*- L 1235¹.
 S Ind Ins Sk. *caturtha* > *catultha*- L 1340¹.
 Nāgār Sk. *sarvārtha* > *savatha*- EI 20 16 C3⁵ etc
 Cop Pl . Sk. *abhi* + *√arth-* > *√abbhattha*- L 1200⁴⁴
 (ii) Change *-rd-* > *-d-* (or *-dd-*)
 Nāgār Sk. *cāturdīśa* > *cātudīśa*- EI 20 24 H¹²
 Cop Pl Sk. *balivārda* > *balivadda*- L 1200³³
 (iii) Change *-rdh-* > *-dr-* (or *-ddh-*)
 S Ind Ins Sk. *√vardh-* > *√vaddha*- L 1195, L 1196
 Cop Pl Sk. *vardhanika* > *vaddhanika*- L 1200⁹ etc.
 Sk. *ardhika* > *addhika*- L 1200³⁰ etc

(e) Clusters with sibilant + labials The labial, if unaspirated, is aspirated :

- (1) Change *-sp-* or *-ṣp-* > *-ph-*
 Amar II Sk. *samspr̥ṣṭa* > *sapha|tha*- L 1283³.
 Nāgār Sk. *Puṣpagiri* > *Puphagiri*- EI 20 22 F²
 Cop Pl cf. *-pupha*- L 1200³⁴

§ 237 Consonant clusters with the semivowel *y* The cluster is either assimilated or is dissolved by svarabhakti The palatalisation of the dentals clustered with *y* has been already dealt with⁵¹

(a) Clusters with stop + *y*

- (1) Change *-ty-* > *-t̥y-*
 Amar I Sk. *cātya* > *cel̥|ya*- EI 15 268 29, also cf. Amar II
 (L 1223 etc), S Ind Ins (L 1202⁹) and Nāgār
 (EI 20 22 F² etc)

(ii) Change *-ty-* > *-tay-*

- Amar II . Sk. *cātya* > *cetaya*- EI 15 272 48³

(iii) The cluster *ty* is once preserved at Ma|ava||i cf. *parityaktha*- L 1196

(iv) Change *dvy-* > **d̥y-* > *div-*

- Amar II Sk. *dvyardha* > **d̥iyadha* > *divadha*- EI 15 267 24
 Cop Pl . cf. *divadha*- L 1328¹⁷

(b) Clusters with the semivowel *r* + *y*

- (1) Change *-ry-* > *-y-* This phenomenon occurs since the earliest times
 Bhaṭṭ Sk. *ārya* > *aya*- L 1339¹ The same word occurs at
 Amar I (EI 15 270 40³), Amar II (L 1237¹, L 1270¹).

51. cf. § 233 above

Nāgār Sk. *bhāryā* > *bhayā* EI 20 18 B2⁴, also
cf. *ayaka*- and *aykā*- EI 20.22.F².

(u) Change *-ry* > *-riy* : This change also occurs in earlier inscriptions.

Amar. I . Sk. *bhāryā* > [*bhā*]*riyā*- EI 15 271.42

Amar II . cf *bhāriya*- EI 15 269.34¹ etc.

Nāgār . Sk *ācāryā* > *ācariya*- EI 20 24 G³, 17 C1¹⁰ ;
also cf *bhariyā*- EI 20 16 C3⁸

(iii) Change *-ry* > *-yir* (< *-riy*-) naturally occurs in later inscriptions

Amar II . Sk *ārya* > *ayira*- L 1280²

Nāgār . cf *ayira*- EI 20 17 C1¹¹

(iv) Change *-ry* > *-ir* (< *-yir* < *-riy*-) also occurs in later inscription .

Amar II . Sk *ārya* > *aira*- L 1276

(v) Change *-ry* > *-r* is rather peculiar .

S Ind Ins . Sk *aryaka* > *araka*- L 1340²

Cop Pl . Sk *pāraṃpārya* > *pāraṃpara*- L 1200⁵³

(c) Clusters with the semivowel *v* + *y*

(i) The cluster *vy* is always assimilated to *v* cf *vathava*- at Amar II (L 1234 etc), Nāgār (EI 20 17 C1¹¹ etc, *bhānulaṇṇa*- in Cop Pl (L 1154⁸ etc). We do not get an instance of the change *vy* > *viy* In the Maḷavaḷi inscriptions, however, the cluster *vy* is preserved in *Mānavya*- (L 1195, L 1196)

(d) Clusters with sibilants + *y* .

(i) Similarly the cluster *śy* or *śy* > *s* everywhere

Bhaṭṭ . Sk. *Śyāmaka* > *Sāmaka*- L 1337⁸

Amar II . Sk *Puśyaka* > *Pusa*[*ka*]- L 1272¹ etc

Cop Pl . Sk *Kāśyapa* > *Kassava*- L 1200¹⁸ etc .

The genitive singular termination *-sya* always becomes *-sa*⁵²

§ 238 Consonant clusters with the semivowel *r* All clusters are generally assimilated to the stop Instances where a cluster with *r* is preserved are extremely rare

(a) Clusters with stop + *r* :

(i) Change *gr* > *g*- The word *gāma*- occurs at Bhaṭṭ (L 1339¹), Amar I (EI 15.262 2), Amar. II (EI 15 267 27¹), S Ind Ins (L 1195, L 1202²), Nāgār (EI 20 17 C1¹¹), and Cop Pl (L 1194⁸, L 1200^{1, 28} etc etc)

(ii) Change *tr* > *t* (or *tt*) in all positions.

Bhaṭṭ . Sk *puṭrā* > *-pula*- L 1329, L 1331 etc

Amar I . Sk *trīṇa* > *trū* EI 15 265 18

Amar II . Sk *mītra* > *-mūta*- L 1230⁹ etc

S Ind Ins . cf *-mūta*- L 1202⁵, *putta*- L 1195

Nāgār . cf *tummi* EI 20 22 F¹

Cop Pl . Sk *gotrā* > *gota*- L 1200^{13, 23} etc

Sk *kṣētra* > *chetta*- L 1327⁷ etc

(iii) In a few cases *-tr* > *-tth*- by aspiration

Cop Pl . Sk *sarvātra* > *savattha* L 1200⁸

Sk **i-tra* > *etiha* L 1200⁷

52. In the Ceylonese inscriptions this *-sa* sometimes becomes *-śa* cf *sagaśa* EZ I 181² etc.

- (iv) Change
- tr*
- >
- tar*
- is equally rare

S. Ind. Ins : Sk. *vitṛāsam* > *vitārāsam* L 1195.

- (v) The cluster
- tr*
- is only once preserved

Amar II . Sk. *Saṅghagṛāhapati-putra* > *Haṅghagahapati-putra* L 1281.

- (vi) Change
- (n)dr*
- >
- d*
- or
- md*
- :

Amar I Sk. *Candra* > *Cada* EI 15.270 40.Amar II Sk. *Indra* > *Ida* L 1252 ,
also cf. *Cada* L 1206 etcS Ind. Ins cf *Caṇḍa* L 1202²,⁴Nāgār Sk *Bhadra* > *Bhada* EI 20.22.F², 25 K¹Cop Pl cf *-canda* L 1200²⁰ Note that here the nasal appears instead of anusvāra.

- (vii) The cluster
- pr*
- is preserved only in the Dharaṇīkōṭa and Nāgār inscriptions. cf
- prathama*
- EI 24 259
- ⁶
- and EI 21 64 L
- ³

[In the Ceylonese inscriptions the cluster *sr* though normally assimilated is once preserved in a proper name cf. *Viśrava*- EZ I 20 12 (2nd cent B.C) The cluster *śr* > *s* > *h* cf Sk *śramana* > *hamana*- EZ I 62.3 (2nd cent A.D.)]§ 239 Consonant clusters with the semivowel *l*

- (i) Change
- gl*
- >
- gil*
- :

Bhaṭṭ Sk *Glāna* > *Gilāna* L 1332¹⁷

- (ii) Change
- dl*
- >
- l*

Nāgār Sk **cud-la* > *cula*- EI 20 22 F²§ 240 Consonant clusters with the semivowel *v* Generally the cluster is assimilated to the stronger of the two consonants There are a few instances of preservation of the cluster.

- (a) Clusters with stop +
- v*

- (i) Change
- lv*
- >
- l*

Amar II Sk *sattvā* > *sata*- L 1234 etcS Ind Ins cf *sata*- L 1202⁶ The word also occurs in Nāgār.
cf EI 20.24 H¹¹Cop Pl Sk *catvāri* > *cātlāri* L 1200^{8,30} etc

- (ii) The cluster
- lv*
- is once preserved in the Dharaṇīkōṭa inscription cf
- satva*
- EI 24 259
- ⁹

- (iii) Change
- dv*
- >
- d*

Amar II Sk *dvāri* > *-dāra* L 1248² etc The same word occurs in S Ind Ins (L 1202⁶ etc) and Nāgār (EI 20.22 F²).Cop Pl Sk *Bhāradvāja* > *Bhāradāya*- L 1205² etc
or *Bhāradāya*- L 1200² etc

- (iv) Change
- dv*
- >
- b*
- occurs in numerals

Amar II Sk *dvañ* . be L 1254¹.S Ind Ins Sk *dvitiya* > *bītiya*- L 1195, L 1196Nāgār. cf [*bītiya*]- EI 20.24 G⁹ and be EI 20 25.K¹.Cop Pl cf be L 1200¹⁴, L 1328¹⁵.53 In one of the Ceylonese inscriptions we get the form *catvi* EI I, 211.6.

(b) Clusters with the semivowel *r* + *v*. The cluster is always assimilated to *v* cf. Sk. *sārva* > *sava*- at Nāgār EI 20 16 C3² etc etc As it does not show any peculiarity it has not been exemplified here in details

(c) Clusters with the sibilants + *v* The cluster is usually assimilated to *s*

(1) Change *śv* or *sv* > *s* in all positions

Bhatt Sk *Viśvaka*- > *Viśaka*- L 1332¹

Amar II Sk *svastika*- > *sothika*- L 1287¹

S Ind Ins Sk *svānu*- > *sānu* L 1341²,

also cf *vi/sava*- L 1126

Nāgār Sk *svargā*- > *saga*- EI 21 64 L³

Sk *āśvamedhā*- > *asamedha*- EI 20 16 (footnote 4)

A2³⁻⁴ etc

Cop Pl cf *sānu*- L 1194², *assamedha*- L 1200⁴

(ii) The cluster *-śv-* is preserved in a Malavalli inscription cf *Viśvakarmā* > *Viśvakarmā* L 1196 It is also preserved in a copper plate inscription where it appears to be a loanword cf *muheśvara*- L 1328⁵

§ 241 Consonant clusters with the sibilants

(a) Treatment of the cluster *kh* This cluster is either assimilated to the guttural *k* or is palatalised to *ch* The latter treatment is already discussed under palatalisation.⁵⁴

(1) Change *k* > *kh* initially and medially⁵⁵

Bhatt Sk *m-kṣṭp*- > *mkkhetu* L 1320

Amar I Sk *bhikṣu*- > *bhikkhu*- EI 15 262 3.

Amar II Sk *dāksinā*- > [da|khma L 1255¹ etc

S Ind Ins Sk *pakāś*- > *pakha* L 1202¹, L 1340⁴,

also cf *pakkha*- L 1196 and *pakka*- by loss of aspiration at L 1195

Guizala Sk *kṣetra*- > *khela*- EI 26 125²

Nāgār Sk *lakṣana*- > *lakhana*- EI 20 22 F¹

Cop Pl Sk *rakṣana*- > *rakkhana*- L 1194¹²

(b) Treatment of the clusters *ṛṣ* and *ṛṣ* The cluster is either assimilated to the sibilant or dissolved by svarabhakti

(1) Change *-ṛṣ-* > *-ṣ-*⁵⁶

Bhatt Sk *Sthaurāśṛsin*- > *Thorasīsi*- L 1332¹

S Ind Ins Sk *varā*- > *vasa*- L 1340²

Cop Pl cf *vāsa*- L 1200⁴⁹ etc

(ii) Change *-ṛṣ-* and *-ṛṣ-* > *-ṛis-*

Nāgār Sk *harṣa*- > *harisa*- EI 20 22 F¹

Sk *tarṣa*- > *tarisa*- EI 10 22 F¹

Sk *dārṣana*- > *darisana*- EI 20 22 F¹

Cop Pl Sk *varṣa*- > *varisa*- L 1200¹⁻

54 cf above § 233

55 Thus *kh* further becomes *k* in the Ceylonese inscriptions cf *bhiku*- EZ III 162² and *uṇṇikeva*- EZ III 251³ This is available at least in one instance (*pakka*-) in the Malavalli inscription (L 1195) cf above

56 *ṛṣ* > *k* in the Ceylonese inscription cf. *kahāvana*- EZ I 211⁴ (2nd cent. A.D.). cf. similar treatment in the western group above.

(c) The cluster -*ts*⁵⁷ is preserved once in a copper plate cf *vatsa*- L 1200²².

§ 242 Clusters with *h* : The cluster -*rh*- > -*rah*- .

Bhaṭṭ : Sk. *Arhat*- > *Araha*- L 1338.

§ 243 Consonant Clusters with Nasals . As in other Prakṛit inscriptions the nasal is usually turned into an anusvāra which, however, is not necessarily represented in writing. In the following discussion only the important clusters are dealt with

(a) Clusters with the nasal *ñ*

1 Treatment of the cluster *jñ* The cluster is assimilated to the nasal *ñ* or *n*. In some of the later inscriptions it is cerebralised to *n*

(i) Change -*jñ*- > -*ñ*-

The words *rañña* and *rañño* (< Sk. *rājñah*) occur in Amar II (L 1279), S Ind Ins (L 1202¹ etc) and Nāgār (EI 20 16 C3^o) Also cf

S Ind Ins Sk. *yaññá*- > -*yaña*- L 1340²

Nāgār Sk. *sarvajñū*- > *savamñū*- EI 20 16 C3¹, B4¹ etc

(ii) Change -*jñ*- > -*n*-

Amar II Sk. *jñāli*- > *nāli*- L 1230^o etc The word is also found in S Ind Ins (L 1202¹) and Nāgār (EI 20 25 K¹ where -*t*- > -*d*- and we get -*nādi*-)

(iii) Change *jñ* > *n* See under cerebralisation § 234 i(1)

2 Treatment of the cluster *ñc* Generally it is assimilated to *c*

(i) Change -*ñc*- > -*mc*-

Nāgār Sk. *pañcamá*- > *pañcama*- EI 20 17 C1¹¹, 21 E².

Cop Pl cf *pañcam* L 1205²⁰

(ii) It is once preserved in a copper plate probably as a loan word cf *pañca* L 1200⁴⁷

(iii) Change -*ñc*- > -*md*- (< -*md*- ?) The change is rather curious It occurs only in the numeral "5"

Nāgār Sk. *pañcan* > -*pañda* EI 20 19 C2^o

(iv) Change -*ñc*- > -*n*- (?) In the Dharanikota inscription we get the word *pañca*|*trisa*- ?| EI 24 259² (< Sk. *pañcalī*-)

3 Treatment of the cluster -*ñj*- It is represented as -*j*-

Bhaṭṭ Sk. *mañjūṣā*- > *mañusa*- L 1330 etc

(b) Clusters with the nasal *n*

1 Treatment of the cluster -*ṛn*- It is assimilated to -*n*-, but very rarely it also becomes the dental *n*

(i) Change -*ṛn*- > -*n*- or -*mn*-

S Ind Ins Sk. *Śātakarn*- > -*Śātakam*- L 1340² ;
we also get *Śātakarn*- L 1195

Nāgār Sk. *varnuta*- > *vamnu*[*ta*]- EI 20 22 F³

Sk. *Parnagrāma*- > *Pamnagāma*- EI 20 17 C1¹¹.

(ii) Change -*ṛn*- > -*n*-

Amar II Sk. *pūrná*- > *puna*- L 1273²

2 Treatment of the cluster *ṣn* It is assimilated to -*nh*- or -*nh*-

57 For palatalisation cf. above § 233

58. But we are asked to read -*pañca*-.

- (i) Change -*ṣṇ-* > -*nh-* or -*ṇnh-*.

Amar II Sk *Kṛṣṇa* > *Kanha* L 1243¹.

Cop. Pl. Sk. *Kārṣṇāyana* > *Kamnhāyana* L 1328¹⁷.

- (ii) Change -*ṣṇ-* > -*nh*

Amar II Sk *Kṛṣṇa* > *Kanha* L 1291

S. Ind Ins Sk *Viṣṇu* > *Vmhu* L 1195

Nāgār cf. *Vmhu-sṛṇ-* EI 20.21 C5².

- (iii) But in a few words the aspiration is dropped and we get only the nasal *n*

Amar II Sk *uṣṇīṣa* > *unisa* L 1231 etc

Nāgār cf. *unisa* EI 20.25.J¹

3 Treatment of the cluster *nd* The cluster is generally assimilated to *ṇ*

- (i) Change -*nd-* > -*md-* or -*d-*.

Amar II Sk **paṇḍa* > *peṇḍa* L 1272²

S. Ind Ins Sk *Caṇḍa* > *Caḍa* L 1341³

Cop Pl Sk *daṇḍa* > *-daṇḍa* L 1328¹³
Sk *Kaūṇḍīya* > *Koḍina* L 1328¹⁴.

- (ii) In a few cases the cluster -*nd-* is preserved

S Ind Ins Sk *Kaūṇḍīya* > *Koṇḍīya* L 1195

Maṭṭep cf. *Koṇḍīna* EI 17.329⁸

- (iii) Once the cluster is assimilated to *n* cf

S Ind Ins Sk. *Kaūṇḍīya* > *Koṇṇīya* L 1196.

(Maṭṭavallī)

4 Treatment of the cluster *ny* It is assimilated either to the nasal *n*, *ñ* or *n* :

- (i) Change -*ny-* > -*n-* or -*mñ-*

Bhaṭṭ Sk *hīranya* > *hīrana* L 1333²

Amar II cf. *heranika* L 1239.

S Ind Ins. Sk *śaranya* > *-saranna* L 1196

Nāgār cf. *hīrana* EI 20.16 C3⁴ etc ;
hīraṇna EI 20.16 (footnote 5) A2⁴ etc

- (ii) Change -*ny-* > -*ñ-* or -*mñ-* See under palatalisation above §233 (d).

- (iii) Change -*ny-* > -*n-*

Amar II Sk *haryanya* > *heranika* L 1247¹.

Nāgār cf. *hīrana* EI 20.21 E¹ etc

- (c) Clusters with the nasal *n*

1. Treatment of the cluster *gn* It is assimilated to *g*

- (i) Change -*gn-* > -*g-* or -*gg-*

Nāgār Sk *Agnihotra* > *Agihota* EI 20.16. (footnote 4)
A2^{3,4} etc

Cop Pl cf. *Agī* L 1200^{13,14} or *Aggī* L 1200¹.

2 The cluster *tn* is dissolved by svarabhakti

- (i) Change -*tn-* > -*tin-*

Nāgār Sk *pātnī* > *patini* EI 20.16.C3⁹

3 Treatment of the cluster *sn-* is rather varied. It is generally dissolved into *sun-* but sometimes the latter *n* is cerebralised and sometimes anusvāra is added to it.

- (i) Change *sn-* > *sun-* :
 Amar. II . Sk. *smṛd-* > *sunā*⁵⁹ L 1244⁴.
 Nāgār . cf *sunhā-* EI 20.23 G²
- (ii) Change *sn-* > *sunh-* :
 Nāgār. : cf *sunhā-* EI 20.22 F³.
- (iii) Change *sn-* > *sun-*
 Amar. II cf. *sunhikā-* L 1232²
 Nāgār . cf *sunhā-* EI 21.62.G3⁷.

4 The cluster *-nd-* is usually represented as *-md-* or *-d-*. But in a few cases the cluster is preserved.

- Cop Pl Sk *sundara-* > *sundara-* L 1194¹⁰.
 Sk *-skanda-* > *-khanda-* L 1327¹.

5 Treatment of the cluster *ny* It is assimilated either to *n* or to the palatalised *ñ* and rarely to *n̄*.

- (i) Change *-ny-* > *-ñn-* or *-n-* :
 Bhaṭṭ Sk *anyā-* > *añna-* L 1335
 Amar I Sk *Sanyagopa-* > *Senagopa-* L 1266.
 S. Ind. Ins Sk *Kanyakā-* > *kañnikā-* L 1204⁴ and
kanikā- L 1202⁴.
 Cop Pl Sk *Aupamanyava-* > *Opamañnava-* L 1328¹⁰.
 Sk *anyā-* > *ana-* L 1205¹⁷
- (ii) Change *-ny-* > *-nn-* :
 Maṭṭep Sk *Kaṇḍinya-* > *Konḍinna-* EI 17.329⁸.
 Cop Pl Sk *anyā-* > *anna-* L 1200^{8,43} ;
 also cf *Koḍina-* L 1328¹⁰

(iii) Change *-ny-* > *-mñ-* See above Palatalisation § 233 (d).

(iv) The cluster is preserved in a Maṭṭavalli inscription cf Sk. *Kaṇḍinya-* > *Konḍunya-* L 1196 and *Konḍinya-* L 1195

(d) Clusters with the nasal *m*

1 Treatment of the cluster *tm* In the word *ātman-* the cluster in most cases becomes the labial *p*

(i) Change *-tm-* > *-p-* or *-pp-* . Sk. *ātmānah* > *āpano* in Amar. II (L 1244⁶ etc.), *āpano* in S Ind. Ins (L 1202^{1,9}), *āpano* in Nāgār. (EI 20.16.C3¹⁰, 18.B2⁸), and *appana* in Cop. Pl. (L 1200⁸)

(ii) It is also sometimes assimilated to *t*

- Nāgār Sk *ātmānah* > *atano* EI 20.18.B2⁸, 16.C3¹¹ etc.
atane EI 20.19 C2⁷, *atanan* EI 20.20.C4⁷.

(iii) It is preserved in a Maṭṭavalli inscription cf. Sk. *ātma-rakṣā-* > *ātma-raccā-* L 1195.

2 Treatment of the cluster *dm* . It is dissolved by svarabhakti.

(i) Change *-dm-* > *-dum-* :

- Amar. II . Sk *Padmā-* > *Padumā-* L 1271².
 Nāgār cf *Paduma-* EI 20.25.K¹.

59. This is FRANKÉ's reading. cf: ZDMG 50.600.

3. Treatment of the clusters *sm* or *šm* . They are usually represented as *mh* or *mmh* and rarely as *hm*

(i) Change *-sm-* or *-šm-* > *-mh-* or *-mmh-*

Nāgār Sk *grīśmā-* > [*gimha-*] EI 20 24 G¹⁰

Cop Pl Sk. *asmad-* > *amha-* L 1200⁸,⁶ etc etc

ammha- L 1328⁸ Also cf *gimha-* L 1205²⁸

(ii) Change *-šm-* > *-hm-*

S Ind Ins Sk *grīśmā-* > *ghma-* L 1195

(Malavalli)

4 Treatment of the cluster *hm* The cluster is usually represented as *mh* or *mmh* and sometimes as *hm*⁶⁰

(i) Change *-hm-* > *-mh-* or *-mmh-*

S Ind Ins Sk *brāhmanā-* > *bamhana-* L 1196

Cop Pl cf *bamhana-* L 1205⁷ etc or *bammhana-* L 1328¹⁰,
L 1328²⁹

(ii) The cluster *-hm-* is preserved

S Ind Ins Sk *brāhma-* > *bahma-* L 1196 and

Cop Pl cf *bahmana-* L 1200²⁸

5 The cluster *-mr-* > *-mb-* or *-b-*

Bhatt Sk *Āmra-* > *Āba-* L 1332¹⁴

Nāgār Sk *Tāmrāparnī-* > *Tambaparnī-* EI 20 22 F¹

6 The cluster *-mv-* is represented in two ways, as *-mm-* and *-vv-* in the Malavalli inscriptions cf Sk *samvatsarā* > *-sammaccara-* L 1195 and *-savacchara-* L 1196

MORPHOLOGY

A DECLENSION

§ 244 Bases ending in *-a* and *-ā*

(a) Masculine and Neuter nouns in *-a*

Nom. sg. Mas (1) <i>-o</i> ⁶¹	Nom. pl. Mas (1) <i>-ā</i>
Bhatt <i>Utarō</i> L 1331	Bhatt <i>Negamā</i> L 1337 ¹
Amar I <i>paḷo</i> EI 15 262 2	Amar I <i>navakamikā</i>
Amar II <i>hatho</i> EI 15 267 24	EI 15 270 40 ²
S Ind Ins <i>puto</i> L 1202 ² ,	Amar II <i>hathā</i> L 1269
<i>devo</i> L 1195, L 1196.	S. Ind Ins <i>gāmā</i> L 1196
Nāgār <i>viḥāro</i> EI 20 24 G ⁸	Nāgār <i>Khambhā</i>
	EI 20 24 G ¹³ .
Cop Pl <i>gāmo</i> L 1194 ⁸	Cop Pl <i>gāmeyikā</i> L 1327 ¹⁰ .

60. It is assimilated to simple *m* in the Ceylonese inscription cf *bamana-* EZ I. 145.6 (1st or 2nd cent. B.C.).

61. In the Ceylonese inscriptions the term. is *-e*, cf. *pute* EZ I. 20 7 (2nd cent. B.C.), *maḥaraje* EZ I. 62.2 (2nd cent. A.D.), etc.

(ii) -a Once in a Nāgār. inscription we get *paṭa*⁶² (EI 20.25.k¹). There the word is probably used without termination.

Acc sg Mas -am, the anusvāra being sometimes not represented :

S Ind Ins -*ṣamugam* L 1330
Bhatt *bālakam* L 1202³
rajjukam L 1195
Nāgār. : *Khambham*
EI 20 18 B2³

Cop Pl . *gāmaṃ* L 1328¹³ ,
gāma L 1328¹⁵

Nom sg Neut -am, the anusvāra is sometimes dropped

Bhatt . *dānam* L 1339⁶
Amar I *dānam* EI 15 269 33
ūnsa EI 15 271 44
Amar II -*caṇam* L 1248²
dāna L 1231 etc

S Ind Ins . *ṭhānam* L 1195
Nāgār : -*gharam* EI 20 22 F²;
-*unsa* EI 20 24.G¹²

Cop Pl . *gharaṭṭhānam*
L 1194¹¹

Acc sg Neut (i) -am

Nāgār *kulam* EI 20 18 B2³.

Cop Pl *sāsanam* L 1205 etc

(ii) -e⁶¹

Cop Pl . *yasovadhanike*
L 1200⁹

Inst sg (i) -na

Amar II *putena* L 1255²

S Ind. Ins *vagena* L 1202⁵

Nāgār *therena* EI 20 22 F¹

Cop Pl *vayanena* L 1194⁷.

(ii) -na

S Ind Ins *parihārena* L 1195,
L 1196 ;
parityakthēna L 1196

Cop Pl. -*likhitena* L 1200⁵¹.

Dat sg (i) -ya

Acc pl Mas. (i) -ā .

S Ind Ins : *bālakā* L 1202⁴.

(ii) -e

S Ind Ins . *Khambhe* L 1202⁴.

Cop Pl *amace* L 1200⁴.

Nom pl Neut (i) -m .

Bhatt *sarirāni* L 1334

Nāgār *paṭāni* EI 20.25 K¹.

Cop Pl *niyattanāni* L 1194¹⁹

(ii) -m

Cop Pl *ṣannuvaccharani*
L 1194¹⁴

(iii) -ā :

Amar II *paricakā*⁶³ L 1254³.

Cop Pl. *niyattanā*⁶³ L 1327³.

Inst pl (i) -ni :

Amar II *putehi* L 1239.

Nāgār *ka[m]mikehi*

EI 20 22 F³

Cop Pl . *parihārehi* L 1194¹³.
etc.

62 H SASTRI reads it as *paṭāni* cf. EI 20 25 footnote 2 , we get *paṭo* also cf EI 20.25.J¹.

63 The words are perhaps used as masculine nouns.

64 This is the term in the Ceylonese Prakrit cf *lene* EZ I 181³ (2nd cent B.C.) etc The ending -i is obtained in *dm* EZ I, 21, Rock B No 1 But this seems to be old Sinhalese trait cf *maharaj* EZ I 69.1 (1st cent. A.D.), *puti*, *maharaj*, EZ I 211^{2,3} (2nd cent A.D.).

Amar II	<i>sa[m*]ghāya</i> <i>EI 15.267.26</i>
S. Ind Ins.	<i>-sukhāya</i> L 1202 ^r , <i>mātulāya</i> L 1196
Nāgār.	<i>sukhāya</i> <i>EI 20 22.F-</i> etc.
Cop. Pl.	<i>-sahassāya</i> L 1200 ^{4b}

(11) -e

Nāgār	<i>-sainpādake</i> ⁶⁵ <i>EI 20 19 1C2^r</i> , also cf. <i>vejaynke</i> <i>EI 20 21.E¹</i>
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Abl sg (1) -ā

Bhaṭṭ	<i>Suvanamāhā</i> L 1339 ^r
Amar I	: <i>madhā</i> (< Sk <i>madhyāt</i> ?) <i>EI 15.268.29.</i>
Amar II	: <i>Nāgapavalā</i> <i>EI 15.274 55^r</i>
Nāgār	<i>Ujanṅkā</i> ⁶⁶ <i>EI 20 19 B5³</i>
Cop Pl	: <i>nagarā</i> L 1328 ^r .

(11) -āto, of less frequency

Amar I	<i>Pāṭalputāto</i> <i>EI 15 262 3</i> (reading doubtful)
Cop. Pl.	[<i>Kam</i>]cīpurāto L 1205 ¹

Gen sg (1) -(a)sa⁶⁷ (or -(a)ssa):

Bhaṭṭ	<i>Māugāmasa</i> L 1339 ¹ , <i>kuraṣa</i> ⁶⁸ L 1329 etc
Amar II	<i>therasa</i> L 1223
S Ind Ins	<i>putasa</i> L 1202 ¹
Nāgār	<i>lokasa</i> <i>EI 20 22 F¹</i> .
Cop Pl	<i>jāmātukasa</i> L 1200 ¹¹ <i>gharassa-</i> L 1200 ⁸⁵

Gen pl. (1) -nam

Bhaṭṭ	<i>-sarvānam</i> L 1330 etc
Amar I	<i>Padīpuḍi[ni]yānam</i> <i>EI 15 264.10</i>
Amar II	<i>ceṭṭikīyānaṇ</i> L 1248 ² etc
S Ind Ins	<i>hematānam</i> L 1340 ³ .
Nāgār	<i>ācariyānaṇ</i> <i>EI 20 17 C1¹⁰</i>
Cop Pl	<i>Palavānam</i> L 1205 ^r etc

(11) -(ā)sa

Amar I	<i>Gopīyāsa</i> <i>EI 15 262 1.</i>
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(11) -na

Amar I	<i>putāna</i> <i>EI 15.265 14</i>
Amar II	<i>-janāna</i> L 1269 etc

(11) -(e)sa

Bhaṭṭ	<i>Gulānakeresa</i> ⁶⁹ L 1339 ^r
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(11) -nam

S Ind Ins	<i>kadamānānaṇ</i> L 1196.
Cop Pl	<i>Pal[ī]avānam</i> L 1327 ² etc

65. The meaning is 'for the attainment of', perhaps it qualifies *sela-thambham*.

66. It may be also nom sg. fem.

67. Besides *-sa*, we get *-śa* and *-ha* in the Ceylonese Prakrit. Of these *-ha* mostly prevails in later inscriptions. cf. *sagaśa* *EZ I. 18 1²* (2nd cent. B.C.), *teraśa* *EZ I. 144 4a* (1st or 2nd cent. B.C.); *Devaha* *EZ I. 19 3* and *Kulaha* *EZ I 20 7* (both 2nd cent B.C.). *teraḥa* *EZ I 144.4b* (1st or 2nd B.C.), *sagaha* *EZ I 62 3* etc (2nd cent. A.D.)68. For cerebral *-ṣ-* cf. above the treatment of sibilants69. This may also be honorific plural (*-esa* > *-eṣām*).

(iv) -sā or -ssā .

Amar II . *tukasā* (?) L 1265².Cop Pl *devakulassā* L 1327²

Loc sg (1) -e

Amar. I . *Oḍiparivenene* L 1207Amar. II . -*dāre* L 1248² etcS Ind Ins . *gāme* L 1202² etcNāgār. *Siri-pavale**EI* 20 22 F²Cop Pl *Elūre* L 1194⁷ etc(ii) -*mhi*⁷⁰Nāgār *mahācetiyaṃhi**EI* 20 20 C4², 20 C5¹Cop Pl. *padesaṃhi* L 1194¹⁰

(b) Feminine Nouns ending in -ā

nom sg (1) -ā

Bhaṭṭ . *majāsā* (also -*sa*)
L 1329, L 1338Amar II *bāhikā* *EI* 15 274 56¹Nāgār *bhanyā* *EI* 20 16 C3³ etcCop Pl *paṭṭikā* L 1200¹⁸ etc

Acc sg (1) -ām which sometimes is represented as ā

S. Ind Ins *bāhikam* L 1202¹ etcCop Pl *pilā* L 1200¹⁰, L 1205²²*bādhā* L 1200¹⁰, L 1205²²

Inst sg (1) -ya The examples are

not many

Nāgār *uvāstikāya**EI* 20 22 F²Cop Pl -*majādāya* L 1205¹⁷

(ii) -ye, used rarely

Cop Pl -*majātāye* L 1200¹⁰

Dat sg (1) -ya

S Ind Ins *ātma-raccāya* L 1195Gen sg The term -yā and -ya are
more frequent than -ye

(iv) -na .

Cop. Pl *manusāṇa* L 1200⁶
etc.

Loc pl (1) -su .

S Ind Ins. *kadambesu* L 1196.Nāgār *savathesu**EI* 20 16 C3⁵.

(This term. is more frequent here).

Nom dual (1) -e (?):

Amar II *patuke* L 1219.

Inst pl (1) -hi

Bhaṭṭ [*Nam*] *dapurāhi*
L 1339¹Nāgār *Cāmtisrīrukāhi*
EI 20 19 B5⁵*sahodarāhi**EI* 21 64 L⁶

Gen pl (1) -nam

Nāgār *suminhānāhi*
EI 20 22 F³

(1) -yā This is not as frequent as -ya

Amar I *jāyāyā* *EI* 15 264 12²Amar II *pavācītāyā* *EI* 15 275 58 etc

(ii) -ya .

Amar II *Saghāya* L 1218², *duhutāya* L 1264 etcS Ind Ins *vasasatāya* L 1340²70. The term. in the Ceylonese Prakrit is -hi cf *viharahi* *EZ* I 62.3, *EZ* III 116 4, *vibajakahī* *EZ* I 211²⁻⁴ (all of the 2nd cent. A.D.)

- Nāgār *bhanyaya EI 20 18 B1⁶*
 Padumāya EI 20 25 K¹
- (iii) -ye
 Amar II *sabhātukaye L 1252*
 sabāl[ī][kā]ye EI 15 272 49
- (iv) -sa ?
 Amar II *sabhatukāsa L 1244^a* , but we are asked to read
 sabhatukāya
- Loc sg (1) *ya*
 S Ind Ins *puvaya L 1340⁴*
 (ii) *yam*
 Nāgār *Papulayam EI 20 22 F* , *uimsayam EI 21 64 L³*.

§ 245 Bases ending in *ī* and *ī*

(a) Masculine nouns in -ī

- | | |
|--|---|
| Nom sg (1) <i>ī</i> | Nom pl (1) <i>yo</i> |
| S Ind Ins <i>avesam L 1202</i> | Cop Pl <i>amsiyo or asiyo</i> |
| Cop Pl <i>amatti L 1327¹⁶</i> | <i>L 1328¹¹, 2⁻</i> |
| (ii) -ī | |
| S Ind Ins <i>Salakannī L 1195</i> | |
| Cop Pl <i>ānati L 1205⁻</i> | |
| Acc sg (1) <i>m</i> which is at times | Acc pl (1) <i>e</i> |
| dropped | Cop Pl <i>vasudhādhipataye</i> |
| S Ind Ins <i>Mulasirim L 1202</i> | <i>L 1200¹⁴</i> |
| <i>Camdasiri L 1202⁴</i> | |
| Inst sg (1) <i>na</i> | |
| Amar II <i>Budhina L 1239</i> | |
| S Ind Ins <i>patinā L 1196</i> | |

Gen sg (1) *sa*, or *ssa* This termination is found in earlier inscriptions and is more frequent than the others

- Amar I *gahapa[ti]sa EI 15 267 25¹*
 Amar II *gahapatisa L 1201 etc etc*
 S Ind Ins *āvesansa L 1203 , L 1204*
 Nāgār *senāpatisa EI 20 16 C3 etc , gahapatisa LI 20 22 F²*
 Cop Pl *Bhātisa L 1200¹² etc , Sattisa L 1200¹⁷*
- (ii) *no* In Amar II, *sa* and *no* have almost equal frequency
 Amar II *gahapatino L 1252 etc , Budhino L 1223 etc*
- (iii) -*no*
 Amar II *Budhno L 1276*

Loc sg (1) -*yam* :

- Nāgār *Devagiriya EI 20 22 F^a* ,
 Dhammagiriya EI 20 22 F^a, 22 F^b

(b) Feminine nouns in -i :

Nom sg -i :

Amar I *suci EI 15.264 13*Amar II *suyi L 1247² etc*

Nom. pl (i) -yo :

Amar I *suciyo EI 15 265.18*
etc

(ii) -ya

Amar II *suciya L 1254¹*

Inst pl. -hi

Amar II *-natihī L 1244⁴*

(c) Feminine nouns in -ī

Nom. sg. (i) -ī :

Bhaṭṭ *goḥī L 1332¹*Amar II *kumār EI 15.268 28²*Nāgār *bhagū EI 20 16 C¹⁶, mahādevī EI 20 19 B5¹*

(ii) -ī

Cop Pl *devī L 1327¹, janavī L 1327⁴ etc*

Acc sg -m :

S Ind Ins *-gharam L 1202³, sahalāṭavīm L 1195*

Inst sg (i) -ya

Inst pl -hi

Amar II *vanmīya L 1285*Nāgār *mahātalavarīhi*Nāgār *Bodhisīmīya*
*EI 20 22 F² etc**EI 20 19 B5⁵*

(ii) -yā

Amar II *Hamgīyā L 1240²*

(iii) -a occurs only once

Nāgār *mahātalavarī-a EI 20 19 B5⁶*Gen sg (i) -yā · This and the next
term -ya have almost equal frequency

Gen pl -nam

Nāgār *· bhaginānam*
*EI 20 22 F³*Bhaṭṭ *goḥiyā L 1335, L 1338*Amar I *Retiyā EI 15 263 6*Amar II *· bhagimiyā L 1223 etc*Nāgār *bhagimiyā EI 20 24 H¹⁰*

(ii) -ya :

Bhaṭṭ *[Sa]ṭhiya L 1339⁵ etc*Amar II *· gharamiya L 1252 etc*Nāgār *bhaginīya EI 20 19 C2⁵ etc*

(iii) -sa (?)

Amar II *Nādhāsīsa L 1233*

(iv) -na · This is perhaps a plural term

Amar II *Gotamīna EI 15 270 39, bhikhu[n]na L 1250⁴.*

(v) -vu :

Amar II *· mahā govahvu EI 15 270 41*

Loc sg -yam :

S Ind Ins *Velagīriyam L 1202⁵; Rohirīyam L 1196.*Cop Pl *Apīṭṭīyam L 1200⁴⁷*

§ 246 Bases ending in -u

(a) Masculine nouns in -u :

Gen. sg. (1) <i>-no</i> or <i>-no</i> appears to be less frequent than <i>-sa</i>	Gen pl (1) <i>-nam</i> .
Amar I <i>bhikkhuno</i> (doubtful), <i>EI</i> 15 262 3	S Ind Ins <i>Ikhākhunam</i> L 1202 ¹ (11) <i>-nam</i>
Nāgār <i>savamñuno</i> <i>EI</i> 21 16 C3 ¹	Nāgār <i>-sādhūnam</i> <i>EI</i> 20 21 E ²

(11) *-sa*

Amar II <i>bhikkhusa</i> L 1295, <i>Punavasusa</i> L 1286
Nāgār <i>Ikhākusa</i> <i>EI</i> 20 19 C2 ¹ , 16 C3 ¹ , 25 C4 ¹ , 18 B2 ² .

§ 247 Bases ending in *-r*(a) Masculine nouns in *-r*

Gen sg <i>-no</i> ⁷¹	Gen pl (1) <i>-nam</i>
Bhaṭṭ <i>-ṭluno</i> L 1330	Amar II <i>-bhātunam</i> L 1293 ¹
Amar II <i>bhātuno</i> L 1263 ²	(11) <i>-nam</i>
Nāgār <i>ṭluno</i> <i>EI</i> 20 22 F ²	Nāgār <i>bhātunam</i> <i>EI</i> 20 22 F ²
<i>bhātuno</i> <i>EI</i> 20 22 F ¹	

(b) Feminine nouns in *-r*

Nom sg <i>-ā</i>	
Nāgār <i>mātā</i> <i>EI</i> 20 16 C3 ¹ etc, <i>duhutā</i> <i>EI</i> 20 18 B2 ²	
Acc sg <i>-am</i>	
S Ind Ins <i>mātaram</i> L 1202 ¹ etc	
Nāgār <i>mātaram</i> <i>EI</i> 20 19 C2 ¹ , 20 C4 ¹	
Inst pl <i>-hi</i>	
	<i>mātahi</i> <i>EI</i> 21 64 L ²

Gen sg (1) *-u* occurs in early inscriptions

Bhaṭṭ <i>mā[t]u</i> L 1330	
Amar I <i>mātu</i> <i>EI</i> 15 264-5 13, 16	
Amar II <i>ṣamātu</i> ⁷² <i>EI</i> 15 266 22 ²	
(11) <i>-yā</i> or <i>-ya</i>	
Amar I <i>mātuyā</i> <i>EI</i> 15 270 40, L 1219 <i>duhutuya</i> L 1206	
Nāgār <i>dhūtuya</i> <i>EI</i> 20 24 H ¹ , 22 F ¹ , <i>mātuya</i> <i>EI</i> 20 22 F ¹ , 24 G ¹	

§ 248 Bases ending in consonants

(a) Masculine nouns in *-at*Gen sg *-o*

Amar II <i>bhagavato</i> L 1230 ¹ etc	The word is also found in
S Ind Ins (L 1202 ¹ etc), Nāgār (<i>EI</i> 20 16 C3 ¹ etc), and Cop Pl (L 1194 ¹)	

(b) Masculine nouns ending in *-an*Nom sg (1) *-ā*

Bhaṭṭ <i>rājā</i> L 1335 etc
S Ind Ins <i>rājā</i> L 1196, <i>Viśvakammā</i> L 1196

71. In Ceylonese Prakrit we get *-ha*, cf *ṭataha* *EZ* I 18,1¹ (2nd cent. B.C.).

72. It means 'an image'.

	Cop. Pl.	<i>rājā</i> ⁷³ L 1328 ⁵
	(ii) -o	
	Cop Pl.	<i>Jayavammo</i> L 1328 ⁵ etc.
Inst sg	(i) - <i>nā</i>	
	S. Ind Ins	<i>Śiva(khada)vammanā</i> L 1196.
	(ii) - <i>na</i>	
	Cop. Pl	- <i>vaññena</i> L 1328 ¹⁴
Gen sg	(i) -o :	
	Amar. II	<i>raño</i> L 1248 ¹ , <i>apano</i> L 1244 ⁶ , <i>apano</i> EI 15.267 27 ³ .
	S Ind Ins	<i>raño</i> L 1202 ¹ etc, <i>apano</i> L 1203, <i>āpano</i> L 1203 ³ etc
	Nāgār	<i>rañño</i> EI 20 16 C3 ⁶ , <i>apano</i> ⁷⁴ EI 20 16 C3 ¹⁰ etc
		<i>apano</i> EI 21 65 66, M1 ⁶ , ⁸
	(ii) - <i>sa</i> or - <i>ssa</i> :	
	Nāgār	<i>Bodhisammasa</i> EI 20 22 F ⁷
	Cop Pl	<i>Kālasamassa</i> L 1200 ¹¹ , <i>Ganasamassa</i> L 1194 ⁹ etc.
	(c) Neuter Nouns ending in - <i>an</i>	
Nom sg	(i) - <i>a</i> :	
	Bhaṭṭ	<i>kama</i> I. 1338
	(ii) - <i>aṃ</i>	
	Nāgār	<i>kamman</i> EI 20 22 F ¹ etc
	(d) Neuter nouns ending in - <i>as</i>	
Inst sg	- <i>ā</i>	
	S Ind Ins	<i>manasā</i> L 1196
	(e) Masculine nouns ending in - <i>in</i>	
Nom sg.	(i) -i	
	Bhaṭṭ	<i>Thorasi</i> L 1232 ¹
	Amar I	- <i>mvāsī</i> EI 15 269 36
	(ii) -ī	
	Cop Pl	- <i>assamedhayājī</i> L 1200 ¹
Inst sg	- <i>nā</i>	Inst pl - <i>hi</i>
S Ind Ins	- <i>yājīnā</i> L 1340 ⁶	Cop. Pl <i>visayavāsīhi</i> L 1200 ⁹⁵ etc.
Gen sg	(i) - <i>no</i>	
	Amar II	- <i>mvāsīno</i> L 1280 ¹
	Nāgār	- <i>bodhīno</i> EI 20 16 C3 ¹
	Cop Pl	- <i>yājīno</i> L 1194 ¹ etc
	(ii) - <i>sa</i> :	
	Nāgār	- <i>yaṇsa</i> EI 20 18 B2 ¹ etc - <i>hadhisa</i> EI 20 19 B5 ² and - <i>hathisa</i> EI 20 16 C3 ¹
	(f) Masculine nouns ending in - <i>d</i>	
Nom sg	- <i>ā</i>	
	Bhaṭṭ	<i>Hiraṇavaghavā</i> L 1332 ²

73 The word *rājan* is declined like -*a* base when at the end of a compound, cf *rajādhi-
rājo* L 1200¹, also cf [mahārājasa] in Nāgār EI 20 17 B1¹

74 Once we get *atane* EI 20 19 C2¹ and once *atanam* EI 20.20.C4¹.

PRONOUNS

§ 249 Demonstrative Pronouns

(a) The pronominal base *īdam*

Nom sg Mas or Neut

Amar II *īma* L 1235¹, *īmam* L 1240²

Nom sg Mas

Nāgār *ayam* EI 21 62 G3¹⁰, *īyam* EI 21 64 L³

Nom Acc sg Neut

Nāgār *īmam* EI 20 17 C1¹⁰, 22 F3³ etc, 18 B2⁶, 16 C3¹².

Gen sg

Nāgār *īmasa* EI 20 19 B5⁵

Loc sg

Nāgār *īmammhi* and *īmamhi* EI 20 16 (footnote 3) A4³ etc.(b) The pronominal base *etad*

Nom Acc sg Neut .

Nāgār *etam* EI 20 22 F⁷Cop Pl *etam* L 1200¹⁰,
L 1328¹⁶

Nom pl Mas .

S Ind Ins *ete* L 1196.

Inst pl

Cop Pl *eteht* L 1205¹⁸.

Gen sg

Cop Pl *etasa* L 1205¹¹ etc, *etassa* L 1194⁸

Loc sg .

Cop Pl *etamsi* L 1328²⁵; *etesi*⁷⁵ L 1200²⁷

Loc sg fem .

S Ind Ins *etiya* L 1340³

§ 250 Relative Pronouns

(a) The pronominal base *yad*

Nom Sg. Mas .

Cop. Pl *yo* L 1200¹⁶, *jo* L 1200¹⁴ etc

Inst sg .

Bhaṭṭ *yena* L 1338

§ 251 Interrogative Pronoun

(a) The pronominal base *kim*

Nom. sg Mas :

Cop Pl *ko* L 1200¹⁰

§ 252 Personal Pronouns

(a) The First Personal Pronoun

Nom Pl :

Cop Pl *amhe* L 1200¹¹, *ammhe* L 1328⁷, *amho* L 1205²³.

Inst Pl

Cop Pl *amhehi* L 1200²⁸, *amhehni* L 1327⁹.

75 Is this Gen pl ?

Gen Pl

Cop Pl *amham* L 1200⁴ etc , no (?) L 1200^{4a}.

(b) The Second Personal Pronoun

Gen Pl

Cop Pl *vo* L 1200⁴⁵(c) The base *tad*

Nom sg Mas

S Ind Ins *se* (?) L 1196Cop Pl *sa* L 1200⁴⁷.

Acc sg Mas

Cop Pl *tam* L 1328^{-o}

Inst sg

Bhaṭṭ *tena* L 1338

Gen sg

S. Ind Ins *tasa* L 1202⁴Nāgār *se, sa* EI 20 22.F-Cop Pl. *tasa* L 1200⁴¹,
L 1205²³

Gen pl.

Bhaṭṭ *teṣam* L 1335.

§ 253 Some other bases

(a) The base *sarva*Nom sg Neut *-am*Nāgār *savam* EI 20 22 F³Gen. sg *-sa*Nāgār *sava|sa|* EI 20 22 F¹(b) The base *anya*Nom sg Neut *-am*Bhaṭṭ *amnam* L 1335.Inst pl *-hi*.Cop Pl *anehi* L 1205¹⁷

NUMERALS

§ 254 Cardinals

(i) ONE AND A HALF

Cop Pl *divadha* L 1328¹⁷

(ii) Two .

Amar II *be* L 1254¹ , 'of two' *donam* Amar II L 1223.Nāgār *be* EI 20 25 K¹Cop Pl *be* L 1200¹⁴ etc

(iii) THREE .

Amar I *tin* (Nom pl Neut) EI 15 265 18 etcNāgār *tinu* (Nom pl Neut) EI 20 22 F³*tinhi* (Inst pl) EI 20.22.F³Amar II *tina* (Gen. pl) L 1206

(iv) FOUR :

Amar. I . *catāri* (Nom. Pl. Neut.) L 1282³.
 Cop. Pl. : *cāttāri* L 1200⁸ etc
catunham (Gen pl) L 1200¹⁸

(v) FIVE :

Nāgār : *-pamḍa-* EI 20.19.C⁹
 Cop Pl . *pañica-* L 1200¹⁷.

(vi) SIX .

Amar I . *cha* L 1269 etc

(vii) SEVEN

Nāgār *sata* EI 20 22.F³

(viii) THIRTEEN

Nāgār *teram* EI 20 22.F¹.
 Cop Pl *terasa* L 1194¹⁵

(ix) EIGHTEEN

Nāgār *aḥhāra* EI 20 21 E⁴

(x) TWENTY

Cop Pl *viśam*⁷⁶ L 1194¹¹

(xi) HUNDRED AND SEVENTY

Nāgār *salari-salam* EI 20 19 B⁵⁶

§ 255 Ordinals

(i) FIRST

Nāgār *prathama-* EI 21 64 L¹, also Dharanikoṭa
 cf *EI* 24 259¹

Maḥavallī *padama-* L 1195, L 1196

(ii) SECOND

S Ind Ins *bṛtiya-* L 1196
 Nāgār *bṛtiya-* EI 21 62 G2⁸, etc

(iii) FOURTH

S Ind Ins *catutha-* L 1340¹

(iv) FIFTH

Nāgār *pañcama-* EI 20 21 E²
 Cop Pl *pañcamī* L 1205⁴⁶

(v) SIXTH

Nāgār *chaṭṭha-* EI 20 21 B²
 Cop Pl *chathā-* L 1205²⁶

(vi) TENTH

Nāgār *dasama-* EI 21 62 G2⁸ etc
 Cop Pl *dasama-* L 1205²⁵, *dasamī-* L 1194¹⁵

(vii) TWENTIETH

Nāgār *vimsā-* EI 21 64 L³

(viii) TWENTY-SEVENTH

S Ind Ins *sata[vi]mam* L 1246²

76 *viśam* is the form obtained in one of the Ceylonese inscriptions, cf. *EZ* I. 62.3 (2nd cent AD.)

B. CONJUGATION

§ 256 Present Indicative Active :

First pers. sg. -*mi* :Cop. Pl. *abhatthemī* L 1200¹⁴.First pers. pl. -*ma* :Cop. Pl. *da[d]āma* L 1328²¹ ;
vitāma L 1200⁷ etc.Third pers. sg. (1) -*ti* .S Ind. Ins. *ānapayati* L 1195 ; *vaddhati* L 1196.Cop. Pl. *ānapayati* L 1205¹ etc.(11) -*ve-ti* (causal)Cop. Pl. *aṇuvattḥāveti* L 1200¹⁵

§ 257 Imperative Mood

Second pers. sg. (1) -*hi*Cop. Pl. *oyapāpehi* L 1328¹⁷Second pers. pl (1) -*tha*Cop. Pl. *pariharatha* L 1205²⁰
etc(11) -*pe-hi* (causal)Cop. Pl. *cyapāpehi* L 1328
nubamdhāpehi
L 1328¹⁸(11) -*pe-tha* (causal) :Cop. Pl. *pariharāpetha*
L 1205²⁰ etc.Third pers. sg. -*ttu* or -*tu*S Ind. Ins. *visasattu* L 1196Nāgār. *hotu* EI 20 21 E²Third pl -*antu*S Ind. Ins. *nandantu* L 1196.

(a loan word).

§ 258 Potential Mood

Third pers. sg. (1) -*yya*Cop. Pl. *kareyya* L 1200¹⁰First pers. pl -*yyāma*, -*jāma* :Cop. Pl. *kareyyāma* L 1200¹¹.
karejāma L 1205²¹(11) -*ja* or *jjā*Cop. Pl. *hoja* L 1200¹⁶ *vaḥteja* L 1200¹⁶, *karejjā* L 1205²²(111) -*pe-jjā* or -*ve-jjā* (causal).Cop. Pl. *kātāpejjā* L 1205²³, *karavejjā* L 1200¹⁰

PARTICIPLES

§ 259 Present Participle Middle (1) -*māna*Nāgār. *samulhapīyamāna* EI 20 19 B5⁶§ 260 Past Passive Participle (1) -*na* . The termination disappears in later inscriptions.⁷⁷Bhatt. *Araka-dīna-* L 1338Amar. II *Dhama-dīnā-* L 1260⁵S Ind. Ins. *dīnna-* L 1196(11) -*ta*⁷⁸ ;Amar. II *phāpita-* L 1238 etc. etc.S. Ind. Ins. *paṭiḥapita-* L 1202⁷, *datta-* L 119677. But this together with its cerebralised form appears in 2nd cent. A.D. Ceylonese inscriptions of *dīna-* EZ I 624, and *dīna-* EZ I 21 Rock B No 178. This is found even in the 1st or 2nd cent. B.C. Ceylonese inscription of *paṭiḥita-* EZ I. 145 10a

Nāgār : *thavita-* EI 20.22 F³ ; *kārīta-* EI 20.22.F²,F³.
 Cop. Pl *data-* L'1328⁴⁰ ; *vāpata* L 1205⁴ etc. etc.

§ 261 Potential Passive Participles.

- (i) *-jja* .
 S. Ind. Ins. *dejja-* L 1195, L 1196
 (ii) *-tava* or *-tavva* :
 Cop Pl *parihantava-* L 1200⁴⁸ , *bhānūtavva-* L 1194⁸ etc.
 (iii) *-pe-tavva* (causal)
 Cop Pl . *parihapetavva-* L 1200³⁷

§ 262. Infinitive

- (i) *-tu* .
 Bhaṭṭ *nikhetu* L 1330

§ 263 Absolutives⁷⁹

- (i) *-tūna* or *-tūnam*
 S Ind Ins *kātūnam*, L 1202⁴, L 1203³
 Nāgār *parināmetunam* EI 20.16 C3¹⁰, 21 E²
 parināmatūna EI 20.16 (footnote 21) A3⁸.
 Cop Pl *kātūna* L 1328^{24,30}
 (ii) *-tūnani* or *-tūna*
 Cop Pl *nātūnam* L 1200³⁹ ,
 kātūnam L 1200^{10,29}, *nātūna* L 1327¹⁰ etc
 (iii) In a Maḷavaḷḷi inscription (L 1196) we get a form *soṭvena* Is it to be derived from <'Sk śrutvā'?

79 The Ceylonese Prakrit terminations are *-tu* and *-ya* cf *kaṭu* EZ I 62.4 (2nd cent. AD), *dariya* (<√dhṛ-) and *kanavaya* (<√khan-) EZ I 211⁵ (2nd cent AD), also cf *paḍavaya* (<√pat-) EZ III. 116.5.

CHAPTER IV

HISTORICAL LINGUISTICS OF THE CENTRAL GROUP

Prakrit Inscriptions of Central India.

§ 264. INTRODUCTORY

The Prakrit inscriptions included in this chapter are scattered between Muttra Dist. in the United Provinces and Akolā and Bhandārā districts in the Central Provinces. They even once peep in the Allahabad Dist. in U. P. Yet a very large number of inscriptions comes almost from the centre, round about the Bhopal State. The conspectus given in the following article will point out that the inscriptions are not proportionately distributed in different centuries, as a bulk of them dates in the 2nd and 1st Centuries B.C. There is again a wide gap between these dates and the Bāsim plates of the 4th cent. A.D. The following paragraphs, as usual, will describe these inscriptions in a chronological order.

1 Mathurā I Jaina Inscriptions (L 92, L 92a, L 93, L 97, L 100-L 104). The Prakrit inscriptions at Mathurā (Math.) in the United Provinces have been divided into two groups according as they date prior or posterior to the beginning of the Christian era. This group styled as Mathurā I deals with the former. Even in this group the inscriptions slightly vary in date but there is not much linguistic difficulty in putting them together. The general date of the group is taken to be slightly earlier than that of the inscriptions at Sāñci.

L 92. The characters of the inscription are as old as Aśokan.

L 92a. The whereabouts of this inscription are not definitely known. It was found without any label in the Jaina Section of the Lucknow Museum. The technique of the sculpture on which it is engraved is decidedly that of the Mathurā school. The characters are very early and probably belong to the same period as the earliest inscription at Mathurā.

L 93. The characters are exceedingly archaic and do not much differ from those found in Aśokan edicts.

L 97, L 100-L 104. The characters are archaic enough to justify their being assigned to a period anterior to that of Kanishka.

2 Inscriptions from Central Group. Most of the Prakrit inscriptions comprising this group (Centr. Gr.) are slightly earlier than those found at Sāñci. Most of them come from places round about Bhilsā, a district place in the Gwalior State, and have been included together for the sake of convenience. The inscriptions which make up the present group are as follows: Satdhāra Stūpa II inscriptions (L 152-L 153), Sonārī Stūpa I and II inscriptions (L 154-L 160), Parkham² image ins.

1 103 has been reedited by LUDERS, "Inscription on a sculptured stone-slab from Mathurā" *EI* 24 205-6, No. IV.

2. This is, however, situated in the Mathura Dt., U.P.

cription (L 150), Besnagar inscriptions³ (L 669-L 675), Bhojapur Stūpa inscriptions (L 676-L 678), Andher Stūpa inscriptions (L 679-L 684), and Kevati Kuṇḍa cave inscription⁴ (L 907) Most of the inscriptions are donative in character and hence yield scanty material

3 **Sāñci Inscriptions** This division includes the largest number of Prakrit inscriptions found at any single place It comprises all the numerous inscriptions from Stūpa I, II and III, as well as a few box inscriptions at Sāñci in the Bhopal State LUDERS has included in his list a little over five hundred inscriptions (L 162-L 668) from this place, most of which were published by BUHLER in the second volume of *Epigraphia Indica* A recent publication on "*The Monuments of Sāñci*," by Sir John MARSHALL and Alfred FOUCHER includes the texts, translations and annotations of all inscriptions at Sāñci by N G MAJUMDAR The work contains some 827 early inscriptions at Sāñci (excluding those of Kushana, Gupta and later period) and thus outnumbers the collection made by LUDERS by about 320 inscriptions MAJUMDAR divides the Sāñci inscriptions in three different chronological groups on palaeographic grounds

- 1 The edict of Aśoka
- 2 Stūpa I Inscriptions on the pavement slabs and balustrades, including the ground, the beam, stairway and harmikā-balustrades
Stūpa III Inscriptions on relic boxes, beam and stairway balustrades
Inscription on temple 40
Stūpa II Inscriptions on relic boxes, relic caskets and balustrades
- 3 Stūpa I Inscriptions on gate ways and balustrade extension
Stūpa III . Inscriptions on ground balustrade

The following discussion leaves out the edict of Aśoka as it has been already dealt with in Ch I, and centres round the second and the third division Though these two divisions have been treated together there is some slight difference in time *inter se* The general date of these inscriptions can be regarded as the second century B C The inscriptions which are not to be found in the LUDERS' list and have been lately edited by Majumdar have been indicated by the short form Mj instead of the usual L

BUHLER offers the following remarks on the language represented by these inscriptions "The language of the inscriptions differs very little from the literary Pālī and still less from the dialects of Aśoka's edicts, and it shows all the peculiarities of the Bharaut inscriptions the word forms are in general of the type of Pālī and of Aśoka's Gṛamar edicts"⁵

4 **Bharaut Inscriptions** (L 687-L 903) This division includes all the inscriptions at Bharaut (Bhar) in the Nāgod State in Bāgelkhand in Central India As regards the date of these inscriptions HULTZSCH observes, "The age of these inscriptions is approximately fixed by the inscription No 1 (L 687) which records that the east gateway of the Stūpa was built during the reign of the Śungas i.e. in the 2nd or 1st cent B C by Vātsīputra Dhanabhūti"⁶ The inscriptions either record the various

3 The two column inscriptions from Besnagar (L 669-L 670) belong to the second century B.C

4. Situated in the Rewah State, Central India,

5 *ET* 2 89-90

6 *IA* 21.225,

gifts or they serve as labels mentioning the jāta story represented in sculptures All these inscriptions have been lately reedited by BARUA and SIMHA⁷

5 Kosam Inscriptions⁸ · These inscriptions, which have not been included in the LUDERS' list, were found on a stone slab in the vicinity of Kosam in the Allahabad Dist of the United Provinces. The language of the records is pure Prakrit and they have been incised in characters which closely resemble the alphabet used in the inscriptions of Mahākṣatrapa Śodāṣa Their date, therefore, falls in the 1st cent. B.C.

6 Pauni Stone Inscription⁹ Pauni is an old town, thirty two miles south of Bhandārā, the head-quarters of a district place in C.P. The inscription is found on a massive slab in early Brāhmī alphabet of about the beginning of the Christian era. The inscription is not included by LUDERS in his list

7 Mathurā Inscriptions II (L 117, L 125 a, L 125 f, L 125 g L 125 i and L 125 j) These six inscriptions from Mathurā (Math) comprise the second division of the Mathurā inscriptions which date later than the beginning of the Christian era. All these belong to the Kushana period and the date of the whole group can be assigned to the first century A.D.

8 Silaharā Cave Inscriptions¹⁰ Silaharā (Silah) caves are situated in the Rewah State in Central India. Some of the inscriptions are in the Brāhmī script and some in the "Shell" characters. For our present study we are concerned only with those in the Brāhmī script. These are in all seven inscriptions and palaeographically most of them belong to the first century A.D. Those in the Sītāmādi cave (Nos. 6 and 7) are slightly later in date.

9 Bithā Coping Stone Inscription (L 908) Bithā is situated some ten miles south south-west of Allahabad. The characters of the inscription belong to the 1st cent. A.D. The inscription is fragmentary and yields quite unimportant material.

10 Bāsim Plates of Vākātaka Vindhyaśakti II¹¹ Bāsim is the head quarters of the Bāsim tāluk in the Akolā Dist of Berar. The language of the plates is partly Sanskrit (lines 1-5 consisting of the genealogical portion) and partly Prakrit (lines 5 to the end consisting of the formal portion). Like the Hirahadagalli plates, the present inscription closes with a benedictory sentence in Sanskrit. The inscription shows several instances of double consonants by the side of single ones. In Prakrit as well as in Sanskrit portion the class nasal is used in place of anusvāra.

The characters are of a box-headed variety of the South Indian alphabet, resembling those of the copper plate inscriptions of Pravarasena II. The plates are dated in the 37th year evidently of the reign of Vindhyaśakti II. As his reign came to a close by about 400 A.D. his plates are taken to belong to the end of the fourth century A.D.

§265 Note The table given below is indicative of the distribution of the inscriptions in their time sequence.

7. *Barhut Inscriptions*, Calcutta, 1926.

8. "Three Brāhmī inscriptions from Kosam" *EI* 18 158-9

9. V. V. MIRASHI, "Pauni Stone Inscription of the Bhara King Bhagadatta" *EI* 24 11-4

10. D. R. BHANDARKAR, *EI* 22 30 ff; they are not included by LUDERS in his list.

11. V. V. MIRASHI and D. B. MAHAJAN, *EI* 26 137-55, not included in LUDERS' list.

Period	Inscription.	No
End of 3rd cent B.C.	L 92, L 92 a, L 93, L 97, L 100-L 104	9
2nd cent. B.C.	L 150 ; L 152-L 153 ; L 154-L 160 , L 162-L 668 ; L 669-L 675 , L 676-L 678 , L 679-L 684 ; L 907 ; + 320 additions	854
1st cent B.C.	L 687-L 903 , plus 3 additions	220
1st cent A.D.	L 117, L 125 a L 125 f, L 125 g, L 125 i, L 125 j ; L 908 ; plus 8 additions	15
4th cent A.D.	Bāsim Plates	1

PHONOLOGY

I VOWELS

§266 Treatment of the Sk vowel τ . The vowel τ becomes a or i in a majority of instances. It becomes u (besides i) only in a few words which are expressive of human relationship or where it is combined with a labial

(a) Change $\tau > a$ This is the principal treatment

Centr Gr	Sk $kṛtā-$ > $kata-$ L 150
Sāñci	Sk $grhā-$ > $gaha-$ L 193 etc
	Sk $vṛddhā-$ > $vadha-$ L 208
	Sk $jāmātr-$ > $jamata-$ L 166

The last two examples show that $\tau > a$ also in combination with v and in words of relationship

Bhar	: Sk $grhītā-$ > $gahula-$ L 694
	Sk $sāmvṛta-$ > $savata-$ L 741
Kosam	Sk $grhapati-$ > $gahapati-$ EI 98 159 ¹
Silah	Sk $śulāgrha-$ > $ślāgaha-$ EI 22 36 2, 4 ¹

(b) Change $\tau > i$ The examples cited below are mostly stock-examples like $ist-$ or $miga-$. There are a few words expressive of human relationship too

Sāñci	Sk $ṛṣṭi-$ > $ṛṣi-$ L 215 etc
	Sk $bhartṛka-$ > $bha[ṛi]ka-$ Mj 425
	Sk $samātrka-$ > $samātika-$ (?) L 543
Bhar	Sk $mṛgā-$ > $miga-$ L 698, L 730 etc
	Sk $śṛgāla-$ > $sigāla-$ L 697
Math II	Sk $pṛṭṭbhīh$ > $-pṛṭṭi$ L 125 a ²
Silah.	Sk $pranapṛka-$ > $-panatika-$ EI 22 36 1 ¹ .
Basim	Sk $Bhartṛdeva-$ > $Bhattideva-$ (?) EI 26 152 ¹¹ .

(c) Change $\tau > u$:

Centr Gr	Sk $amṛta-$ > $amuta-$ L 670 ¹
Sāñci	Sk $bhrātr-$ > $bhātu-$ L 450 etc
Math II	Sk $Rṣabha-$ > $Usabha-$ L 117
Basim	Sk $Pṛṭṭ-ārya-$ > $Pṛṭṭ-ja-$ EI 26 152 13-14

267 Treatment of the Sk. diphthongs ai and au . Sk ai and au become e and o regularly in these inscriptions.

(a) Change *ai* > *e* .

- Math I . Sk. *Nagameśa* > *Nemesa*- (?) L 101.
 Centr Gr . Sk. *Haimavanta* > *Hemavata*- L 156
 Sāñci . Sk. *Kaṣṭhaya* > *Kekāṣṭhaya*- L 162.
 . Sk. *Vaśramana* > *Vesamana*- L 201
 Bhar. Sk. *Vadiśa* > *Vediśa*- L 780 etc.
 . Sk. *cātya* > *cetaya*¹² L 699.

(b) Change *ai* > *i* occurs in a doubtful instance

- Sāñci : Sk. *Śakṣā* > *Sijhā*- L 516 (This is a proper name of a house-wife)

(c) Change *au* > *o* .

- Math I . Sk. *sauvarṇika* > *sovan*[ika]- L 92 a.
 Centr Gr . Sk. *Maudgalāyana* > *Mogalāna*- L 153
 . Sk. *Gauṇī* > *Goṇī*- L 156
 Sāñci . Sk. *Gautamī* > *Gotamī*- L 623
 . Sk. *sautrika* > *sotika*- L 331
 Bhar . Sk. *Kauśāmbī* > *Kosamba*- L 732 .
 Also cf *Goṇī*- L 687

(d) The diphthong *au* is once preserved

- Bhar . Sk. *pautra* > *pauta*- L 687

§ 268 Treatment of Sk *aya*, *ayi* and *avi* All these three become *e* in these inscriptions.

(a) Change *aya*, *ayi* > *e*

- Sāñci . Sk. *Jayanta* > *Jeta*- L 394
 . Sk. *Ujjayinī* > *Ujēnī*- L 172

(b) Sk *aya* is once preserved

- Bhar . Sk. *Vajayanta* > *Vejayamta*- L 776

(c) Change *avi* > *e*

- Sāñci . Sk. *sthāvira* > *thera*- L 451
 Bhar . cf. *thera*- L 858

§ 269 Treatment of Sk *ava* It becomes *o*

(a) Change *ava* > *o*

- Centr Gr . Sk. *yavana* > *yona*- L 669⁴
 Sāñci . cf *yona*- L 547
 Bhar. . Sk. *avakṛta* > *vokata*-¹³ L 777
 . Sk. *Śravanā* > *Sonā*- L 758

§ 270. Treatment of the Sk vowel *a* The vowel *a* is preserved generally in all positions There are, however, a few changes which take place only occasionally.

(a) Change *a* > *ā* in a metrically long syllable

- Math. I . Sk. *antevāsin* > *āntevāsi*- L 93
 . Sk. *śrāvākasya* > *sāvākāsa*¹⁴ L 93
 Sāñci . Sk. *anyā* > *āna*- L 340.

12 *cātya*- L 693 is apparently a mistake for *cetiya* .

13 With the addition of initial *v*- .

14. But cf *Vachīputrasa* L 93

	Sk <i>rajjūka</i> > <i>rājuka</i> - L 281
	Sk. <i>Nandottarā</i> > <i>Nādutarā</i> - Mj 670, etc
Bhar	Sk <i>Angāradayū</i> > <i>Āgaraju</i> - ¹⁵ L 687
	Sk <i>Punarvasu</i> > <i>Punāvāsu</i> - L 831
	Sk <i>Gargamitra</i> > <i>Gāgamita</i> - L 832
Bāsim	Sk <i>sārva</i> > <i>sāvva</i> - EI 26 151 ⁶
	Sk <i>saṃvatsarā</i> > <i>sāvachara</i> - EI 26 153 ²⁸
	Sk <i>dharmasthāna</i> > <i>dhāmmatthāna</i> - EI 26 152 ⁹

(b) Change *a* > *i* occurs either due to the presence of *y* or due to assimilation. It also occurs due to confusion between the suffixes *-aka*- *-ika*-.

Centr Gr	Sk <i>madhyamā</i> > <i>majhima</i> - L 157
Sāñci	Sk <i>Dhanyakā</i> > <i>Dhañikā</i> L 296 ; also cf <i>majhima</i> - L 270.
	Sk <i>Māhiṣmati</i> > <i>Māhiṣiti</i> L 274
	Sk <i>Aviṣannā</i> > <i>Aviṣinā</i> - L 319, L 352

The change occurs due to assimilation in the latter two examples

	Sk <i>kathaka</i> > <i>-kalhika</i> - L 347 due to confusion in suffixes
Bhar	Sk <i>nyagródha</i> > <i>ngoha</i> - L 755
	Sk <i>śātaka</i> - ¹⁶ > <i>sādika</i> - L 743
	Sk <i>Śyāmaka</i> > <i>Samika</i> - ¹⁷ L 767, L 858 These two examples exemplify confusion in suffixes

(c) Change *a* > *u* due to the labial *m*

Bhar	Sk <i>smaśāna</i> > <i>susāna</i> - ¹⁸ L 697
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(d) Change *a* > *ā* occurs irregularly

Sāñci	Sk <i>Rkṣavati</i> > <i>Achāvati</i> - L 430
	Sk <i>Navagrāma</i> > <i>Nāvagāma</i> - L 182
	Sk <i>Pratiṣṭhāna</i> > <i>[Pā]tiṣṭhāna</i> - L 474

The final *ā* in *dānā* (L 281, L 284 etc) is probably due to the loss of final consonant

Bhar	Sk <i>Bhāraṇḍeva</i> > <i>Bhārāṇḍeva</i> - L 874
Math II	Sk <i>saha</i> > <i>sāhā</i> L 125 a ²

§ 271 Treatment of the Sk vowel *ā* The vowel *ā* is generally preserved Yet in a fairly large number of instances it is shortened to *a*

(a) Change *ā* > *a* before a consonant cluster The change occurs since the earliest times

Math I	Sk <i>Vātsi</i> > <i>Vachi</i> - L 93
	Sk <i>bhāryā</i> > <i>bhayā</i> L 97 ¹ , L 200 ²⁴ , L 103.
Centr Gr	Sk <i>ācāryā</i> > <i>ācarīya</i> - L 158
	Sk <i>Ārya</i> > <i>Aya</i> - L 154

15 But cf. *Agaraju*- L 688

16 Bharata explains it as *nāṭaka-bheda*, cf. BOHT ROTH s.v

17. But we get *Samaka*- in L 768

18. Hemacandra on 286 records *susāna*- or *siāna*- as used in Ārṣa language i.e. Ardha-Māgadhī. Otherwise the general Prakrit form is *masāna*- cf. H. 286, also V 36

Sāñci	. Sk <i>pāñhaka</i> > <i>pamhaka</i> - L 473. Sk <i>Siddhārtha</i> > <i>Sidhatha</i> - L 326. Sk <i>Phālgunā</i> > <i>Phaguna</i> - L 294 etc.
Bhar.	. Sk <i>rājyā</i> > <i>raja</i> - L 687. Sk <i>rājñah</i> > <i>raño</i> ¹⁹ L 687, also cf <i>Aya</i> - L 690 etc., <i>bhayā</i> - L 882 etc.
Silah	Sk <i>amātya</i> > <i>amaca</i> - EI 22 36.2 ³ , 4 ¹ .
Bāsim	Sk <i>mārga</i> > <i>magga</i> - EI 26 151 ⁶

(b) Change *-ā* > *-a* before terminations occurs since the earliest times, but it seems to have fallen into disuse from about first century B C

Math. I . Sk *Amogharakṣita* > *Amogharakhita-ye* L 92.

In other inscriptions from Math which, though for the sake of convenience have been grouped with L 92 but date about a century later than that the vowel *-ā* is preserved

	Sk <i>bhāryā</i> > <i>bhayā-ye</i> L 97 ¹ , L 100 ^{2a} , L 103. Sk <i>Aśvā</i> > <i>Asā-ye</i> L 97 ² . Sk <i>Jīvanandā</i> > <i>Jivanadā-ye</i> I. 104
Sāñci	Sk <i>Acalā</i> > <i>Acala-ya</i> L 175 Sk <i>Nāgapālitā</i> > <i>Nāgapāhita-ya</i> L 585 etc.
Bhar	Sk <i>Purikā</i> > <i>Purika-yā</i> ²⁰ L 837 Sk <i>bhāryā</i> > <i>bhārya-ya</i> L 799

But in a majority of cases the long vowel *-ā* is preserved cf *Sāmā-ya* L 839; *bhāryā-ya* L 854, *Sīrīmā-ya* L 878, etc etc

The nom sg of fem nouns in *-ā* and of mas nouns in *-an* at times ends in *-a*.

Sk <i>devātā</i> > <i>devata</i> L 770, L 811 etc.
Sk <i>Sudarśanā</i> > <i>Sudasana</i> L 790.
Sk <i>rājā</i> > <i>rāja</i> L 811

(c) In a few instances change *ā* > *a* occurs at the end of the first member in a compound

Sāñci	Sk <i>Acalā-bhikṣuṇī</i> > <i>Acala-bhichun-</i> L 462 ¹ ; also cf <i>Dupasaha-bhichun-</i> L 328
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(d) Change *ā* > *a* in mistake.

Centr Gr.	Sk <i>antevāsin-</i> > <i>atevasi-</i> L 154
Sāñci	Sk <i>Svāmikā</i> > <i>Samikā</i> - L 382. Sk <i>upāsikā</i> > <i>upasikā</i> - L 199 etc. Sk <i>prajāvatī</i> > <i>pajavati-</i> L 270, etc.
Bhai	Sk <i>jātaka</i> > <i>jataka</i> - L 691, L 694 etc. Sk <i>bhānaka</i> > <i>bhanaka</i> - L 762, L 789. Sk <i>bādāla</i> > <i>badala</i> - L 695, etc

§ 272 Treatment of the Sk vowel *i* The short vowel *i* is fairly well preserved. The following changes, however, may be noted.

(a) Change *i* > *ī* in a metrically long syllable

Sāñci	. Sk <i>Indra</i> > <i>īda</i> - L 250, L 419 etc.
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19 But cf. *rāño* L 882.

20 But cf. *Purikā-yā* L 835.

Sk. *Siṃha* > *Siha*²¹. L 186 etc. The change is, however, by no means of universal application.

Bhar. : The vowel *i* is lengthened only exceptionally

Sk. *Bimbikāmandikṣṭa* > *Bibikanadikṣṭa*²² L 728

(b) Change *i* > *i* in mistake in a few cases

Sāñci . Sk. *Buddhapālita* > *Budhapālita* L 341 ,
also cf. *Isipālita* L 336

(c) Change *i* > *e* in a metrically long syllable.

Bhar. . Sk. *Viśvabhū* > *Vesabhū*²³ L 714.

Sk. *Anāthapindika* > *Anādhapeḍika* L 731

Bāsim . Sk. *Viṣṇu-ārya* > *Venhu-ṛya* EI 26 152¹²

The change *i* > *e* takes place in a few cases even without a consonant cluster following it.

Sāñci . Sk. *bhikṣuṇī* > **bhikkhuni-yā* > *Bhikkhuni-yā* L 341.
Sk. *vāṃjā* > *vāneja* Mj 61¹

Bhar . Sk. *śrī* > **siri* > *seri* L 874

(d) Change *i* > *a* either through the process of assimilation or dissimilation. cf., however, the note by HULTZSCH quoted below.

Sāñci . Sk. *Rohiṇī* > *Rohanī* L 216 etc
Sk. *Dharmarakṣitā* > *Dhamarakhatā* L 312
Sk. *Māhīṣmatī* > *Māhasatī* L 497

Bhar . Sk. *cetīya* > **cetiya* > *cetaya* L 699

On *cetaya* HULTZSCH says, "It remains doubtful whether vowel *a* in the second syllable of this word is due to a clerical omission of the sign for *i* or if it is the expression of an indistinct pronunciation of the vowel *i*"²⁴

(e) Change *-i* > *-u* due to assimilation

Bhar . Sk. *Śisupāla* > *Susupāla* L 756

§ 273 Treatment of the Sk vowel *i* The long vowel *i*, though fairly well preserved, undergoes the following changes

(a) Change *i* > *i* before consonant cluster

Sāñci . Sk. *vyudīrna* > *vudina* L 199.

Sk. *Kīrti* > *Kīti* Mj 316

Sk. *Nandīśvara* > *Nadīśara* Mj 442 This may be due to peculiar Prakrit sandhi

Bhar . Sk. *śīrṣā* > *śīsa* L 741

Sk. *Dirgha* > *Dīgha* L 692

(b) Change *i* > *i* before terminations

Sāñci . Sk. *Māhīṣmatī* > *Māhīsatī-ya* Mj 253 etc

Bhar . Sk. *bhikṣuṇī* > *bhikkhuni-ya* L 718 etc

Math II . Sk. *śīsyurī* > *śīsinī-e* L 117¹³ ;
also cf. *Amohā-āstī-ye* L 125a¹.

21. cf. however *Siṃha* L 228 , *Siṃhā* L 398 etc

22. But cf. *Bib[i]k[ā]nādīkṣṭa* L 725

23. Perhaps these forms at Bhar together with *vesadata* from Sāñci (L 778¹) are to be derived from the vṛddhi forms such as *Vaiśvabhū*- *Vaiśvadatta* etc.

24. cf. IA 21.228 footnote 18.

- (c) Change
- i*
- >
- i*
- ²⁵
- at the end of the first member of a compound.

Math. I : Sk *Gauṣṭī-putra* > *Goti-puta* L 92a.Sk. *Maudgaṇī-putra* > *Mogali-puta* L 97¹.

But the long vowel is preserved in—

Centr Gr Sk. *Vātsī-putra* > *Vachī-puta* L 93Sk. *Kausikī-putra* > *Kosiki-puta* L 159But cf *Hārsī-puta* L 683Sāñci Sk. *Revatī-mitra* > *Revati-mita* L 503Sk. *Aditī-gupta* > *Aditi-guta* L 264 ; etcBhar cf *Goti-puta* L 687 ; *Revati-mita* L 712 etc. But note its preservation in *Gāgi-puta* L 687.

- (d) Change
- i*
- >
- i*
- occurs sometimes in mistake

Math I Sk. *Mahāvīra* > *Mahāvira* L 103.Sāñci Sk. *kaniyāsi* > *kanyasi* L 246Sk. *Jiva* > *Jiva* Mj 395Bhar Sk. *Isāna* > *Isāna* L 826Sk. *devī* > *devi*²⁶ L 709Sk. *Śrīṣapadra* > *Sirsapada* L 859The change occurs in suffixes probably because of confusion between Sk. *-iya-* and Pkt. *-iya-* (< Sk. *-ika-*)Sk. *Bhogavardhaniya* > *Bhogavadhaniya* L 797.Sk. *yavamadhyakiya* > *yavamejhakiya* L 769.

- (e) Change
- i*
- >
- a*
- occurs in the following cases:
- ²⁷

Sāñci Sk. *Rohini-devā* > *Rohana-devā* L 467, butcf *Rohani-mitā* Mj 805Sk. *bhikṣuni* > *bhichuna-yā* L 383, L 536Sk. *prajāvatī* > *pañāvata-yā* L 507The last two examples are morphological forms and the change has occurred before the termination. It is, therefore, possible to say that the Pkt. forms here do not follow their own decensional system but come directly from their full Sk. equivalents. Thus Sk. *bhikṣumyāh* > **bhikṣumayā* > *bhichuna-yā*.Bhar Sk. *Kauśāmbī-kutī* > *Kosamba kuti* L 732.

- (f) Change
- i*
- >
- u*
- .

Bhar Sk. *grhīta* > *gahuta* L 694

- (g) Change
- i*
- >
- e*

Bhar Sk. *krīta* > *keta* L 731The changes noted in (e), (f) and (g) are similar to those noted in the treatment of the vowel *i* above. It would, therefore, be right to assume that before the long vowel *i* became *a*, *u* or *e* it passed through the intermediate stage in which *i* > *i*.§ 274 Treatment of the Sk. vowel *u* : This short vowel is generally preserved. We may note, however, the following changes

- (a) Change
- u*
- >
- ū*
- in a metrically long syllable. The change takes place rather rarely

25. cf. above § 167(c).

26. Thus is, however, a morphological form.

27. cf. above the change *i* > *a* § 272(d).

- Math I Sk *Uttara* > *Ūtara*²⁸ L 92 a
 Sāñci : Sk. *Buddhapālita* > *Būdhapālita* L 473.
- (b) Change *u* > *o* in a metrically long syllable.
 Sāñci · Sk. *Tumbavanikā* > *Tombavanikā* L 520
 Sk. *Udraka*²⁹ > *Odaka* L 511
- It becomes *o* even without a cluster following it.
 Sk. *Upendra* > *Opeda* L 223, L 407
- Bhar Sk. *Arbuda* > *Aboda* L 693
- (c) Change *u* > *i*³⁰ due to assimilation
 Sāñci Sk. *duhitṛ* > *dihitu* Mj 667, Mj 734¹
- (d) Change *u* > *a* ·
 Sāñci Sk. *bhikṣunī* > *bhichanī* L 439
 Sk. *putra* > *-pata* L 408.
- Bhar Sk. *Subhadṛā* > *Sabhadā* L 745
 Sk. *Ajātaśatru* > *Ajātasata* L 774

This change is noticed either because of the writer's negligence to indicate the vowel *u* mark or as pointed out by HULTZSCH (cf. change *i* > *a* above) due to indistinct pronunciation of the short vowel *u*

§ 275 Treatment of the Sk vowel *ū* The long vowel *ū* is generally preserved. It is, however, shortened to *u* in the following circumstances

- (a) Change *ū* > *u* before a consonant cluster
 Sāñci Sk. *Sūtrāntika* > *Sutātika* L 635
 Sk. *Sūryā* > *Suriyā* L 545
- Bhar Sk. *Pūrnakīya* > *Punakīya* L 786
 Sk. *Dhūrta* > *Dhuta* L 845
 Sk. *tūrya* > *tura* L 743
- (b) Change *ū* > *u* occurs also in mistake
 Math I · Sk. *pūjā* > *-pujā* L 100^{2b}
 Sāñci · Sk. *Bhūtarakṣita* > *Bhutarakhita* L 513
 Sk. *rūpakarma* > *rupakahma* L 345
 Sk. *rajṛūka* > *rājuka* L 281
- Bhar · Sk. *sūci* > *suci* L 823 etc
 Sk. *Stūpadāsa* > *Thupadāsa* L 798,
 also cf. *Bhuta* L 713 etc., *rupa* L 857

§ 276 Treatment of the Sk vowel *e* · The vowel *e* only exceptionally becomes *i* in the following cases

- (a) Change *e* > *i* (or *i*) before a consonant cluster
 Sāñci Sk. *Mahendra* > *Mahida* L 373
 Sk. *Upendra* > *Upida* L 251
- Bhar cf. *Mahidasena* L 818

In all these cases where *e* > *i*, the Sk. vowel is only the result of sandhi between *ā* + *i*

²⁸ But cf. *utara* L 93

²⁹ LÜPERS derives it from Sk. *Ardraka*.

³⁰ We get *purisa* L 158, L 308 etc. which come from **pārś* and compares with Sk. *pārusa*.

Once the vowel *e* > *i* even without a cluster following it.

Bhar Sk *Kubera* > *Kupira* L 794.

§ 277 Treatment of the Sk vowel *o* But for a few cases where *o* > *u* (or *a*), the vowel *o* is usually preserved

(a) Change *o* > *u*, before a consonant cluster

Sāñci Sk *Nandottarā* > *Nam[du]tarā* L 468, Mj 430.

Sk *Dharmottarā* > *Dhamu[tarā]* L 461.

Bhar Sk *Citrotpāta* > *Citupāda* L 710 ;

also cf *Nadutarā* L 826

As in the case of *e*, in all these instances the vowel *o* which is changed to *u* is due to saṁdhu between *a* + *u*

(b) Change *o* > *a* due to clerical error Here also the vowel *o* is due to saṁdhu

Sāñci Sk *Svarnottarā* > *Sonaturā* Mj 405.

II SIMPLE CONSONANTS

§ 278. As in other groups, the initial simple consonants are here well preserved. In their medial position also we do not meet with very important changes in the inscriptions prior to the first century B C The Barh inscriptions, however, mark a definite, though slow, linguistic development over the earlier stage represented in the inscriptions at Sāñci As usual, in the following discussion only the phonetic changes have been exemplified In most cases where the changes occur they are of partial and not universal application

§ 279 Gutturals

(a) The change of intervocal surd to sonant is first noticed in the 1st cent B C and A D

(i) Change *-k-* > *-g-*

Pauni Sk *pādukā* > *pājugā* EI 24 14

(ii) Change *-kh-* > *-gh-*

Bhar Sk *Makhādevī* > *Maghadevi* L 691.

(b) The loss of occlusion is equally rarely met with

(i) Change *-kh-* > *-h-*

Sāñci Sk. *śikhara* > *sihara* Mj 796

(ii) Change *-gh-* > *-h-*

Math I Sk *Māgharakṣita* > *Māharakkhita* L 93 It is, however, preserved in *Amogharakkhita* L 92

It is interesting to note that this loss of occlusion which is sporadically met with in the earlier inscriptions is not found in later ones

(c) Loss of *-ga-* is perhaps instanced in—

Math I Sk *Nagameśa* > *Nemesa*^{30a} L 101

§ 280. Palatals :

(a) Some of the palatals are only exceptionally softened to *y* We do not come across changes from surd to sonant

30a. Unless it is < *Nigameśa* ; *Niamesa*, but with unexpected *-e* < *-ia*.

- (i) Change *c-* or *-c-* > *y-* or *-y-* : It occurs only in later inscriptions.
 Math II : Sk. *vācaka-* > *vāyaka-* L 117^B.
 Bāsim : Sk. *ca* > *ya* EI 26 152¹⁹
- (ii) Change *-j-* > *-y-* : This appears even in the 1st cent B.C
 Bhar : Sk. *mahāsāmāyika-* > *mahāsāmāyika-* L 777
 Pauni : Sk. *rāja-* > *-rāya-* EI 24 14
 Bāsim : cf. *-rāya-* EI 26.152¹⁹

§ 281 Cerebrals

- (a) Change of a surd to sonant appears even in early inscriptions

- (i) Change *-t-* > *-d-*

Sāñci : Sk. *Subhaṭadatta-* > *Suhadadata-* Mj 825
 Sk. *Maṇḍalākṣikṛtika-* > **-katika-* > *-kaḍika-*
 Mj 341² etc
 Bhar : Sk. *śaṭaka-* > *sāḍika-* L 743
 Bāsim : Sk. *bhaṭa-* > *bhada-* EI 26 151⁷, 153²²

- (ii) Change **-ṭh-* > *-ḍh-* occurs very late

Bāsim : Sk. *prathama-* > **paṭhama-*³¹ > *paḍhama-*
 EI 26 153²³

- (b) The loss of cerebralisation is noticed in the following cases

- (i) Change *-ṭh-* > *-th-*

Sāñci : Sk. *śreṣṭhin-* > *sethi-* L 255 ;
 but cf. *sethi-* L 423
 Sk. *Māṭhara-* > *Māthara-* Mj 279

- (ii) Change *-ḍ-* > *-d-*

Centr Gr : Sk. *Kaundmī-* > *Kodimī-* L 157

- (c) The loss of aspiration is noticed in the case of *-dh-*

- (i) Change *-ḍh-* > *-d-*

Sāñci : Sk. *Aṣāḍha-* > *Asāda-* L 306, L 396
 Bhar : Sk. *Virūḍhaka-* > *Virudaka-* L 736 ;
 also cf. *Asadā-* L 697

- (ii) Change *-dh-* > *-dr-*

Sāñci : Sk. *Aṣāḍha-* > *Asādra-* Mj 336.

- (d) The change of *-d-* > *-ṭ-* is noticed in a proper name

Math I : *Kālavāḍa-* > *Kālavāṭa-* EI 24 205.

- (e) Conversely *-ṭ-* > *-d-* :

Bhar : Sk. *Veṭuka-* > *Vēḍuka-* L 707, L 756.

- (f) The nasal cerebral *ṇ* is generally preserved. Yet the tendency of decerebralisation is noticed from very early times

- (i) Change *-ṇ-* > *-n-* :

Math I : Sk. *śramanā-* > *samana-* L 93

Sk. *torana-* > *-torana-* L 93 It is, however, preserved
 in Sk. *sauvarṇika-* > *sovan[ika]-* L 92 a.

Centr. Gr. : Sk. *puṣkarinī-* > *pukharinī-* L 907

31. The word in the earlier stage of *paṭhama-* occurs at Bhar. (cf. L 712).

Sāñci

It is both preserved³² and turned into *n*.Sk. *Aviṣaṇṇa* > *Aviṣina*- L 319, L 352.

(change -ṇ- > -n-)

Sk. *bhikṣuṇī* > *bhikkhunī*- L 163, L 168 etc.Sk. *vaṇṇa* > *vaṇṇa*- Mj 462 etc.Sk. *vajrini* > *Vajṇī*- L 504, L 543 etc.

In most cases where -ṇ- > -n- the cerebral belongs to the suffix, perhaps enabling us to say that Sk *n* does not become *n* after *r* and *ṣ* in these cases.

Bhar.

In almost all cases -ṇ- > -n-.

Sk. *bhāṇaka* > *bhāṇaka*- L 738 etc.Sk. *daṣṇā* > *dakṣṇa*- L 742.Sk. *yakṣṇī* > *yakṣm*- L 790.

It is only in a few inscriptions that -ṇ- is preserved

Sk. *torana* > *torṇa*- L 687, L 688³(probably also L 689³)

Kosam

Sk. *Māmbhadra* > *Māmbhada*- EI 18 159³.

Math II

-ṇ- is preserved in *gana*- L 11^{7A} But it is changed to -n- in the suffixSk. *śiṣyini* > *śiṣm*- L 117

Bāsim

In these plates of 4th cent A.D. -n- is always preserved.

cf. *-lavana*- EI 26 152²⁰; *-caraṇa*- EI 26 152⁸⁻¹⁰, etc.

§ 282 Dentals

(a) The change of a surd to sonant occurs only from the first century B.C.

(i) Change -t- > -d-.

Bhar

Sk. *Citrotpāta* > *Citupāda*- L 710

(ii) Change -th- > -dh-

Bhar

Sk. *Anātha* > *Anādha*- L 731

Bāsim

Sk. *Ātharvaṇika* > *Ādhavṇika*- EI 26 152³.Also cf. *rakkhadha* etc EI 26 152².(b) The stops are even sporadically weakened to *y* from early times.

(i) Change -t- > -y-.

Sāñci

Sk. *prātiṣṭhita* > *patīṭhiya*- L 201, L 202

(ii) Change -d- > -y-:

Bhar

Sk. *avādest* > *avayesi* L 810

(c) The loss of aspiration has occurred in an uncertain example.

(i) Change -ddh- > -d-.

Sāñci

Sk. *Siddhaka* > *Si[d]aka*- Mj 707.

(d) The change of sonant to surd occurs rarely

(i) Change (-dh- >) -*d- > -t-.

Bhar

Sk. *Vidhura* > **Vidura* > *Vitura*- L 786.

Bāsim

Sk. *maryādā* > -*majjātā*- EI 26 152¹⁰.

(e) The loss of intervocal stop occurs very late

(i) Loss of intervocal -t-

Bāsim

Sk. *caturthā* > *cauttha*- EI 26 152¹⁰.

32. It is preserved in such cases as *bhāṇaka*- L 602, Mj 529³; *saṇṇa*- L 326 etc., *vaṇṇa*- L 508, *vaṇṇa*- L 355 etc., etc.

§ 283. Labials :

(a) The change of unaspirate to aspirate occurs due to anticipation.

(i) Change *b-* > *bh-* :Bhar. . Sk *bisaharaṇiya-* > *bhisaharaṇiya-* L 706

(b) The change of sonant to surd occurs seldom

(i) Change *-b-* > *-p-* :Bhar . Sk *Kubera-* > *Kupṛa-* L 794(c) The loss of occlusion occurs in *bh*.(i) Change *-bh-* > *-h-* :Sāñci . Sk *Gobhula-* > *Gohula-* L 238Sk *Subhaṭadatta-* > *Suḥaḍadatta-* Mj 825

(d) The loss of aspiration is also met with in a few cases.

(i) Change *-bh-* > *-h-* :Sāñci . Sk *Rebhula-* > *Rebula-* L 502.Sk *Subhāsita-* > *Subāhuta-* (?) L 270 etc.

§ 284 Semivowels :

(a) The semivowel *y* is usually preserved Rarely, however, it undergoes a few changes.(i) Change *y-* > *j-* occurs in the 4th cent A.DBāsim . Sk *yāthā-* > *jāthā* EI 26 152¹⁰.Sk *yālah* > *jato* EI 26 153²⁴(ii) Change *-y-* > *'-v-* > *-p-*Bhar . Sk *Vijaym-* > *'Vijavi-* > **Vijapi-* L 749.(iii) *-ya-* is probably lost by haplologyCentr Gr . Sk *Maudgalyāyana-* > *Mogalāna-* L 153(iv) *-y-* is lost in terminations in later inscriptionsMath II . Sk **śiṣyini-* > *śiṣim-e* (< *-ye*) L 117⁸,also cf *Sādūtā-e* L 117⁸(b) In the Central division *r* is always preserved and never changed to *l* except once in the very late plates of Vindhyaśakti II(i) Change *-r-* > *-l-* :Bāsim . Sk *angāraka-* > *-angālka-* EI 26 153²².(c) The semi-vowel *v* undergoes the following changes in certain cases.(i) Change *-v-* > *-b-* :Sāñci . Sk *madhuvana-* > *Madhubana-* L 168 ,
but cf *Madhuvana-* L 191(ii) Change *-v-* > *-p-* :Bhar . Sk *Aṛāvata-* > *Erapata-* L 752, L 753
Sk *Kubera-* > *Kupṛa-* L 794(iii) Change *-v-* > *-m-*³⁴ .Sāñci . Sk *Vaiśṛavana-* > *Vesamana-* L 201(iv) *-v-* is lost in fourth century A.DBāsim . Sk *Deva-ārya-* > *Dea-ṛja-* EI 26 152¹².33. It is, however, preserved in all other cases cf *-carana-* EI 26 152⁹⁻¹⁰ etc.

34. For similar change in the Nīya Prakrit and the Dhammapada cf. BURROW, §50.

§ 285. Sibilants : All the three sibilants are as a rule reduced to the single dental sibilant *s*

(a) The palatal sibilant *ś*.

(i) Change *ś* > *s* in all positions

Math. I	Sk <i>śramavā-</i> > <i>samana-</i> L 93
	Sk <i>śrāvaka-</i> > <i>sāvaka-</i> L 93
Centr Gr	Sk <i>Kauśiki-</i> > <i>Kosiki-</i> L 159
	Sk <i>Dharmaśiva-</i> > <i>Dhamasiva-</i> L 679
Sāñci	Sk <i>Śakra-</i> > <i>Saka-</i> L 257 etc
	Sk <i>Yasopāla-</i> > <i>Yasopāla-</i> L 188 etc
Bhar	Sk <i>Īśāna-</i> > <i>Isāna-</i> L 826
	Sk <i>Śrīsupāla-</i> > <i>Susupāla-</i> L 756
Math II	Sk <i>daśa</i> > <i>dasa</i> L 125 g
	Sk <i>śiśyuvā-</i> > <i>sisiu-</i> L 117 ^b
Bāsim	Sk <i>śeṣa-</i> > <i>sesa-</i> EI 26 151 ^c

(ii) In a few instances, however, *s* is preserved

Math I	The inscription belongs to about the first cent. B.C.
	Sk <i>Śivayasa</i> > <i>svayaśā</i> L 100 ^a , also cf <i>Phaguyaśā-</i> L 100 ^a
Kosam	Sk <i>aśmukā-</i> > <i>aśikā-</i> EI 18 159 ^{1,2}
Bāsim	Sk <i>śāsana-</i> > <i>śāsana-</i> EI 26 153 ^{15,20}

(b) The cerebral sibilant *ṣ*

(i) Change *ṣ* > *s* in all positions

Centr Gr	Sk <i>pūruṣa-</i> (< PI A * <i>pūrṣa</i>) <i>purisa-</i> L 160 etc.
Sāñci	Sk <i>Rṣi-</i> > <i>Iṣi-</i> L 215 etc
	Sk <i>snuṣā-</i> > <i>nusā-</i> L 307
Bhar	Sk <i>Asādhā-</i> > <i>Asadā-</i> L 697, also cf <i>Iṣi-</i> L 698 etc
Math II	Sk <i>Rṣabha-</i> > <i>Usabha-</i> L 117 ^a
Bāsim	Sk <i>śeṣa-</i> > <i>sesa-</i> EI 26 151 ^c

(ii) Change *-ṣ-* > *-h-* (?)

Sāñci	Sk <i>Subhāsita-</i> > <i>Subāhita-</i> (?) L 270
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§ 286 Palatalisation We get the following instances of palatalisation where mostly the dentals and sometimes the guttural *k* and the cluster *ry* are palatalised. This process of palatalisation, though not of general application, has started from very early times

(a) Palatalisation of the guttural *k* :

(i) Change *k-* > *c-* due to *i*

Sāñci	Sk <i>Kīrātī-</i> > <i>Cīrātī-</i> L 239, L 388 cf above § 233a(1)
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(ii) Change *kṣ* > *ch*

Sāñci	Sk <i>kṣātra-</i> > <i>chela-</i> L 227
	Sk <i>Rkṣavatī-</i> > <i>Achāvatī-</i> L 430
	Sk <i>Māṇḍalākṣī-</i> > <i>Māḍalachī-</i> L 318
	Sk <i>bhikṣu-</i> > <i>bhichu-</i> (and <i>bhichunī-</i>) passim.
Bhar	Sk <i>kukṣī-</i> > <i>kuchi-</i> L 881 ; also cf <i>bhichunī-</i> L 761, L 800 etc

- (iii) Change *kṣ-* > *c-*
 Sāñci . Sk. *Kṣudra* > *Cuda*- or *Cuḍa*- L 301, L 347
- (iv) Change *-kṣ-* > *-jh-*³⁵
 Sāñci Sk. *śaṅkṣa* > *sejha*- L 570, also cf. *Siṅhā*- L 510
- (b) Palatalisation of the dental *t*
- (i) Change *-ty-* (or *ty-*) > *-c-* (or *c-*)
 Centr Gr Sk. *tyāgā* > *cāga*- L 670
 Sāñci Sk. *Satyamitra* > *Sacamita*- L 360
 Silah Sk. *amātya* > *amaca*- EI 22 36 2¹, 4¹
 Bāsim Sk. *ādityā* > *-ādicca*- EI 26 152¹⁵
- (ii) Change *-ty-* > *-c-* > *-j-*
 Sāñci Sk. *dākṣmātyi* > ¹*dakhināi* > *dakhinap*- L 548
- (iii) Change *-ts-* > *-ch-*
 Math I Sk. *Vātsi-putra* > *Vachī-pula*- L 93
 Sāñci cf. *Vāchīpula*- Mj 809¹
 Bhar cf. *Vāchīpula*- L 687
 Silah Sk. *Vatsa* > *Vacha*- EI 22 36 1¹, 2¹, 4¹
- (iv) Change *-tsy-* > *-ch-*
 Sāñci Sk. *matsya* > *macha*- L 494
- (c) Palatalisation of the dental *d*
- (i) Change *-dy-* > *-j-*
 Sāñci Sk. *Vaidya* > *Veja*- Mj 578
 Sk. *Vidyulguṇa* > *Vijugula*- Mj 428
 Bhar Sk. *Angāradya* > *Āgāraja*- L 687 L 688²
 Sk. *Vidyādhara* > *Vijadhara*- L 749
 Sk. *Adyakālaka* > *Ajakalaka*- L 795
 Bāsim Sk. *caturvedya* > *cātuvveja*- EI 26 152¹⁵
- (ii) Change *-d-* > *-j-* with and without *i*
 Sāñci Sk. *Aditi* > *Ajiti*- L 264, L 519
 Pauni Sk. *pādukā* > *pajugā*- EI 24 14
- (d) Palatalisation of the dental *dh*
- (i) Change *-dhy-* > *-jh-*
 Centr Gr Sk. *madhyama* > *majhima*- L 157
 Sāñci Sk. *Vindhya* > *Vijha*- L 579,
 also cf. *Podavijhaka*- L 483 and *majhima*- L 270
 Bhar Sk. *madhakīya* > *majhakīya*- L 769
- (c) Palatalisation of the nasals *ṇ* and *n*.
- (i) Change *-ny-* > *-ñ-*
 Sāñci . Sk. *Punya* > *Puñā*- L 366, L 403
- (ii) Change *-ny-* > *-ñ-*
 Centr Gr Sk. *Kaundinya* > *Kodñā*- L 881
 Sāñci Sk. *Dhanya* > *Dhañā*- L 450
- (f) Palatalisation of the cluster *-ps-*
- (i) Change *-ps-* > *-ch-* :
 Bhar . Sk. *apsaras* (also *apsarā-*) > *acharā* L 744, L 745.

35 Cf. Sk. $\sqrt{kṣap}$ > \sqrt{jhap} -. Sk. $\sqrt{kṣar}$ > \sqrt{jhar} -.

- (g) Change
- ry-*
- >
- j-*
- occurs in the fourth cent A.D.

Bāsim

Sk *maryādā* > *-majjātā*- EI 26.152¹⁰.Sk *drya* > *-jja-* has almost obtained the value of a suffix cf *Jvu-jja-* EI 25.152¹⁰ etc§ 287 Cerebralisation In the following instances mostly the dentals are cerebralised under the influence of *r*, vocalised or unvocalised

- (a) Cerebralisation of the dental
- t*
- .

- (i) Change
- rt-*
- >
- l-*

Sāñci

Sk *Kṛtakajñu-* > *Kalakajñu-* L 262Sk *Mandalākṣikṛtikū* > *-kaḷikū-* L 318 and *-kadika-* Mj 341¹

Bhar

Sk *Bhojakṛta-* > *Bhojakata-* L 723,also cf *Bīhikamadikata* L 728All these are place names. In other cases *-l* is not cerebralised cf Sk *kṛtā* > *kata*¹⁶ at Sāñci (L 345) and Sk *avakṛta* > *vokata* at Bhar (L 771)

- (ii) Change
- rt-*
- >
- l-*
- : We got only a few examples

Sāñci

Sk *Kṛti* > *Kḷi* Mj 316 (V 324 and H 230 exclude Sk *kṛti* from the operation of this law)Sk *Matsyavarta* > *Macarata* L 494

- (iii) Change
- r-l-*
- >
- l-*

Sāñci

Sk *prati* > *pal-* in *palikamaṭṭṛika-* L 248 and *palapajeyā* Mj 389

Bhar

Sk *pratisandhi-* > *patīsandhi-* L 777

- (iv) Change
- rtr-*
- >
- l-*
- in a probable example

Bāsim

Sk *Bhartr-deva-* > *Bhulṭi-deva-* EI 26.152¹¹(b) Cerebralisation of the dental *th* Almost exclusively it occurs in the word *artha-*

- (i) Change
- rth-*
- >
- th*
- ¹⁸
- .

Sāñci

Sk *Artha-* > *Atha-* L 181Sk *Anarthika-* > *Anathika* Mj 456

Bhar

cf *atha-* L 844

- (ii) Change
- rth-*
- >
- th-*
- or
- dh-*

Bhar

Sk *prathamā-* > *paṭhama-* L 712

Bāsim

Sk *prathamā-* > *'paṭhama-* > *padhama-* EI 26.153²⁸

- (c) The dental
- d*
- is cerebralised in still fewer cases

- (i) Change
- rd-*
- >
- d-*

Sāñci

Sk *Chardika-* > *Chadika-* L 380

- (ii) Change
- dr-*
- >
- d-*

Sāñci

Sk *¹Udraka-* > *Odaka-* L 511Sk *Kṣudra-* > *Cuda-*⁹ L 301, L 349

- (d) Cerebralisation of the dental
- dh*

- (i) Change
- rdh-*
- >
- dh-*

Sāñci

Sk *Vṛddha-* > *Vadha-* L 20836 Also cf *kata-* in Centr Gr (L 150)37 cf however, Sk *nartaka-* > *nataka-* Math I (L 100²⁹)38 The dental is preserved in Sk *Siddhārtha-* > *Sidhatha-* L 32639 But cf *cuda-* L 347.

(ii) Change *-rdh-* > *-ḡh-* :

Sāñci	Sk <i>Dharmavardhana</i> > <i>Dhamavaḡhana</i> L 234, L 351 etc Also cf <i>Bhogavadhana</i> ⁴⁰ L 264 , <i>Puñavadhana</i> L 403 Sk <i>vardhaki</i> > <i>vadhaki</i> Mj 545
Bhar	cf <i>Bhogavadhana</i> L 797

It is very important to note that in very late inscriptions like those at Bāsim *dh* is not cerebralised cf

Sk <i>ardhaka</i> > <i>āddhaka</i> EI 26 152 ¹⁰
Sk <i>vardhamka</i> > <i>vaddhamka</i> EI 26 151 ⁸

(e) Cerebralisation of the nasal *n*

The nasal *n* is fairly well preserved in the earlier inscriptions of this division In the Bāsim plates of the fourth cent AD, however, the change *n* > *ṇ* is almost universal

(i) Change *n-* and *-n-* > *ṇ-* and *-ṇ-*

Sāñci	Sk <i>Nāga</i> > <i>Nāga</i> L 431 Sk <i>Gonada</i> > <i>Gonada</i> Mj 615 Sk <i>dānā</i> > <i>dāṇa</i> (rarely) Mj 759
Bāsim	Sk <i>myukta</i> > <i>ṇuyutta</i> EI 26 151 ⁶ ; Sk <i>idānim</i> > <i>dām</i> EI 26 151 ⁸

(ii) In terminations the dental *n* is only sometimes cerebralised after *a* as in Sanskrit

Centr Gr (Besnāgar)	Sk <i>putrena</i> > <i>putrena</i> L 669 ¹ , also cf <i>Helodorena</i> L 669 ² , but cf Sk <i>varsena</i> > <i>vasena</i> L 669 ² Sk <i>trini</i> > <i>trini</i> L 670 ¹
Bhar	cf <i>putena</i> and <i>pautena</i> L 687 But in the same ins cription we also get <i>Vāchīputena</i>
Kosam	We get only the dental cf <i>putena</i> EI 18 159 ⁹
Silah	We get <i>-putena</i> EI 22 26 1 ¹ , 2 ² etc
Bāsim	We get the cerebral even when not required in Sanskrit Sk <i>senāpatinā</i> > <i>senāpatinā</i> EI 26 153 ²⁹ , also cf <i>etāna</i> EI 26 152 ¹⁷ etc etc

(b) Cerebralisation of the cluster *-ñ-*(i) Change *-ñ-* > *-n-* occurs very late

Bāsim	Sk <i>ājñapti</i> > <i>ānatti</i> EI 26 151 ⁷
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III CONSONANT CLUSTERS

§ 288 The consonant clusters are as usual assimilated to the stronger of the two consonants and are represented orthographically as a single consonant In the Bāsim plates however, they are represented with a double symbol Some of the clusters are dissolved by svarabhakti and a few still are preserved As in other groups the treatment of important clusters alone is exemplified below

§ 289 Consonant clusters with stops

(a) Clusters with sibilant + gutturals The guttural if unaspirated is aspirated due to the sibilant

40 But we get *Bhogavadhana* (L 266) and *Adha-porika* L 600,

- (1) Change *-šk-* > *-kh-* :
 Centr. Gr . Sk *puṣkarwī-* > *pukharwī-* L 907.
 Sāñci . Sk **Pauṣkara-* > *Pokhara-* L 337, L 370 etc.
- (b) Clusters with sibilant + cerebrals The unaspirated cerebral is usually aspirated
- (i) Change *-st-* (or *-str-*) > *-ṣh-* .
 Sāñci . Sk **lasti-* > *laṣhi-* L 200
 Bāsim . Sk *rāṣṭrā-* > *-rattha-* EI 26.152²⁰
- (ii) Change *-sṣh-* > *-ṣh-* .
 Centr Gr . Sk *anusṣhita-* > *anuṣhita-* L 670¹
 Sāñci . Sk *Vāṣṣhī-* > *Vāṣhi-* L 346
 Sk *śreṣṣhin-* > *seṣhi-* L 148, L 248 etc
 Bhar . Sk *Jyeṣṣhabhadra-* > *Jeṣhabhadra-* L 855 ;
 also cf *Vāṣhi-* L 885
 Math II . Sk *pratiṣṭhāpita-* > *paṭiṣṭhāpita-* L 125 a¹
 Bāsim . Sk *Jyeṣṣha-ārya-* > *Jeṣṣha-rya-* EI 26 152^{14 15}
- (iii) Change *-sth-* > *-ṣ-* by loss of aspiration
 Bhar . Sk *śreṣṭhaka-* > **Seṣhak-* > *Seṣaka-* L 838
- (iv) Change *-ṣṣh-* > *-th-* by loss of cerebral character
 Sāñci . Sk *śreṣṣhin-* > *sethi-* L 206, L 246 etc
- (c) Clusters with sibilant + dentals The unaspirated dental is aspirated
- (i) Change *st* > *th* in all positions
 Sāñci . Sk *stambha-* > *thabha-* L 338, L 585
 Bhar . Sk *Stūpadāsa-* > *Thupadāsa-* L 798
 Sk *Bahuhastika-* > *Bahuhathika-* I. 754, L 902
- (ii) Change *sth* > *th* in all positions
 Sāñci . Sk *sthāvira-* > *thera-* L 451
 Bhar . cf *Therā|kū|ta-* L 858
 Bāsim . Sk *dharmasthāna-* > *dhūmmatthāna-* EI 26 152²⁰
- (d) Clusters with *r* + dentals¹¹ The cluster is assimilated to the dental
- (i) Change *-rt-* > *-t-*
 Sāñci . Sk *bhartṛka-* > *bha|tṛ|ka-* Mj 425
 Bhar . Sk *Dhūrta-* > *Dhuta-* L 845
- (ii) Change *-rth-* > *-th-*
 Kosam . Sk *sārthavāha-* > *sathavāha-* EI 18 159²
- (iii) Change *-rdh-* > *-dh-*
 Centr Gr . Sk *vardhamāna-* > *vadhamāna-* L 669⁷
- (e) Clusters with sibilants + labial . The unaspirated labial is aspirated
- (i) Change *-ṣp-* > *-ph-* or *-pph-* .
 Math I . Sk *Puṣpaka-* > *Puphaka-* L 97¹
 Bāsim . Sk *pūṣpa-* > *-puppha-* EI 26 152²¹

§ 290. Consonant clusters with the semivowel *y*

(a) Clusters with stop + *y* The cluster is mostly assimilated, but sometimes it is also dissolved by svarabhakti For palatalisation of dentals in combination with *y* cf above § 286

41. For cerebralisation cf. above §287.

(i) Change *iy* > *i*

Sāñci	Sk <i>Jyotsnaka-</i> > <i>Jonhaka-</i> L 310
Bhar	Sk. <i>Jyeṣṭhabhadra-</i> > <i>Jethabhadra-</i> L 855
	Sk. <i>rājyā-</i> > <i>raja-</i> L 687

(ii) Change *-dy-* > *-diy-*

Bhar	Sk <i>Kodyāni-</i> > <i>Koḍiyāni-</i> L 816
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In L 756 we get *Kodāya-* where probably we have to read *Koḍiya-*

(iii) Change *-ty* > *-tiy-*

Bhar	Sk <i>cailya-</i> > <i>cetiya-</i> L 699
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(b) Clusters with the semivowel *ɾ* + *y* The treatment is rather varied(i) Change *-ry-* > *-y-* by assimilation

Math I	Sk <i>bhāryā-</i> > <i>bhayā-</i> L 97 ¹ , L 100 ¹
Centr Gr	Sk <i>ārya-</i> > <i>aya-</i> L 154, also cf <i>Sāñci</i> (L 171 etc.) and <i>Bhar</i> (L 690 etc.) also <i>bhāryā-</i> L 882)

(ii) Change *-ry-* > *-tiy-* by svarabhakti

Centr Gr	Sk <i>ācāryā-</i> > <i>ācariya-</i> L 158
Sāñci	Sk <i>Sūryā-</i> > <i>Surīyā-</i> L 545, also cf <i>ācariya-</i> L 340
Bhar	Sk <i>bhāryā-</i> > <i>bhāriyā-</i> L 712 etc

(iii) Change *-ry-* > *-ɾ-*

Bhar	Sk <i>tūrya-</i> > <i>tura-</i> L 743
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(c) Clusters with the semivowel *l* + *y*(i) Change *-ly-* > *-l-*

Centr Gr	Sk <i>Maudgalyāyana-</i> > <i>Mogalāna</i> L 153
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(d) Clusters with the semivowel *v* + *y*(i) Change *-vy-* > *-v-*

Sāñci	Sk <i>vyudīna-</i> > <i>vudina</i> L 199
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(e) Clusters with sibilants + *y* The clusters are usually assimilated to the dental sibilant *s* in all places (for the change of *-sy-* > *-s* cf the gen sg terminations of the masculine nouns etc.)

(i) Change *śy* and *sy* > *s*

Centr Gr	Sk <i>Kaśyapa-</i> > <i>Kasapa-</i> L 158
Sāñci	Sk <i>Pusyagiri-</i> > <i>Pusagiri-</i> L 182 etc
	Sk <i>Tisya-</i> > <i>Tisa-</i> L 447
Bhar	Sk <i>Vipaśyin-</i> > <i>Vipaśi-</i> L 779, also cf <i>Kasapa</i> L 760, and <i>Pusā-</i> L 729 etc
	Sk <i>śisya-</i> > <i>sisā-</i> L 692
Math II	cf <i>sismi-</i> L 117 ¹¹

(ii) Change *-sy-* > *-h* is exceptionally met with in the following instance

Sāñci	Sk <i>śisya-</i> > <i>siha-</i> (?) L 659
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§ 291 Consonant clusters with the semivowel *ɾ* Generally the cluster is assimilated to the stop. In a few instances, however, the cluster is preserved

(a) Clusters with stop + *ɾ*(i) Change *-kr-* > *-k-*

Sāñci	Sk <i>śakra-</i> > <i>Saka-</i> L 257 etc
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42 cf Hemacandra, ii, 63 and PISCHEL's note thereon. It could also be derived from Sk *tura-*

- Bhar . Sk. *cakravākā* > *cakavāka*- L 735 ,
also cf. *dharmacaka*- L 750, *bodhicaka*- L 861 etc.
- (ii) Cluster *-kr-* is preserved.
Bhar . Sk. *avakrānti* > *okramti*- L 801
- (iii) Change *gr* > *g* in all positions
Sāñci Sk. *grāma* > *gāma*- L 182 etc
Bhar . Sk. *nyagródha* > *ngodha*- L 755
- (iv) Cluster *-gr-* is preserved probably in a loan word in the Bāsim plates of the fourth cent AD
Bāsim . Sk. *nigraha* > *-nigraha*- EI 26 153²⁷ ,
- (v) Change *-jr-* > *-r-*
Sāñci Sk. *Vapagupla* > *Vangula*- L 164 etc
- (vi) Change *lr* > *l* (or *-lt-*) in all positions
Math I Sk. *putra* > *-puta*- L 97¹.
Centr Gi Sk. *Ajamula* > *Ajamula*- L 672 ,
also cf. *puta*- L 152, L 156 etc
Sāñci Sk. *ketra* > *chela*- L 227, also cf. *puta*- L 194 etc ,
-mta- L 169 etc
Bhar Sk. *Trikolika* > *likolika*- L 765 ,
also cf. *Saghamula*- L 759 etc
Bāsim Sk. *ihāmūtrika* > *ihāmūtika*- EI 26 152²⁸
- (vii) The cluster *tr* is preserved even in some early inscriptions
Math I Sk. *Vālsīputra* > *Vachīputra*- L 9²
Sk. *Gaupliputra* > *Goliputra*- L 92 a
Centr Gi Sk. *trāti* > *trātāra*- L 669⁶
Sk. *trīm* > *vim*- L 670¹
Sk. *putra* > *putra*- L 669⁶
- (viii) Change *-tr-* > *-tar-* by svarabhakti
Math II Sk. *mātre* > *mātare*- L 125 a¹
- (ix) Change *-dr-* > *-d-*
Sāñci Sk. *Bhadraka* > *Bhadaka*- L 262
Bhar Sk. *Subhadra* > *Sabhadā*- L 745
- (x) Cluster *-dr-* is preserved in a few examples
Centr Gr Sk. *Bhāgabhadra* > *Bhāgabhadra*- L 669⁶
Bhar Sk. *Jyesthabhadra* > *Jethabhadra*- L 855
- (xi) Change *pr* > *p* in all positions
Math I Sk. *prāsāda* > *pāsāda*- L 93, L 97¹
Centr Gi Sk. *Prasannaka* > *Pasanaka*- L 154
Sāñci Sk. *pramāna* > *pamāna*- L 200
Sk. *Nāgapriya* > *Nāgapriya*- L 339 etc
Bhar Sk. *suprāversa* > *supāvasa*- L 726 ,
also cf. *pāsāda*- L 776
Math II Sk. *pratīthāpita* > *patīthāpita*- L 125 a¹
- (xii) The cluster *-pr-* is rarely preserved
Centr Gr Sk. *apramāda* > *apramāda*- L 670²

- (xiii) Change
- br-*
- >
- b-*
- .

Sāñci . Sk. *Brahmadatta* > *Bahadata*- L 241Bāsim Sk. *brāhmanā* > *bāmhana*- EI 26 152¹⁷

- (xiv) The cluster
- br-*
- is preserved in some inscriptions at Bhar. cf.
- brāmhana*
- L 810, and at Bāsim cf.
- brāmhana*
- EI 26 153
- ²⁷
- .

- (xv) Change
- bhr-*
- >
- bh-*
- .

Sāñci Sk. *bhrāt-* > *bhātu*- L 255, L 450

- (b) Clusters with the semivowel
- v*
- +
- r*
- . The cluster is always assimilated to
- v*
- cf. Centr Gr. Sk.
- pravrajita*
- >
- pavajita*
- L 674

- (c) Clusters with sibilant +
- r*

- (i) Change
- śr*
- or
- sr*
- >
- s*

Math I Sk. *śramanā* > *samana*- L 93Sk. *śnāvaka* > *sāvaka*-⁴¹ L 93Sāñci Sk. *sahāsra* > *sahasa*- L 742, also cf. *samanā*- L 720Bhar cf. *samana*- L 336, *sāmanera*- L 184

- (ii) Change
- śr-*
- >
- sr-*
- or
- ser-*
- .

Sāñci Sk. *śrī-* > *sri-* L 770 etc., *ser-* L 874Bhar cf. *sri-* L 269 etc

292 Consonant clusters with the semi-vowel *v* Except in a few instances, the cluster is usually assimilated

- (a) Clusters with stop +
- v*

- (i) Change
- kv-*
- >
- k-*
- :

Bhar Sk. *kvatha* > *katha*- L 707

- (ii) Change
- {v-*
- >
- {uv-*
- .

Bhar Sk. *Latvā* > *Latuvā*- L 825

- (iii) The cluster
- {v-*
- is once preserved in a later inscription

Math II Sk. *satva-satva* > *sava-satva*- L 125 a⁴

- (iv) Change
- dv-*
- >
- d-*
- and
- b-*
- in numeral

Sāñci Sk. *dvī du* Mj 783*bo* Mj 433Bāsim Sk. *dvī do*- EI 26 152¹⁷

- (v) The cluster
- dhv-*
- is once preserved in a loan word

Centr Gr . Sk. *garudadhvaja* > *garudadhvaja*- L 669¹.

- (b) Clusters with the semivowel
- r*
- +
- v*
- .

- (i) Change
- rv-*
- >
- v-*

Centr Gr Sk. *sārva* > *sava*- L 156Sāñci cf. *sava*- L 338Bhar Sk. *pārata* > *pavata*- L 707Sk. *Pūnarvasu* > *Punāvasu*- L 831.Math II cf. *sava*- L 125 a⁴

- (c) Clusters with sibilant +
- v*
- .

- (i) Change
- śv*
- or
- sv*
- >
- s*
- in all positions

Math I Sk. *Aśvā* > *Asā*- L 97²Centr Gr Sk. *Aśvadeva* > *Asadeva*- L 684

44 But here very probably we have to read *śrāvaka*-

Sāñci	: Sk <i>Viśvakarma</i> > <i>Viśakama</i> - L 173 , also cf <i>Asaguta</i> - L 399, <i>Asadevā</i> - L 618
Bhar	Sk. <i>tapasvīn</i> > <i>tapasī</i> - L 692 Sk. <i>svāmika</i> > <i>sāmika</i> - L 767, L 858
Math. II	. Sk. <i>svaka</i> > <i>saka</i> - L 125 a ²
Sāñci	Sk. <i>asvāraka</i> > <i>asavāraka</i> - L 381.
Bhar	cf <i>asavārikā</i> - L 728

(ii) Change *-sv-* > *-sav-* occurs rarely

Centr Gr.	Sk. <i>svargā</i> > <i>svaga</i> - L 670-
Sāñci	Sk. <i>Asva</i> > <i>Asva</i> - in proper names cf L 241, L 244, L 355, L 405, L 550 Sk. <i>Viśva</i> > <i>Viśva</i> - L 359 Sk. <i>Svātīgupta</i> > <i>Svatīguta</i> - L 242 Sk. <i>Svetapatha</i> > [Sv]etapatha- Mj 89 ¹

§ 293 Consonant clusters with sibilants

(a) The cluster *ks* is either assimilated to *kh* or palatalised to *ch*. The latter treatment is already discussed above under palatalisation cf § 286

(1) Change *kṣ* > *kh* (or *-kkh-*) in all positions

Math I	Sk. <i>rakṣita</i> > <i>-rakhita</i> - L 92, L 93
Centr Gr	Sk. <i>bhikṣu</i> > <i>bhikkhu</i> - L 671
Sāñci	Sk. <i>dākṣmātyi</i> > <i>dakhmāñi</i> - L 548 Sk. <i>Yakṣa</i> > <i>Yakhila</i> - L 580 . also cf <i>bhikkhu</i> - L 574 etc
Bhar	Sk. <i>dakṣinā</i> > <i>dakhma</i> - L 742 . also cf <i>yakha</i> - L 726 etc, <i>bhikkhuni</i> - L 720, L 764 etc.
Math II	cf <i>Budharakhila</i> - L 125 a ¹
Bāsim	Sk. <i>pakṣā</i> > <i>pakkha</i> - EI 26 153- ² Sk. <i>kṣīrā</i> > <i>-kkhira</i> - EI 26 152- ¹

(b) The cluster *-rṣ-* or *-rś-* is assimilated to *s*

Centr Gr	Sk. <i>varṣā</i> > <i>vasa</i> - L 669 ²
Bhar	Sk. <i>Sudarśana</i> > <i>Sudasana</i> - L 790

§ 294 Consonant clusters with the aspirate *h*. The cluster *rh* is dissolved by svarabhakti by the addition of three different vowels

(1) Change *-rh-* > *-rah-*

Math I	. Sk. <i>Arhat</i> > <i>Arahata</i> - L 100 ¹ , L 100- ² , L 103
Sāñci	cf <i>Araha</i> - L 196, L 243 etc
Bhar	. cf <i>Arahaguta</i> - L 777

(ii) Change *-rh-* > *-rih-*

Sāñci	cf <i>Arīha</i> - L 497
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(iii) Change *-rh-* > *-rāh-* :

Sāñci	cf <i>Arāhagutā</i> - Mj 586 ¹
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§ 295 Consonant clusters with Nasals. The treatment of such clusters follows closely their treatment in other groups. The nasal which is turned into anusvāra is not necessarily represented everywhere in writing. In the Bāsim plates of the fourth century A.D. the clusters with nasals are preserved

(a) Clusters with the nasal *n* .

(1) The cluster *-ng-* is preserved

Bāsim . Sk *angāraka-* > *-angāṭka-* EI 26 153²².

(b) Clusters with the nasal *ñ* .

1 The cluster *ñ* is generally assimilated to *ñ* , it is cerebralised⁴⁵ only, exceptionally

(1) Change *ñ* > *ñ* by assimilation

Centr Gr Sk *raññah* > *rañho* L 669²

Sāñci Sk *ñāñi-* > *ñāñi-* L 338

Sk *Kṛtakajñu-* > *Kaṭakañu-* L 262.

Bhar cf *rañho* L 687, L 882

2 The cluster *ñc* generally becomes *c*

(1) Change *-ñc-* > *-c-*

Sāñci Sk *pañca-* > *paca-* L 299

Bhar cf *paca-* L 867

(11) The cluster *-ñc-* is preserved in the word *-mañca-* in the Bāsim plates cf EI 26 153²⁴

3 The cluster *ñj* becomes *j*

Sāñci Sk *Kuñjara-* > *Kujara-* L 255, L 287

Bhar. cf *Kujara-* L 820

(11) The cluster *-ñj-* is preserved in *kapiñjala-* in the Bāsim plates. cf EI 26 152¹⁰⁻¹¹

(c) Clusters with the nasal *n*

1 In the assimilation of the cluster *mn* the cerebral character is sometimes lost.

(1) Change *-mn-* > *-n-* .

Math I . Sk *sauvarṇika-* > *sovan[ika]-* L 92 a.

Sāñci Sk *Suvarṇa-* > *Sona-* L 178, L 645

Sk *Śālakarni-* > *Sātakan-* L 346

(11) Change *-mn-* > *-n--*

Sāñci Sk *Suvarṇa-* > *Sona-* L 218

Sk *vyudīrṇā-* > *rudmā-* L 199

Sk *Karna-* > *Kana-* L 393

Bhar Sk *Pūrnakiya-* > *Punakiya-* L 786

2 The cluster *mn*

(1) Change *-mn-* > *-nh-* :

Sāñci . Sk *Kṛṇamitra-* > *Kanhamitra-* Mj 822.

Sk *Viṣṇumitra-* > *Vṛṇhumita-* Mj 749

Bāsim cf. *Venhu-* EI 26 152¹²

(11) Change *-mn-* > *-nh-*

Sāñci cf *Vṛnhukā-* L 592

Bhar cf *Kanhila-* L 833

3 The cluster *nd*

(1) Change *-nd-* > *-mḍ-* or *-ḍ-* .

45 cf above § 287 (f).

- Centr. Gr · Sk *Kaundmya* > *Koḍiṇa*- L 881.
 Sāñci · *Bhaṇḍuka* > *Bhamḍuka*- L 194, L 367 etc
 Sk *Pāṇḍu* > *Pāḍu*- L 571, L 576.
 Bhar. *Kaṇḍarīkī*- (?) > *Ka[m̐]darīkī*- L 748
 Sk *Danḍa* > *Daḍa*- L 696.

(ii) The cluster -nd- loses its cerebral character and becomes d.

Centr. Gr Sk *Kaundmī* > *Kodmī*- L 157

(iii) The cluster -nḍ- is preserved in the Bāsim plates cf *danda*- EI 26 153²⁷⁻²⁸.

4. The cluster *ny* is palatalised cf § 286(e) above

(d) Clusters with the nasal *n*.

1. The cluster *gn* is assimilated to *g*

(i) Change -*gn*- > -*g*-.

Sāñci : Sk *Agm*- > *Ag*- L 176, L 302 etc

(ii) But -*g-n*- > -*gan*-.

Bhar : Sk. *Ḍig-nāga* > *Ḍiganaga*- L 723

2 The cluster (*t*)*sn*.

(i) Change (*t*)*sn* > *nh* in all positions

Sāñci Sk *Jyotsnaka* > *Jonhaka*- L 310

Sk *snusā* > *nhusā*- L 201

(ii) Change *sn* > *h* :

Sāñci Sk *snusā* > **nhusā* > [*hu*]sā- L 219

(iii) Change *sn* > *n* .

Sāñci Sk *snusā* > *nusā*- L 307

3 The cluster -*nt*- is preserved and -*ndr*- > -*nd*- in the Bāsim plates cf *hemanta*- EI 26 153⁸, and *canda*- EI 26 152⁸

4 The cluster *ny* is assimilated to *n* or to *ñ*

(i) Change *ny* > *n* :

Sāñci Sk *anyā* > *āna*- L 340, L 350

Bhar Sk *nyagródha* > *ngodha*- L 755

(ii) Change -*ny*- > -*ñ*- by palatalisation cf § 286(e) above

(e) Clusters with the nasal *m*

1 The cluster -*tm*- > -*p*-.

Bāsim · Sk *āmānah* > *āpuno* EI 26 151⁸

2 The cluster -*dm*- > -*dum*- by svarabhakti

Bhar Sk *Padmāvalī* > *Pudumāvālī*- L 746

3 The clusters with sibilant + *m*

(i) Change *śm* or *sm* or *sm* > *s* or *ś*

Sāñci · Sk *smaśāna* > *susāna*- L 697

Bhar · Sk *amaśāna* > *susāna*- L 697

Kosam Sk *aśmikā* > *aśikā*- EI 18 159¹²

(ii) Change -*śm*- > -*mh*- or -*hm*- in the pronoun.

Bāsim · Sk *asma* > *amha*- EI 26 151⁶ and *āhma*- EI 26.151⁷.

4. The cluster *hm* becomes *h* or is preserved.

(i) Change -*hm*- > -*h*-.

- Sāñci Sk *Brahmadatta* > *Bahadata*- L 241
 (ii) The cluster *-hm-* is preserved either as *-hm-* or as *-mh-*.
 Bhar Sk. *Brahmadeva* > *Brahmadeva*- L 788 ; also
 cf. *bram[h]ana*- L 810
 Bāsim cf. *bāmhana*- EI 26.152¹⁷, and *brāmhana*- EI 26 153²⁷
 5 The cluster *-mr-* > *-b-* :
 Sāñci Sk *Āmra* > **Ambra* > *Aba*- L 184.

MORPHOLOGY

A DECLENSION

§ 296 Bases ending in *-a* and *-ā*

(a) Masculine and Neuter nouns in *-a*

Nom sg Mas (1) <i>-o</i> commonly	Nom pl Mas (1) <i>-ā</i>
used	Sāñci <i>pātakā</i> L 350
Math I <i>pāsōdo</i> L 93, L 97 ²	Bhar <i>thabhā</i> L 778, L 796
Centr Gr <i>patilo</i> L 697	Silah <i>kāntā</i> EI 22 36.2 ³ , 4 ¹
<i>cāgo</i> L 970 ²	Bāsim <i>bhāgā</i> EI 26 152 ¹⁷
Sāñci <i>thabho</i> L 338, L 585	
Bhar <i>yakho</i> L 726, <i>dāno</i> ⁴⁰ L 845	
Math II <i>Bodhisaco</i> L 125 a ¹	
Bāsim <i>bhāgo</i> EI 26 152 ¹⁸	

(ii) *-e* is very rare

Centr Gr <i>-dhvaje</i> L 669 ¹
Bhar <i>pāsāde</i> L 776

(iii) In a Bhar inscription (L 814) *devaputa* and *Arahaguta* are probably used without terminations

Acc sg Mas (1) <i>-am</i> (the anusvāra is sometimes dropped)	Acc pl Mas (1) <i>-e</i>
Centr Gr <i>svaga</i> L 670 ²	Bhar <i>sise</i> L 692,
Sāñci <i>Kāsapagotam</i> L 654 ¹ , <i>vināyaka</i> L 654 ¹	<i>sīgāle</i> L 697
Bhar <i>katha</i> L 707	Bāsim <i>parihāre</i> EI 26 152 ¹⁶

(ii) *-e*

Nom sg Neut (1) <i>-am</i> (the anusvāra is sometimes dropped)	Nom pl Neut (1) <i>-m</i>
Math I <i>toranam</i> L 93.	Centr Gr <i>padāni</i> L 670 ¹ , <i>anuḥhitāni</i> L 670 ¹
Centr Gr <i>dānam</i> L 154, L 671	Bhar <i>sisām</i> L 741,
Sāñci <i>katam</i> L 345. <i>dānam</i> and <i>dāna</i> <i>passim</i>	<i>sahasām</i> L 742.

- Bhar** *dhamacakam* L 750,
āsana L 902
- (ii) -e this is very rare.
- Sāñci** [*dane*] L 526
- Acc. sg Neut.** (i) -am (the anusvāra is dropped sometimes).
Sāñci *ānam* L 340, *torana* L 340
- (ii) -e
Sāñci *se[la]kame* L 350
- Inst. sg.** (i) -na **Inst pl** (i) -hi .
- Centr Gr** *Gomātakena* L 150 **Sāñci** . *Vedisakehi* L 345,
Bhar *samthalena* L 731 *damtakārehi* L 345
Vāchīputena L 687
- (ii) -na, or -nam (ii) -him
- Centr Gr** *putrena* L 669^s **Bāsim** *likhitehim*
Hārūtiputenam L 987 *EI* 26.153²⁷
- Bhar** *putena* and
paulena L 687
- Dat sg** (i) -ya
Sāñci *bhagāya* M 805
Bhar *-sāmāṇkāya* L 777
- (ii) -yā .
Bhar *ahāyā* L 844
- (iii) -ye
Math II *hitasukhāye* L 125 a¹
- Abl sg** (i) -ā is of frequent occurrence
Centr Gr *upamā* L 669¹
Sāñci *Kuragharā* L 232, L 425 etc ,
Pokharā L 370, L 482, etc
Bhar *Vedisā* L 712, L 780 etc , *Pālakputā* L 719, L 816
- (ii) -a, probably the shortened form of -ā
Sāñci *Kurghara* L 230 , *Nadinagara* L 462, L 465 etc
Aboda Mj 793.
Bhar *Karahakaḥa* L 763, L 809 , *Nāsika* L 799
- (iii) -āto is used in a few instances
Sāñci *Kurarāto* L 289, L 428 etc , *Pokharāto* L 479
Vedisāto L 273, *Nadinagarato* Mj 485¹
Bhar *Vedisāto* L 835
- (iv) -atu .
Sāñci *Kāpāsīgāmatu* L 515¹
- Gen sg** (i) -(a)sa . **Gen pl** (i) -nam
- Math I** *nalakasa* L 200^{2a} **Sāñci** . *Tāpasīyānam* L 219
Puphakasa L 97¹ L 307 etc
Centr. Gr *Sāripulasa* L 152 *-putānam* L 469 etc
Sapūrisasa L 160 etc **Bhar** *Suganam* L 687,
Sāñci *Nāgilasa* L 571 L 688¹
gāmasa L 571. *devānam* L 743.

Bhar	: <i>Visadevasa</i> L 687	(ii) -na	
	<i>bodhicakasa</i> L 866.	Sāñci	: <i>-misāna</i> L 273
Math II	<i>vāyakasa</i> L 117 ^B	Bhar.	<i>dāyakana</i> L 782
(ii) -(ā)sa :		(iii) -nā	
Math I	: <i>sāvakāsa</i> L 93.	Sāñci	<i>tāpastyanā</i> L 220
	<i>Māharakhilāsa</i> L 93		<i>paṭikamakārikānā</i>
Sāñci	<i>Tisāsa</i> Mj 504		L 248.
	<i>Dhamayasāsa</i> Mj 455	Math II	<i>savasatvānā</i> L 125 a ² .
		(iv) -na	occurs in later inscriptions.
		Basim	: <i>bāmhanāna</i>
			<i>EI</i> 26 152 ¹ .

(iii) -si or -sīm used only in Basim plates

Basim *Ruddajjesi EI* 26 152¹¹

Jṇuḷjesīm EI 26 152¹⁰

Loc sg (i) -e		Loc pl -su	
Sāñci	<i>Achāvade</i> L 339,	Basim	<i>Ākāsapaddesu</i>
	L 348		<i>EI</i> 26 151 ⁶ .
	<i>nagare</i> Mj 103 ¹		
Bhar.	<i>susāne</i> L 697 ;		
	<i>pavate</i> L 707		
Math II	<i>viḥāre</i> L 125 a ² ;		
	<i>gane</i> L 117 ^A		
Silah	<i>pavate EI</i> 22 56 15		
(ii)			
Sāñci	: <i>Morasthikaṭi</i> L 265		
(iii) -mhi or -mhmhi			
Bhar.	<i>tīramhi</i> L 881		
Silah	: <i>karayamṭamhi</i>		
	<i>EI</i> 22.36 1 ¹		

(iv) In an inscription at Bhar (L 902) *Bahuhathika* is used in the sense of Locative probably without the use of termination

(b) Feminine nouns ending in -ā

Nom sg (i) -ā		Nom pl (i) -yo	
Sāñci	<i>silā</i> Mj 737, M 741	Sāñci	<i>silayo</i> Mj 433
Bhar	<i>devatā</i> L 717,	(ii) -ā :	
	<i>sabhā</i> L 702	Bhar	<i>devatā</i> L 740.
(ii) -a			
Bhar	<i>Sudasana</i> L 790		
	<i>Sivala</i> L 709 ;		
	<i>silā</i> L 710		
Acc sg -a :			
Sāñci	<i>radika</i> L 340		
Inst sg -ya			
Math	<i>bhayāye EI</i> 24.205,		

Ab. sg. (1) -yā :

Bhar. . *Purikāyā* L 782, L 837 etc

Gen. sg (1) -ye of greater frequency

Gen. pl. (1) -nā

Math I *bhayāye* L 100^{2a}, L 103,
Asāye L 97

Sāñci *upāsikānā* L 214,
 L 417.

Centr. Gr. . *Nadikāye* L 674

Nāvagāmikānā L 214.

Sāñci *Himadatāye* L 224 ,
Yasilāye L 247 ,
Muladatāye L 221 etc

Bhar *Ghosāye* L 872 ,
bhayāye L 882, etc

(ii) -ya is used less frequently than -ye

Sāñci *Devabhāgāya* L 168 , *Subhagāya* L 179 ,
Isimūlaya L 230

Bhar *Somāya* L 817 , *Nāgasenāya* L 719 , etc

(iii) -yā . This is also used less frequently than -ye .

Sāñci *Majhamāyā* L 270 , *Samakayā* L 533

Bhar *Nāgadevāyā* L 819 , *Nāgīyāyā* L 778

(iv) -e (< -ye) occurs only in later inscription.

Math II *Sādūtāe* L 117^B.

Loc sg (1) -yam (?)

Math II . *khā[yam]* L 117^A. This is only what remains
 of a village name

§ 297 Bases ending in -i and -ī .

(a) Masculine nouns ending in -i

Nom sg -i .

Bhar *bodhi* L 714, L 722, L 760.

Basim . *anattī* EI 26.151⁷.

Acc sg -i :

Bhar *giri* L 711

Inst sg (1) -na :

Bhar *Dhanabhūlma* L 687

(ii) -nā used in very late inscriptions

Basim *senāpatinā* EI 26.153²⁰

Abl. sg (1) -mhā :

Sāñci . *Māhamoragirimhā* L 189, L 313

Bhar . *Moragirimhā* L 778, L 796 ; *kuchimha* L 881.

(ii) -mā .

Bhar . *Moragirimā* L 860

Gen sg (1) -no used more frequently than -sa

Gen. pl. (1) -nam

Sāñci . *nātinam* L 338.

Centr. Gr. . *Dhamagirino* L 673

Sāñci . *Pusagirino* L 182 ,
Devagirino L 299 ,
gahapatino L 193,
 L 201 etc.

Bhar *Budhno* L 725 ,
Sakamunno L 739 ,
gahapatno L 725 etc.

(ii) -sa

Sāñci *Sātakaṃsa* L 346 , *Dhamagīsa* Mj 732 ;
Nigaḍisa L 377.

Bhar *Dhanabhūtsa* L 859

Loc sg (1) -mī

Bhar *Moragīramī* L 808

(b) Feminine nouns in -ī

Nom sg -ī

Sāñci *paṃānalaḥī* L 200 *suci* Mj 734²

Bhar *suci* L 823, *okraḥī* L 801 , *kulī* L 732

Acc sg -īmī

Sāñci *gatīm* Mj 389²

Gen sg -yā

Sāñci *Kūṭiya* Mj 316

(c) Feminine nouns in -ī

Nom sg (1) -ī

Centr Gr *pukharīmī* L 907

Pauni *-patī* EI 24 15

(ii) -ī

Bhar *yakhī* L 793 , *devī* L 709 , *yakhīmī* L 790 etc

Inst. sg -ye

Math II *Amohā-āstye* L 125 a¹

Abl sg (1) -yā This termination is very common

Sāñci *Asavatiyā* L 355 , *Ujēnyā* L 212, L 219 etc

(ii) -yā

Sāñci *Mahisatiyā* L 375 , *Ujēnyā* L 172

Bhar *Kākamdiyā* L 817

(iii) -ye (This may perhaps be Loc sg term)

Sāñci *Ujēnyē* L 302, L 405, L 412

(iv) -to occurs very rarely

Sāñci [*Uje* ?] [*m*] *to* Mj 725

Gen sg (1) -ye

Sāñci *devīye* L 189 ;
bhichunye L 254 etc.

Bhar *bhichunye* L 761,
L 806 etc

Gen pl (1) -nam

Sāñci *bhikhunnam* L 368
bhichunnam L 542

(ii) -yā

Sāñci *Tāpastiyā* L 256 ,
paṇḍavatiyā L 206.
L 359

Bhar *bhikhunyā* L 778,
L 819

(ii) -nā

Sāñci *bhichunnā* L 163.

- (iii) *-ya* .
 Sāñci . *Cirāṭiya* L 239 ;
Yakhīya L 344, etc
 Bhar *Maghādeviya* L 691.
bhichumya L 723,
 L 851 etc
- (iii) *-na* .
 Sāñci *bhikhunna* Mj 780¹.
- (iv) *-e* (< *-ye*) occurs in later inscription
 Math II *sūmie* L 117 B
 Loc sg (?) *-yam*
 Sāñci *gotiyam* Mj 793²
- § 298 Bases ending in *-u* and *-ū*
 (a) Masculine nouns ending in *-u*
 Nom sg *-ū*
 Bhar *Jabū* L 708
 Inst sg *-na*
 Basim . *Venhuna* EI 26 153¹⁰
 Abl. sg *-yā* .
 Sāñci *Kaṭakañuyā* L 262.
 Gen. sg (1)¹ *-no* This is more fre- Gen pl *-nam*
 quent Sāñci *bhichunam* L 301,
 Centr G₁ *bhikhuno* L 671 L 454
 Sāñci *bhichuno* L 275 etc ,
Bhaḍuno L 493
 Bhar *Vesabhuno* L 714,
Punāvasuno L 831
- (ii) *-sa*
 Sāñci *Bumusa* L 408
- (b) Feminine nouns ending in *-ū*
 Nom sg *-u*
 Bhar *vadhu* L 697
 Gen sg *-ya*
 Bhar. *Koḍuya* L 647
- § 299 Bases ending in *-r*
 (a) Masculine nouns in *-r*
 Nom sg *-ā*
 Bhar *ketā* L 731
- Inst pl *-hi*
 Math II *mātāpūṭhi* L 125 a².
 Gen pl *-na*
 Bhar *mātāpūṭuna* L 844
- Gen sg *-u* .
 Sāñci *bhātu* L 255, L 294
-pūtu L 331, L 486
- (b) Feminine nouns ending in *-r*
 Inst sg *-e* .
 Math II *mātare* L 125 a¹
 Gen sg *-u*
 Centr Gr *mātu* L 679.
 Sāñci *-mātu* L 165, L 227 etc , *dihitu* Mj 667, Mj 734¹.

Bhar *mātu* L 821, L 839, *dhutu* L 718.

§ 300. Bases ending in consonants

(a) Mas nous in -at

Nom sg -ā

Math I *bhagavā* L 101

Kosam *bhagavā* EI 18.159⁴⁴

Acc sg -o

Bhar *bhagavato*⁴¹ L 753, L 774

Gen sg (1) -o The term. is coex-

Gen pl -nam

tensive with -sa

Math I *arahatānam* L 100^{1a}.

Math I *arahato* L 103

Sāñci *bhagavato* L 200

Bhar *bhagavato* L 714,

L 722 etc

Math II *bhagavato* L 117^A

(ii) -sa

Centr Gr *Hemavatasa* L 156

Sāñci *Arahasa* L 420, Mj 473

Bhar *Srimasa* L 849

Loc sg -e

Bhar *Himavate* L 884

(b) Masculine nouns in -an

Nom sg -ā

Bhar *rājā* L 709, L 751, *Nāgarājā* L 735, L 752.

Inst sg -ā

Bhar *atenā* (?) L 880

Gen. sg (1) -ño

Centr Gr *raño* L 669⁴

Sāñci *raño* Mj 825

Bhar *raño* L 687, L 882

(ii) -no

Bhar *rājano* L 689

(iii) -ne

Bhar *rājne* (?) L 892

(iv) -sa rather less frequent

Sāñci *Mahānāmasa* L 496, *Visa[ka]masa* L 173

(v) -no

Basim *āpuno* EI 26 151⁸

(c) Masculine nouns in -as

Abl sg -ā

Sāñci *subhagapathā* Mj 161¹.

Gen -sa

Gen pl -na

Math. I *Phaguyaśasa* L 100^{1a}

Sāñci *Datamāsana* Mj 464².

Sāñci *Soyasasa* L 384;

Sumanasa L 614

47 cf. *bhagavato vamdte*.

Loc sg -e .

Sāñci *Kācupatthe* L 274¹

(d) Feminine nouns in -as .

Nom sg -ā .

Nom. pl -ā .

Bhar *acharā* L 744, L 745

Bhar *Sudhāvāsā* L 740

Gen sg (i) -ye .

Sāñci *Dhamayasāye* Mj 360.

(ii) -yā

Sāñci *Dhamayasāyā* L 410

(c) Masculine nouns in -m

Nom sg -i

Nom. pl -(n)a .

Bhar *Vijayi* L 749 ,

Sāñci *pāpakāri(n)a* Mj 389¹

Dighatāpasi L 692

Inst sg -nā

Centr Gr *-atevāsina* L 150

Gen sg (i) -no

Centr Gr *atevasino* L 155, L 680

Sāñci *sethmo* or *sethmo* L 184 L 206 etc

atevāsino L 185, L 299 etc

Bhar *Vipasino* L 779 , *amtevāsino* L 800

(ii) -sa

Math I *āmtevāsisa* L 93

Sāñci *Nādivirodhisa* L 204 , *sethisa* or

sethisa L 339, L 348, L 581

Bhar *mahamukhisa* L 718

(f) A few other bases

(i) Mas noun in -ti Nom sg -i

Bhar *Pasenajī* L 751

(ii) Mas noun in -ut Gen sg -sa .

Bhar *Āgarajusa* L 687

(iii) Gen sg mas ending in -j -sa yet this may be -a base cf Sk *vāṃja-*

Sāñci *vāṃjasa* or *vāṃjasa* L 269, L 355

(iv) Fem noun *dīs* The loc sg form is probably used without termination :

Bhar *dīsa* L 740, L 741, L 742

PRONOUNS

§ 301 Demonstrative pronouns

(a) The pronominal base *idam*

Nom sg Mas

Centr Gr. *ayam* L 669¹

Nom sg Neut

Basim *imam* EI 26 153²⁹

(b) The pronominal base *etad*

Inst pl

Basim *eteḥ* EI 26 152²⁷,

Gen pl .

Basim *etāna EI 26 152¹⁷*

§ 302 Relative Pronouns .

(a) The base *yad*

Nom sg. Mas .

Sāñci *yo L 340, L 350*Basim *jo EI 26.153²⁰*

Acc. sg Mas

Bhar *yam L 810*

Nom sg. Fem

Kosam *yam EI 18 159¹²*

§ 303 Personal Pronouns

(a) The first personal pronoun

Inst pl

Basim *āhmehim EI 26.151⁷*(b) The base *tad*

Nom sg Mas

Nom pl

Sāñci *so L 340*Sāñci *te L 350*

Nom sg Neut

Basim *tam EI 26 152²⁰*

Gen. sg :

Sāñci *tasa L 350*Basim *se EI 26 152¹⁹, tissa EI 26 153²⁷*

§ 304 Some other bases

(a) The pronoun *sarva-*

Nom pl Mas -e

Sāñci *save Mj 389¹*

Gen pl -nam

Sāñci *savūnam L 338*

-na

Sāñci *savna L 654¹*

NUMERALS

§ 305 CARDINALS

(i) two

Sāñci *bo Mj 433, du Mj 783²*Basim *dohi (Inst) EI 26 152¹⁵*

(ii) three .

Centr Gr *trin (Nom pl) L 670¹*Basim *tmā (nom pl Mas) EI 26 152¹⁷*

(iii) five

Sāñci *paca L 299*Bhar *paca L 867*

(iv) six

Bhar *cha L 742, L 785*

(v) ten

Math II, *dasa L 125 g.*

(vi) fourteen .

Centr Gr *caludasa* L 669⁷

§ 306 Ordinals

(i) first :

Bhar *paṭhama-* L 712Basim *padhama-* EI 26 153²⁸

(ii) fourth

Basim *cauttha-* EI 26 152¹⁸

CONJUGATION

§ 307 Present Indicative

(a) Active .

Third pers sg *-ti*

Bhar *anusāsati* L 692 *do*
hati L 707, *sāsati*
 L 777, *deti* L 731, *dati*
 (< *dā*) L 901
ñati L 697 . According
 to HULTZSCH the word
 stands for Sk *ñātri*
 as *ketā* stands for Sk
kretā But very likely
 it is the third person
 singular form of
 √*ñā* < Sk √*ñā*-
 Basim *anumamati*
 EI 26 153²⁶

First pers pl *-ma*

Basim *vitārāma*
 EI 26 152¹⁹⁻²⁰

Third pers pl *-anti* .Centr Gr *nayanti* L 670²

Present Indicative (b) Middle

Third pers sg *-te*Bhar *vadate* L 753 , *varidate* L 774

§ 308 Imperative Mood

Third per sg *-tañ*

Kosam *piyatan*
 EI 18 159¹¹

Second pers pl (i) *-dha*

Basim *rakkhadha*
 EI 26 153²⁵

(ii) *-pe-dha* (causal) .

Basim *rakkhāpedha*
 EI 26 153²⁶

§ 309 Potential Mood

Third pers. sg (i) *-yā*

Sāñci *sañkāmeya* L 340,
 L 350
gacheya Mj 389-
 L 350 ,
upādeyā I. 340, L 350

First pers pl *-jāma*Basim *karejjāma* EI 26 153²⁸Third pers pl *-yu*Sāñci *bhaveyu* L 350(ii) *-pe-ya* (causal)Sāñci *[upā]dāpeya* L 350 .

(iii) *-jja*Basim *karejja EI 26.153^{2a}.*

§ 310 Aorist

Third pers sing

Bhar *avayesi L 810*

PARTICIPLES

§ 311 Present Participles . *-amta*Silah *kārayamta- EI 22 361¹*

§ 312 Past Passive Participles

(i) *-na* The termination does not appear in later inscriptions.Sāñci *Araha dīna- L 265 etc , Isi-dīna L 483*Bhar *dīna- L 738, upamna- L 687*(ii) *-ta*Math I *kārta- L 100^{1b}*Centr Gr *rakhita- L 155 , palita- L 677*Sāñci *Araha-pāhita- L 322 , Isi-guta- L 355 , etc., etc*Blau *kata- L 689¹ , mā(o)cita- L 881 , etc , etc*Math II *patihāpita- L 125a¹*

§ 313 Potential Passive Participle

(i) *-lavva-*Basim *bhāmlavva- EI 26 151¹*

§ 314 Absolutives

(i) *-ttā*Basim *karettā EI 26 153^{2a}*(ii) *-ya*Sāñci *upādāya (< Sk upādāya) L 654²*

CHAPTER V

HISTORICAL LINGUISTICS OF THE EASTERN GROUP

Prakrit Inscriptions of Eastern India

§ 315. INTRODUCTORY

The inscriptions comprising this group are only forty in number and thus they do not compare at all in this respect with the other groups. They are very widely scattered from the Basti and Gorakhpur districts in U. P. to the Bogra dist. in Bengal and the Puri dist. in Orissa. But for the inscriptions of Khāravela, the material afforded for study by this group is rather scanty. In point of time the inscriptions almost mark a halt in the 2nd cent. B.C. and thus render a comparative study of the later centuries impossible. The following paragraphs are added with a view to supplying the necessary information about these inscriptions.

1. Piprāhwā Buddhist Vase Inscription (L. 931) The find-spot (Piprā) of the vase is situated in the Biradpur Estate of the Basti Dist., half a mile from the Nepalese frontier and fourteen miles south-east of the ruins of Kapilavastu. PEPPER excavated a stūpa and in its stone-chamber found a number of relic vessels. Round the rim of the lid of one of the stone vessels runs the present Prakrit inscription. It is incised in Brāhmī characters of the Maurya type, but it lacks long vowels. The script can be regarded as even a little earlier than the one found in Aśokan inscriptions and hence this record is the earliest one known in India.

2. Sohgaurya Copper Plate Inscription (L. 937) Sohgaurya (Sohga) is a village on the right bank of Rāptī, about fourteen miles south-south-east from Gorakhpur in the United Provinces. The type of Brāhmī characters used in this copper plate seems to belong to an early date in the Maurya period. The method of spelling presented in it, which is characterised by the absence of long vowels (except once in the fourth line), certainly justifies its being assigned to so early a date as that.

3. Rāmgarh (Sītābengā and Jogīmārā) Cave Inscriptions (L. 920-L. 921). The hill is situated in the District of Sirgūja, Chhota Nagpur Division. The characters of the inscription are Aśokan. There is one Prakrit inscription in the Sītābengā (Sītā) cave (L. 920) and one in the Jogīmārā (Jogī) (L. 921). The characters in the latter inscription lack the use of long vowels whereas the length of the vowels *ā* and *ū* is marked in the former.

The language of the Jogīmārā inscription is pure Māgadhī, more closely connected with the Māgadhī of the grammarians than that of the Aśokan inscriptions. It is characterised by an exclusive use of *ś*, absence of *ṛ*, and the employment of final *-e* instead of *-o*. The linguistic remarks made below in the detailed analysis are likely to be imperfect in some points as the exact meaning of the inscriptions is not yet definitely ascertained.

4. Bodh-Gayā Inscriptions (L. 939-L. 948) It (Bodh) is situated in the Gayā Dist. of Bihar. Out of the sixteen inscriptions included by LUDERS in his list only ten are inscribed in Prakrit. The rest are written either in Sanskrit or in mixed dialect. All the Prakrit inscriptions are found on Aśoka's railing and consequently they date from the middle of the third century B.C. They are the most valuable part of

the old railing and their characters prove beyond doubt that the railing must be as old as the time of Aśoka. One of the inscriptions is found repeated on several of the pillars of which CUNNINGHAM in his *Mahābodhi* has given four examples (L 939-L 942). LUDERS notes that there seem to be two more copies of this inscription

5 *Mahāsthān Inscription*¹ The place Mahāsthān (Mahāsth) is situated in Bogrā Dist of Bengal. The short inscription in Prakrit is written in Brāhmī characters of the Aśokan period

6 *Two New Barābar Hill Inscriptions*² These two Prakrit inscriptions from the Barābar hill, about 15 miles to the north of Gayā in Bihar, are different from the Aśokan Inscriptions found there. Both of them give a single word *Gorathagiri*—which is probably the old name of the hill. The Brāhmī characters of the inscriptions belong to the third century B.C.

7 *Udayagiri and Khandagiri Cave Inscriptions* (L 1342-L 1353 b) These Prakrit Inscriptions offer very important epigraphic material in the Brāhmī alphabet from the Udayagiri and Khandagiri hills (Udaya) in the Puri Dist of Orissa. In this collection of inscriptions, ten belong to the former and five to the latter hill.

The date of Khāravēla's Hāthugumphā inscription falls in the middle of the second century B.C. Though there is some slight variation in the dates of these inscriptions, e.g. L 1353 is written in characters distinctly later than those employed in L 1346-L 1348, yet all of them have been treated here together for the sake of convenience. This adjustment does not materially affect the linguistic treatment from the historical point of view, firstly because the material presented by the inscriptions which are later than those of Khāravēla and his queen is very scanty and secondly because the later material does not point to any linguistic variation.

LUDERS has listed twelve inscriptions from these caves. To this collection BARUA³ has added two more inscriptions which I number as L 1353 a (BARUA'S No. V) and L 1353 b (BARUA'S No. XIII). I have based my linguistic treatment of these inscriptions entirely on the readings accepted by BARUA.

"Judged by the sound system and syntax the language of the old Brāhmī inscriptions is very nearly Pāli, the language of the Buddhist Tripiṭaka preserved in Ceylon, Siam and Burma. The exceptional cases of spelling and pronunciation are important as enabling the reader to detect the undercurrent of a dialect having affinity, in respect of its phonetics, with Ardhamāgadhī, the language of the extant Jaina Āgama.

For example in these inscriptions and in Pāli *o* is never represented by *e*, as it is done in Ardha Māgadhī. Similarly unlike Ardha-Māgadhī it does not indiscriminately centralise the dental *n*. Together with Pāli and Ardha Māgadhī it does not change *r > l*"⁴

8 *Sāranāth Inscriptions* (L 921 a-L 921 e) Sāranāth (Sāran) is situated about three and a half miles to the north of Benares. Besides Aśoka's famous minor pillar edict, it gives us many other inscriptions mostly in Sanskrit and Mixed dialect. A few of the inscriptions found here have not yet been read. Below I have dealt with only five inscriptions which are in Prakrit. L 921 a appears on a railing stone whereas the rest appear on railing pillars. L 921 a and L 921 d are written in Brāhmī

1 Not listed by LUDERS. D. R. BHANDARKAR, *EI* 21 83-91

2 Not listed by LUDERS. V. H. JACKSON, *JBOR* 1 159 ff

3 *Old Brāhmī Inscriptions in the Udayagiri and Khandagiri Caves*, Calcutta, 1929

4 cf *ibid.* p. 157

characters of about the second century B.C. L 921 b, L 921 c and L 921 e, no doubt appear in the Aśoka characters but the first and the last of these three have not been read as yet.

9 Pātnā Statue Inscriptions (L 957-L 958) Outside the city of Pātnā in Bihār, two statues were found each bearing an inscription. Their characters are somewhere about the beginning of the Christian era. The inscriptions give the names of Yakṣas which are rather obscure. CUNNINGHAM notes, "Their names have not yet been read satisfactorily as some of the letters are doubtful owing to the deeply cut parallel folds of scarves on which they are engraved".

10 Kāsiā Stone Inscription (L 937 a) Kāsiā is situated thirty-five miles due east of Gorakhpur, a Dist. place in the United Provinces. A fragment of a sand-stone containing four akṣaras, of which only the last one is entire, was found there. The characters are Brāhmī of the early Kushana type. From the reading of the inscription which runs as *ya-ku-sa-na* no sense can be made out.

11 Rājgir Inscription (L 958 a) The inscription found at Rājgir, incised in characters of the Kushana type, is too defaced to be intelligible.

12 Khairīgarh Inscription (L 686) This inscription incised on a stone horse comes from a place in the Kheri Dist. on the border between Oudh and Nepāl. It is inscribed in the Gupta characters and only a fragment of it remains.

§ 316 Note The table below indicates the chronological distribution of these inscriptions.

	Period	Inscription	No
1	3rd cent B.C.	L 931, L 937, L 920-921, L 939-L 948, plus three additions	17
2	2nd cent B.C.	L 1342-L 1353 plus 2 additions, L 921 a-L 921 c	19
3	1st cent A.D.	L 957-L 958, L 937 a (L 958 a)	3
4	4th cent A.D.	L 686	1

PHONOLOGY

I VOWELS

§ 317 Treatment of the Sk. vowel *r*. It becomes *a*, *i* or *u* in these inscriptions.

(a) Change *-r-* > *-a-*

Sitā	Sk. <i>hrdaya-</i> > <i>hadaya-</i> L 920 ¹
Udaya	Sk. <i>lṛtīya-</i> > <i>latīya-</i> L 1345 ²
	Sk. <i>prakṛti-</i> > <i>pakati-</i> L 1345 ¹
	Sk. <i>gṛha-pati-</i> > <i>gahapati-</i> L 1345 ³
	Sk. <i>sal-kṛta-</i> > <i>sakata-</i> L 1345 ¹

(b) Change *-r-* or *-r* > *-i-* or *-i*

Piprā	Sk. <i>bhrātr-</i> > <i>bhati-</i> L 931
Udaya	Sk. <i>bhrngāra-</i> > <i>bhungāra-</i> L 1345 ⁴
	Sk. <i>hṛtā-</i> > <i>hita-</i> L 1345 ⁵
	Also cf. <i>bhāti-</i> L 1345 ¹

The examples of this type of change are less numerous than *r* > *a*. Unlike other groups, some of the words expressive of human relationship show the change *-r* > *-i*.

(c) Change $i > u$:

Udaya. . Sk. *duhulī-* > *dhutu-* L 1346²

This change is very rare. The final *-u* is probably due to assimilation

§ 318. Treatment of the Sk diphthongs *ai* and *au*. Sk *ai* and *au* become *e* and *o* respectively.

(a) Change *ai* > *e*

Bodh . Sk *cātyaka-* > *ceṭika-* L 943

Udaya . Sk *vaiḍūrya-* > *veḍuriya-* L 1345^{10, 16}

Also cf *cetiya-* L 1345¹⁵

(b) Change *au* > *o*

Udaya . Sk *yauvarājya-* > *yovaraja-* L 1345²

Sk *yauvāna-* > *yovana-* L 1345²

§ 319. Treatment of Sk *aya* and *ava*. Sk *aya* and *ava* usually become *e* and *o* respectively in these inscriptions. But in a good many examples *-aya-* is preserved

(a) Change *-aya-* > *e-*

Udaya . Sk *layana-* > *lena-* L 1345¹¹ etc

Sk *janayat-* > *janeta-* L 1345¹¹

Sk $\sqrt{kāraya-} > (vasī-)k(ā)retī$ L 1345¹¹ etc

(b) Change *-ava-* > *-o-*

Udaya . Sk *vyavacchinnā-* > *-vochinnā-* L 1345¹⁴

§ 320. Treatment of the Sk vowel *a*. This vowel is generally preserved in all positions. It undergoes however, a few changes that are noticed below

(a) Change *a* > *ā* in a metrically long syllable. This change, it is to be noted, does not occur in all cases

Sitā . Sk *rakla-* > *rāla-* L 920

Udaya . Sk *vārtman-* > *-vīla-* L 1345¹

(b) Change *a* > *ā* due to metathesis

Sohga . Sk *ātyāyika-* > *atyāyika-* L 937¹

(c) Change *a* > *i* through the influence of *y*

Bodh . Sk *cātyaka-* > *ceṭika-* L 943

Udaya . Sk *hastyaśva-* > *hathisa-* L 1345¹. This is however, doubtful

§ 321. Treatment of the Sk vowel *ā*. The vowel *ā* is fairly well preserved in these inscriptions. Yet sometimes it is shortened to *a* in the following circumstances

(a) Change *ā* > *a* before a consonant cluster

Bodh . Sk *Tāmrāparṇa-* > *Tabarṇa-ka-* L 946

Udaya . Sk *ārya-* > *arya-* L 1345¹

Sk *rāṣṭrika-* > *raṭhika-* L 1345⁶, etc

(b) Change *ā* > *a* before the terminations

Bodh . Sk *Jivā-putrā-* > *Jivāputa-ye* L 943, but it is preserved in *ayā-ye* L 939 etc

Udaya . Sk *Mathurā* > *Ma(dhu)ra-m* L 1345¹

(c) Change *ā* > *a* at the end of the first member of a compound. Such examples are rather rare

Udaya . Sk *senā-vāhana-* > *sena-vāhana-* L 1345^{8, 12}

6. This derivation is suggested by M. BOYER

7. cf similar change in *gāṅgā-yamuna-sangame* in *Mbh.* 5.118.14.

- (d) There are a few instances where $\ddot{a} > a$ without any apparent reason.

Sitā	Sk \ddot{a} - $\sqrt{d\dot{i}p}$ - > a - $\sqrt{d\dot{i}p}$ - L 920 ¹
Udaya	Sk. prasāda - > pasata - L 1353.
Sāran	Sk \ddot{a} labana - > $\text{ala}[\text{m}] \text{bana}$ - L 921 a

§ 322. Treatment of the Sk vowel i Though the vowel is usually preserved, the following changes merit attention

- (a) Change $i > \ddot{i}$ in a metrically long syllable
- | | |
|-------|--|
| Udaya | Sk. cāturvimsatī > catuvisatī L 1345 ² ,
also cf panatīsa L 1345 ⁴ |
| Sāran | Sk Sīmā - > Sihā - L 921 c |
- (b) Change $i > e$ in a metrically long syllable
- | | |
|-------|---|
| Udaya | Sk nī - $\sqrt{kāsaya}$ - > ne - $\sqrt{kāsaya}$ - L 1345 ¹¹ |
|-------|---|
- (c) Change $i > u$ due to the presence of v
- | | |
|-------|---|
| Udaya | Sk dvitīya - > dutiya - L 1345 ¹ |
|-------|---|
- (d) The vowel is initially elided in the following example .
- | | |
|-------|--|
| Udaya | Sk idānīm > $\text{dān}(i)$ L 1345 ² |
|-------|--|

§ 323 Treatment of the Sk vowel \ddot{i} The long vowel i is very well preserved. It is shortened to i only in the following instances

- (a) Change $\ddot{i} > i$ before terminations
- | | |
|--------|---|
| Rāmag | Sk vasantī - > vasanti-yā L 920 ² |
| Bodh | Sk prajāvatī - > pujāvati-ye L 943 |
| | Sk Kurāṅgī - > Kurāṅg, ye L 939 |
| Udaya | Sk māhiṣī - > rāja-mahisī-hi L 1345 ¹⁴ |
| | Sk pranāḍī > panāḍi-m L 1345 ⁶ |
| Sāran. | Sk Bharnī - > $[\text{Bha}] \text{rnn-ye}$ L 921 d |
- (b) Change $\ddot{i} > i$ occurs irregularly in such cases as
- | | |
|-------|---|
| Sitā | Sk $\sqrt{d\dot{i}p}$ - > $\sqrt{d\dot{i}p}$ - L 920 ¹ |
| Udaya | Sk dvitīya - > dutiya - L 1345 ¹ ,
also cf tatiya - L 1345 ^{2, 4} |
| | Sk nūtī - > niti - L 1345 ⁵ etc |

§ 324 Treatment of the Sk vowel u The vowel u undergoes only a few changes

- (a) Change $u > \ddot{u}$ in a metrically long syllable
- | | |
|-------|---|
| Udaya | * cud-la - > $\text{cūla-ka}[\text{m}] \text{ma}$ - L 1349 |
|-------|---|
- (b) Change $u > o$ in a metrically long syllable
- | | |
|-------|---|
| Udaya | Sk udghāṭita - > oghāṭita - L 1345 ⁶ |
|-------|---|

(c) The vowel a appears in place of Sk u in the well known word garu -⁸ in the Sitā cave (L 920) and the vowel i in place of Sk u in the word purisa -⁹ in the Udaya. cave (L 1345³)

§ 325 Treatment of the Sk. vowel \ddot{u} . like the other two long vowels this is also preserved It is to be noted that in some of the earlier inscriptions in this group the length of the vowel is not marked as an orthographical peculiarity

- (a) Change $\ddot{u} > u$ before a consonant cluster.
- | | |
|--------|--|
| Udaya. | Sk pūrva - > puva - L 1345 ^{5, 10, 11}} etc |
|--------|--|

8. cf Sk gariyas - and gariṣṭha -.

9. To be derived from the base * pūrṣa -.

§ 326 Treatment of the Sk vowel *e* Though the vowel is well preserved the following few changes may be noted

- (a) Change *e* > *i* before a consonant cluster

Udaya Sk. *narendra* > *narida* L 1345⁸

This may also be due to peculiar Prakrit sandhi between *a* + *i* resulting in *i* instead of *e*.

- (b) Initially *e* is elided in Sk *evā* > *va* in the Sohgā copper plate (L 937) and in the Udaya inscription (L 1345²)

§ 327 Treatment of the Sk vowel *o*. This vowel too is well preserved

- (a) Change *o* > *u*, before a consonant cluster

Udaya Sk. *sarvodyāna* > *savuyāna* L 1345³

In this case also the vowel *o* which undergoes the change is due to sandhi between *a* + *u*.

II SIMPLE CONSONANTS

§ 328 The simple consonants are generally preserved in their initial position. In the medial position also they are usually preserved but in a few cases they undergo some changes which are only tendential in character and not universal. In the following discussion only such changes have been exemplified

§ 329 Gutturals

- (a) The change of a intervocalic surd to a sonant appears in the following instance

- (i) Change *-k-* > *-g-* occurs as early as the middle of the second century B.C.

Udaya Sk. *Prthūdaka* > *Pithudaga* (?) L 1345¹¹

- (b) The change of a intervocalic sonant to surd too has appeared in the second century B.C.

- (i) Change *-g-* > *-k-*

Udaya Sk. *Nāgi* > *Nāki* L 1352

- (ii) Change *-gh-* > *-kh-* :

Udaya Sk. *paṅgha* > *paṅkha* L 1345¹²

- (c) The loss of occlusion also has appeared in an example of equally early date.

- (i) Change *-kh-* > *-h-*

Udaya Sk. *śikhara* > *śihara* L 1345¹³

§ 330 Cerebrals The Sanskrit cerebrals, except the nasal, are well preserved. The nasal sometimes tends to become *n*

- (a) Change *-t-* > *-l-*

Joḡi Sk. *batu* > *balu*¹⁰ (?) L 921⁴

- (b) Change *-ṇ-* > *-n-* There are very few instances of this type of change.

Śitā Sk. *avarṇa* > *avana* L 920

Bodh Sk. *Tāmrāṇa* > *Tabaṇa* L 946

Udaya Sk. *lakṣaṇa* > *lakhana* L 1345¹

Sk. *śramaṇā* > *(sama)n[a]* L 1346¹ ;

but cf. *saman[a]* L 1342

Sāran Sk. *Bharīmī* > *[Bha]rimī* L 921 d

10 BLOCH notes that it is also possible to read the word as *bala* < Sk. *bālā*.

§ 331. Dentals :

(a) The change of surds to sonants occurs in the following instances :

(i) Change *-t- > -d-* The change has appeared even some time earlier than the 2nd cent B.C.Sītā Sk *kūtas* > *kudas-* L 920²This is according to BOYER who divides the word *kudasphata* as *kudas* and *phata* BLOCH, however, derives the whole word from Sk. *kundasphāta-*Udaya Sk *māhāmātra-* > **māhāmādra-* > *māhāmāda-* L 1352
This is rather doubtful(ii) Change *-th- > -dh-*Udaya Sk *prathamā-* > *padhama-* L 1345³Sk *rātha-* > *radha-* L 1345⁴, ⁷, ⁸Sk *Mathurā-* > *Ma(dhu)rā-* L 1345⁷.

(b) The hardening of a sonant into surd is rather rare

(i) Change *-d- > -t-*Udaya Sk *prasāda-* > *pasāta-* L 1353Sk *Ceti-* > *Ceta-(rāja)-* L 1345¹. This is, however, not quite certain(c) Change *d- > dh-* by initial aspiration occurs due to the presence of *h* in the neighbouring syllableUdaya Sk. *duhit-* > *dhutu-* L 1346²(d) Change *-d- > -r-* occurs only in numeralsUdaya Sk *pañcadaśā* > *paṃdarasa* L 1345²Sk *dvādaśa-* > *bārasa-* L 1345¹¹(e) Intervocal *-l-* is elided and *-v-* is developed due to contact with *ṣ* in the following ordinal :Udaya Sk *caturthā-* > *cavutha-* L 1345⁹§ 332 Labials Except the sporadic change of *-p- > -v-* and hardening of *-mb- > -mp-*, the labials are very well preserved(a) Change *-p- > -v-*Udaya . Sk *pana-* > *-vana-* L 1345⁷(b) Change *-mb- > -mp-*Udaya Sk *Kadamba-* > *Kadampa-* L 1347

§ 333 Semi-vowels We may note the following changes

(a) Initial *y-* is elided¹¹ inUdaya Sk *yé* > *e* L 920¹(b) Change *r > l* in all positions occurs at the following places.Piprah . Sk *śārira-* > *salila-* L 931Sk *saputradāra-* > *saputadala-* L 931.Sohga Sk *koṣṭhāgāra-* > *koṣṭhagala-* L 937²Sk *bhāraka-* > *bhālaka-* L 957³Jogī Sk *rūpadakṣa-* > *lupadakha-* L 921⁴Mahāsth Sk *Puṇḍanagara-* > *Puṇḍanagala-* EI 22 85².Also cf *koṭhāgāla-* EI 22 85³.11 Conversely initially *y-* is developed in *yeva* at Udaya. (L 1345⁸)

The change, however, is not effected in the inscriptions at Sitā., Bodh, Barābar hill, Udaya, and Sāran.

- (c) Change *-l-* > *-d-*

Udaya Sk *pāli-* > *-pādi-*¹² L 1345³

- (d) Change *-v-* > *-p-*

Udaya Sk *Kudeva-* > *Kudcpa-* L 1347, but there is also an alternative reading *Kadampa-* (cf above the change of *-mb* > *-mp-*)

§ 334 Sibilants Except the Jogī inscription which is written in Māgadhī, everywhere else all the three sibilants are merged into the single dental *s*

- (a) The palatal sibilant *ś*

- (i) Change *ś* > *s* in all positions.

Piprāh Sk *śārira-* > *sahla-* L 931

Sohga Sk *śāsana-* > *sasana-* L 937¹

Udaya Sk *śārira-* > *sarira-* L 1345²

Sk *praśastā-* > *pasatha-* L 1345¹

- (ii) Change *śr* > *ś*

Jogī Sk *śreyām* > *seye*¹³ L 921¹

- (b) The cerebral sibilant *ṣ*

- (i) Change *ṣ* > *s*

Udaya Sk *pāṣaṇḍa-* > *pāsamda-* L 1345¹

Sk *viśesa-* > *visesa-* L 1345¹⁷

- (c) The dental sibilant *s*

- (i) Change *s* > *ś* only at Jogī

Sk *Sutānukā-* > *śutanuka-* L 921¹³

Sk *devadāśi-* > *devadaśi-kyi-* L 921^{2, 3}

§ 335 Palatalisation We get very few instances of Palatalisation in this group

- (i) Change *-k-* > *-ky-*¹⁴ due to presence of *i*

Jogī Sk *devadāśi-kī-* > *devadaśi-kyi-* L 921^{2, 3}

- (ii) Change *-dy-* > *-ṭ-*

Udaya Sk *vidyādhara-* > *viṭadhara-* L 1345⁵

Sk *vidyāvādāta-* > *viṭāvādāta-* L 1345²

§ 336 Cerebralisation The law of cerebralisation by which usually the dentals are turned into cerebrals has also a very limited scope of operation in this group In the Western group it was pointed out that the tendency towards cerebralisation though not felt in earlier inscriptions became stronger with the march of time. That we do not get much material of a later period for study in this group prevents us from knowing whether similar cerebralisation was introduced in this group also at a late date.

- (a) Cerebralisation of the dental *t*

- (i) Change *-ṭ-* > *-t-*

Udaya Sk *vārtman-* > *vāṭa-* L 1345⁶

- (ii) Change *-ṛ-t-* > *-t-*

Udaya Sk *prati-* > *paṭi-* L 1345³, we also get *pati-* L 1345¹⁶.

12 But this *ḍ* (or *ḷ*) is earlier than Sk *-l-* cf Vedic *nadāh* s and *nalāh*, Sk. *nala-*.

13 BLOCH derives the word from Sk *śaya-*

14. cf similar change in Kāśī dialect in the Aś Inscr.

(b) Cerebralisation of the dental *th*

- (1) Change *-sth-* > *-/h-* in the forms of $\sqrt{sthā}$ -

Udaya Sk *samsthāpana-* > *-saṃṭh[ā]pana-* L 1345^d

(c) Cerebralisation of the dental *d* .

- (1) Change *-ṛ-d-* > *-ḍ-*

Udaya Sk *Prthūdaka-* > *Pṭhūḍaga-* L 1345¹¹ This is, however, doubtful.

(d) Cerebration of dental *n*

The tendency of changing *-n-* to *-ṇ-* is rather rare Pīprāh Sk *bhagmī-* > *sa-bhagmika-* L 931 In his initial notes FLEET¹⁵ says that *-n-* may be accidental for *m-* and that it may not have been intended But later on¹⁶ he changes his opinion and remarks that the cerebral *-n-* in *bhagmika-* is intentional It is on this ground that he differentiates the dialect of the present inscription from the Māgadhi of the Aśokan inscriptions What we have got to note is that there is no other example of cerebralisation in this inscription As will be shown below the dental *n* of terminations is also preserved after *ṛ*

Udaya The change on *-n-* > *-ṇ-* is observed only in the stock example *lena-* < Sk *layana* cf L 1345^{11, 1} etc

(11) The dental *n* of terminations, as also of conjugational sign and suffixes, is not changed to *n* after *ṛ* and *ṣ* as it is done in Sanskrit

Pīprā Sk *bhātṛnām* > *-bhaṭi-nam* L 931

Sk *dātṛnām* > *-dalanam* L 931

Udaya Sk *ṛṣṇām* > (1) *ṣṇam* L 1345¹¹

Sk *varṣām* > *vasām* L 1345¹¹

Sk *gopurānti* > *gōpurām* L 1345¹² etc

Sk $\sqrt{śru}$ -*nu* > \sqrt{su} -*na-* L 1345¹⁶

Sāran Sk *bhikṣunī-* > *bhikhunī-kā-* L 921 a

III CONSONANT CLUSTERS

§ 337 As in Prakrits in general a consonant cluster is assimilated to the stronger consonant but this assimilated conjunct is represented by a single symbol in inscriptions According to the method adopted in the previous chapters only the treatment of important clusters is exemplified below

§ 338 Consonant Clusters with Stops

(a) Clusters with sibilant + gutturals

- (1) Change *-ṣk-* > *-k-*, the assimilated cluster being unaspirated

Udaya Sk *m-* $\sqrt{kāsaya}$ - > *ne* $\sqrt{kāsaya}$ - L 1345¹¹.

(b) Clusters with sibilants + palatals

- (1) Change *-ṣc-* > *-ch-* Here the stop is aspirated

Udaya. Sk *paścīma-* > *pachīma-* L 1345¹

Sk *āścārya-* > *achārya-* L 1345¹⁸

(c) Clusters with sibilants + cerebrals

- (1) Change *-ṣ/-* > *-/h-* Thus the stop is aspirated

Udaya Sk *yajñi-* > *yaḥni-* L 1345¹⁹.

Sk *aśṭamā-* > *aṭhama-* L 1345⁷.

15 JRAS 1906 149, note 1.

16 JRAS 1907, pp 107-9.

- (ii) Change
- $-ṣṛ- > -ṭh-$

Udaya. Sk. *rāṣṭrika-* $>$ *-raṭhuka-* L 1345⁶

- (iii) Change
- $-ṣh- > -ṭh-$
- There is no example of the loss of cerebralisation

Sohga. Sk. *koṣṭhāgāra-* $>$ *kothagala-* L 937²

Mahāsth. cf. *kothāgāla-* EI 21 85⁶

Udaya Sk. *pratiṣṭhā-paya-* $>$ *paṭiṭṭhā-paya-* L 1345¹⁸

(d) Clusters with sibilants + dentals The unaspirated stop is aspirated For cerebralisation cf. § 336(b) above

- (i) Change
- $sl > th$
- in all positions

Udaya Sk. *praśasla-* $>$ *pasatha-* L 1345¹

Sk. *hastin-* $>$ *hathi-* L 1345¹ etc

Sk. *stambha-* $>$ *thambha-* L 1345¹⁵

- (ii) Change
- $sth- > -th-$

Udaya Sk. *piṣṭhā-paya-* $>$ *paṭhā-paya-* L 1345¹

(e) Clusters with semivowel y + dentals Cerebralisation of such clusters has already been discussed above in § 336

- (i) Change
- $-rt- > -t-$

Pijrāh Sk. *Sukīrti-* $>$ *Sukiti-* L 931

Udaya Sk. *supravarta-* $>$ *supavata-* L 1345¹⁴

- (ii) Change
- $-rdh- > -dh-$

Udaya Sk. *vārdhana-* $>$ *-vadhana-* L 1345¹ etc

- (f) Clusters with sibilant + labials

- (i) Change
- $sp- > ph-$

Sitā Sk. *ṣṛta-* \sim *phata-* L 920¹

This derivation is suggested by BOYLR¹. He also thinks that perhaps we have, to read *kudaspala-* instead of *kudasphata-* and separate the word as *kuda spala-*. In that case we find the initial cluster *sp-* preserved. According to BLOCH¹⁵ the word is to be derived from Sk. *kundasphāla-*

- (ii) Change
- $-sp- > -*sv- > -s-$

Udaya Sk. *Brhaspati-* $>$ **Brhasvati-* $>$ *Bahasati-* L 1345¹¹

- (g) Clusters with semivowel
- r
- + labial

(i) Change $-rp- > -mp-$ with the addition of a nasal denoting in all probability the doubling of the following stop

Udaya Sk. *darpa-* $>$ *dampa-* L 1345¹

§ 339 Consonant clusters with the semivowel y For palatalisation of such clusters cf. above § 335(ii)

- (a) Clusters with stop +
- y

- (i) Change
- $-ty- \vee -ṭiy-$
- by svarabhakti

Sohga Sk. *ātyāyika-* $>$ *atīyāyika-* L 937¹

Mahāsth. cf. *atīyāyika-* EI 21 85¹

Udaya Sk. *cātya-* $>$ *cetīya-* L 1345¹⁵

- (ii) Change
- $-try- > -ṭiy-$

Sohga Sk. *Tryavani-* $>$ *Ṭiyavani-* L 937²

17. Jour As Set 10.3 479 ff. *Mélanges d'Indianisme Offerts à M. S. Levi*, 121-8

18. ZDMG 58 456 ASI Ann Rep 1903-4 pp 124 ff.

- (iii) Change *-ty* > *-t-* by assimilation
 Bodh. Sk *cailyaka* > *cetika*- L 943
- (iv) Change *-d-y* > *-y* :
 Udaya. Sk *ud-yāna* > *-uyāna*- L 1345³
- (v) Change *-d-y* > *-ḍiy-*
 Udaya Sk *ṇṣad-yā* > *-ṇṣiḍiya*- L 1345¹⁴
- (b) Clusters with the semivowel *r* + *y*
- (i) Change *-ry* > *-riy-*
 Udaya Sk *vaiḍūrya* > *veḍurīya*- L 1345¹⁶
 Sk *āścarya* > *-achariya*- L 1345¹⁸
- (ii) Change *-ry* > **-riy-* > **-ria-* > *-ira-*
 Udaya. Sk *ārya* > *aira*- L 1345¹, L 1347
- (iii) Change *-ry* > *-y-*
 Sohga. Sk $\sqrt{kāry-}$ (< $\sqrt{kr-}$) > *kayiyatī* L 937⁴.
 Bodh. Sk *āryā* > *ayā*- L 939 etc
- (c) Cluster with the semivowel *l* + *y*
- (i) Change *-ly* > *-l-*
 Udaya Sk *kalyānā* > *kalāna* L 1345¹⁶
- (d) Cluster with the semivowel *v* + *y*
- (i) Change *vy* > *v-*
 Sohga. Sk *grahṣṭavya* > *gahṣṭava*- L 937¹
 Udaya Sk *vyavahāra* > *vavahāra*- L 1345¹
 Sk *vyavacchinna* > *vochinna*- L 1345¹⁶
- (e) Cluster with the sibilant + *y*
- (i) Change *-śy* > *-s-*
 Udaya Sk *paśyat-* > *pasamla*- L 1345¹⁶
- (ii) For the change *-sy* > *-s-* in termination cf below gen. sg. terminations under Morphology
- § 340 Consonant clusters with the semi-vowel *r*
- (a) Clusters with stop + *r*
- (i) Change *-kr* > *-k-*
 Udaya Sk *cakra* > *caka*- L 1345¹¹, ¹¹
- (ii) Change *gr* > *g*
 Sohga. Sk *grāma* > *gama*- L 937²
 Udaya Sk *āgra* > *aga*- L 1346¹ etc
- (iii) Change *tr* > *t-*
 Piprā. Sk *sa-putra* > *sa-puta*- L 931
 Sohga. Sk. *trikā* > *tika*- L 937¹
 Udaya Sk *chatra* > *chata*- L 1345¹⁶,
 Sk *sarvātra* > *savata*- L 1345¹, etc
- (iv) The cluster *-tr-* is probably preserved in the Bodh inscriptions cf Sk *Mitra* > *Mitra*- L 943, L 944 These readings, which have been perhaps accepted by LUDERS, appear to be correct. CUNNINGHAM, however, reads *Mita-*
 Similarly in L 943 and 944 CUNNINGHAM reads, and perhaps LUDERS follows, *jivāputa*- and *puta*- respectively At both these places the readings seem to me to be *-tr-* and not *-t-*.

- (v) Change
- ndr-*
- >
- md-*
- or
- d-*

Bodh Sk *Indrāgnī-* > *Imdāgi-* L 943, L 944 Perhaps here too we have to read *Imdrāgi-*

Udaya Sk *narendra-* > *narida-* L 1345¹

The cluster is represented as a double consonant only in a later inscription.

Khairi Sk *Samudragupta-* > [Samu]ddagutta- L 686.

- (vi) Change
- pr*
- >
- p*
- in all positions

Bodh Sk *prajāvali* > *pajāvali-* L 943

Sk *prāsāda-* > *pāsāda-* L 943

Udaya Sk *prahama-* > *padhama-* L 1345

Sk *apratihata-* > *apatihata-* L 1345¹², etc

- (vii) Change
- br-*
- >
- b-*

Udaya Sk *brāhmanā-* > *-bamhana-* L 1345⁹.

- (viii) Change
- hh-*
- >
- bh-*

Piprā Sk *bhratr-* > *bhali-* L 931

Udaya cf *bhāli-* L 1345¹¹

- (b) Clusters with sibilant +
- r*

- (i) Change
- sr-*
- >
- ś-*
- or
- s-*

Jogī Sk *śréyān-* > *śeye* L 921¹

BLOCH, however, derives it from Sk *śaya-* The palatal *ś* is preserved only in this inscription

Udaya Sk *śramanā-* > *samana-* L 1345¹.

- (ii) Change
- śr-*
- >
- sr-*

Udaya Sk *śrī-* > *sri-* L 1345¹

- (iii) Change
- sr-*
- >
- s-*

Udaya Sk *sahāstra-* > *sahasa-* L 1345¹ etc

- (c) Cluster with aspirate
- h*
- +
- r*

Udaya Sk *hrada-* > **hada-* > *-daha-* L 1345^{1,2}

§ 341 Consonant clusters with the semi-vowel *v*

- (a) Clusters with stop +
- v*

- (i) Change
- lv-*
- >
- l-*

Udaya Sk *catvara-* > *-catara-* L 1345^{1, 16}

- (ii) Change
- dv-*
- >
- duv-*

Sohga Sk *dvé* > *duve* L 937²

- (iii) Change
- dv-*
- >
- b-*
- in numerals

Udaya Sk *dvādaśā-* > *bārasa-* L 1345¹¹

- (iv) Change
- dhv-*
- >
- dh-*

Udaya Sk *dhvaja* > *-dhaja-* L 1345¹

- (b) Clusters with semivowel
- r*
- +
- v*

Sohga Sk *sārva-* > *sava-* L 937¹

Udaya Sk *pārva-* > *-puva-* L 1345^{8, 11} ;

also cf *sava-* L 1345¹ etc

- (c) Clusters with sibilant +
- v*

- (i) Change
- śv-*
- >
- s-*

Udaya . Sk *hastyaśva-* > *hathisa-* (?) L 1345¹².

(ii) Change *sv* > -s-

Piprā.

. Sk. *svakiya*- > *sakiya*- L 931. BARTH, however, derives it from Sk *śākya*- cf IA 26 177 ff 1907.

Udaya.

Sk *svāpateya*- > *sāpateya*- L 1345^a

§ 342 Consonant clusters with sibilants

(a) The cluster *ks* always becomes *kh* in all positions It is not palatalised to *ch* in any instance

Jog'

Sk *rūpadakṣa*- > *lupadakha*- L 921^b

Bodh

Sk *rakṣita*- > *-rakhita*- L 946

Udaya

Sk *lakṣana*- > *-lakhana*- L 1345¹.Sk *kalpavṛkṣa*- > *kāparukha*- L 1345⁸ etc

Sāran.

Sk *bhikṣumkā*- > *bhikkhumkā*- L 921 a

Pātnā

Sk. *Yakṣa*- > *Yakha*- L 957 L 958

(b) The cluster -t-s- >

Udaya

Sk. *ut-savā*- > *usava*- L 1345⁵

(c) The cluster -rś- >

Udaya

Sk *aksadarśa*- > *akhadamsa*- L 1351¹.Sk *saṃ√darś-* > *saṃ√'adamsa*- L 1345⁶Sk *sandarśana*- > *samdasana*- L 1345^{5,7}.

(d) The cluster -rś- > -s-

Udaya

Sk *varsā*- > *-vasa*- L 1345² etc

§ 343 Consonant clusters with the aspirate

(i) Change -rḥ- > -rah-

Udaya

Sk *Arhat*- > *Arahata*- L 1345^{9,10,11}, L 1346

(ii) Change -rḥ- > -rḥ-

Udaya

Sk *Arhat*- > *Ar(ṭ)hamta*- L 1345¹

§ 344 Consonant clusters with Nasals As elsewhere, only important treatments have been exemplified below

(a) Clusters with the nasal ñ

1 Clusters *ññ*- is only assimilated to *ñ*

Udaya

Sk *ññāli*- > *-ññāli*- L 1345¹¹2 The cluster *ñc*-, besides being represented as *mc* or *c*-, also becomes *n* and *md*

(i) Change -ñc- > -mc- or -c-

Sohga

Sk *Cañcu*- > *Cacu*- L 937¹

Udaya

Sk *pañcamā*- > *pancama*- L 1345⁶

(ii) Change -ñc- > -n- occurs only in a numeral

Udaya

Sk *pañcatrīmśat* > *pana-tiśa* L 1345⁴.

(iii) Change -ñc- > -md- also occurs in a numeral

Udaya.

Sk *pañcadaśā* > *pamdarasa* L 1345²(b) Clusters with the nasal *n* -1 The cluster *rn* becomes *n* and sometimes with the loss of cerebralisation *n* :

(i) Change -rn- > -n-

Udaya

Sk *sampūrna*- > *sampuna*- L 1345²Sk *Śātakarni*- > *Śātakani*- L 1345⁴

(ii) Change -rn- > -n- It is worthwhile to note that this change has occurred in an earlier inscription

Bodh

. Sk *Tāmraparna*- > *Tabapana*- L 946.

(c) The clusters with the nasal *n* are dissolved by the addition of a vowel.

(i) Change *-tn-* > *-tan-*.

Udaya Sk *rātna-* > *-ratana-* L 1345⁸, 10, 13

(ii) Change *-pn-* > *-pun-*.

Udaya Sk. *pra√āp-nu-* > *pāpuna-* L 1345⁹.

(iii) Change *-ny-* > *-my-*. The cluster is neither palatalised nor cerebralised.

Mahāsth Sk *dhānyā-* > *dhānya-* EI 21 85⁴

(d) Clusters with the nasal *m*

(i) Change *-tm-* > *-t-*.

Udaya Sk *ātman-* > *-āta-* L 1346⁶

(ii) Change *-hm-* > *-mh-*.

Udaya Sk *brāhmanā-* > *-bamhana-* L 1345⁹.

(iii) Change *-mr-* > *-b-*.

Bodh Sk *Tāmraparna-* > *Tabapana-* L 946

MORPHOLOGY

A DECLENSION

§ 345 Bases ending in *-a-* and *-ā*

(a) Masculine and Neuter nouns in *-a*

Nom sg Mas.

Nom pl Mas

(i) *-o* This termination is used in

(i) *-ā*

the inscriptions of Udaya and Sāran

Udaya

Koṭhā and *ajeyā* (?)

Udaya *narido* L 1345⁴,
pāsāto L 1353 etc

L 1349

Sāran *tha[m]bho* L 921¹

(ii) *-e* This termination is used in inscriptions of Mahāsth, Jogi and Pātnā.

Mahāsth *mahāmāte* EI 21 85¹⁻²,

Jogi *lupadakhe* L 921⁵, *devadme* L 921⁵

Pātnā *yakhe* L 957, L 958

Acc sg Mas. *-am*

Acc. pl Mas *-e*

Udaya *-jānapadam* L 1345⁷

Udaya

-bhūṅgāre L 1345⁸,

-pāsādam L 1345¹⁰

-pāde L 1345^{8, 2}

etc

-thambhe L 1345¹⁰

Nom sg Neut.

Nom. pl Neut *-m* :

(i) *-e* This termination is almost coextensive with the other termination

Sohga *koṭhagalam* L 937²

-am.

Udaya

len[ā]m L 1344.

Sohga. *sasane* L 937¹

Piprā. *mdhane* L 931.

Mahāsth. : *dme* EI 21.85³

(ii) *-am*

Bodh *dānam* L 939.

Mahāsth. *kosam* EI 21.85⁴

Udaya *yovarajam* L 1345².

Sāran. : *quo[m]banam* L 921 a.

Acc. sg Neut -am :	Acc pl Neut. -m ·
Sītā <i>hadayam</i> L 920 ¹ .	Udaya. <i>gopurām</i> L 1345 ¹³ .
Udaya : <i>nayaram</i> L 1345 ⁴ etc	<i>siharām</i> L 1345 ¹³ etc
Inst sg -(e)na :	Inst pl -hi .
Udaya · <i>mahārājena</i> L 1345 ¹	Udaya · <i>sahasehi</i> L 1345 ¹ , * etc.
<i>Airena</i> L 1345 ¹ , etc	<i>-bhatakehi</i> L 1345 ¹⁴
etc	etc

Dat sg (i) -ya ·

Sohga *atīyāyikaya* L 937⁴, *gahitavaya* L 937⁴

(ii) -a (= -ā) ·

Sohga *vala* (= *vālā* < *vārāya*- (?)) L 937²

Abl sg (i) -ā

Bodh *-pāsādā* L 943, *ceṭikā* L 943

(ii) -to

Udaya. (*-Magadhato*) L 1345¹²

Gen sg -sa ·

Piprā *Budhasa-* L 931

Bodh *putasa-* L 944 ,
Mitrassa L 943 etc

Udaya. *arassa* L 1347

Gen pl (i) -nam

Piprā *sakīyanam* L 931.

saputadalanam L 931

Udaya *Māgadhānam*

L 1345¹² ;

śidhānam L 1345¹

(ii) -na

Sohga *-mahamagana* L 937¹.

bhalakana L 937².

Loc sg (i) -e ·

Sohga *-tike* L 937¹, *Usagāme* L 937-

Sītā dule L 920² (From *dula-*, cf Sk *dolā-*)

Udaya *yuge* L 1345¹ ; *-pavate* L 1345¹⁴

(ii) -i ·

Udaya *-nagarī* (?) L 1345³

(iii) -si This occurs in an early inscription.

Mahāsth. *atīyāyikesi* EI 21.85⁴⁻⁵,

(b) Feminine nouns ending in, -ā

Nom sg -ā :

Jogi. *Śutanuka* L 921¹, *

Udaya *koṭhā* (?) L 1349,
L 1350

Nom. pl -ā ·

Udaya *kīḍikā* L 1345².

kīḍitā L 1345².

Acc sg. -am :

Udaya. *Ma(dhu)raṁ* L 1345¹.

Acc pl. -m : *salaghaṭam* (?)

Udaya. L 1345² (perhaps
the neuter form of
ghaṭam is used)

Inst. sg. (i) -ya :

Udaya. *senāya* L 1345⁴.

Inst. pl. -hi :

Udaya *silāhi* L 1345¹⁶ etc.

(ii) -ye :

Sāran. *Sihāye* L 921 c. (This may be genitive)

Dat. sg -ya .
Udaya -msidīyāya L 1345¹⁴

Gen sg (i) -ye .
Bodh. ayāye L 939 ; Jivāpūlaye L 943
Sāran. . Saṃvāhikāye L 921 a bhikkhunīkāye L 921 a.
(ii) -ya . The termination -ye noticed above does not occur at Udaya.
Udaya . khīn(ā)ya L 1350¹ , Bāṇyaya L 1352.

Loc sg -ya
Udaya Gaṃgāya L 1345¹²

§ 346 Bases ending in -i and -ī

(a) Mas nouns in -i

Nom sg -ī .	Nom pl -o
Udaya -vasukī L 1345 ³ Khāravela-srī L 1345 ⁷ .	Sītā kavayo L 920 ¹ .
Acc sg -m	Acc pl -yo
Udaya Sītakanan L 1345 ¹ , Goradhagiri L 1345 ⁷ .	Udaya pakatīyo L 1345 ⁴
Inst sg -nā	Inst pl -hi .
Udaya -adhipatinā L 1345 ¹ ; -sīrnā L 1345 ¹¹	Udaya -nātīhi L 1345 ¹⁴ .
Gen sg -no :	Gen pl -nam .
Udaya -patino L 1347 ; Bhūtino L 1351 ² .	Udaya -(i)śmaṇ L 1345 ¹⁵ ; (ya)tinam L 1345 ¹⁵ .

(b) Feminine nouns in -i

	Acc pl yo
	Udaya -pādīyo L 1345 ³ .
Inst sg -nā	
Udaya -mīnā L 1345 ⁵	

(c) Feminine nouns in ī

Nom sg -ī	
Jogī	devadāsīkyī L 921 ² . ³
Acc sg -ī	
Udaya	nagarīm L 1345 ¹ , paṇādīm L 1345 ⁶
Inst sg -nā :	Inst pl -hi
Udaya -mahisī(n)ā L 1346 ³ .	Udaya. mahisīhi L 1345 ¹⁴

Gen sg There are not many examples , yet the termination -ye seems to be more frequent

(i) -ye
Bodh kuramgiye L 939 etc , pajāvatīye L 943
Sāran [Bha]rniye I. 921 d
(ii) -ya .
Udaya. Arāhala-msidīya L 1345¹¹.

(iii) -yā

Sītā

vasantīyā L 920², the base is either the present participle *vasantī-* or the abstract noun *vāsantī-*. BOYER, however, regards it as an instrumental form from the participial base

§ 347 Bases in -u

Masculine nouns in -u .

Acc. pl -am .

Udaya

hathī(sa)-pasavam L 1345¹⁰

Gen. pl -na .

Jogī

baluna (< Sk *batu-*) L 921⁴; this is following BOYER'S view BLOCH reads *balana* and ventures to take it from Sk. *bālā*

§ 348 Bases in -r

(a) Masculine nouns in -r

Nom pl -o

Sītā

-yantāro L 920¹.

Inst pl -hi

Udaya

-bhāṭhi L 1345¹⁴.

Gen pl -nam

Piprā

-bhatnam L 931

§ 349 Bases ending in consonants

(a) Masculine nouns ending in -at

Inst sg -ā

Udaya

sarīratā L 1345²

Gen sg -e This termination appears in an earlier example.

Piprā

bhagavale L 931

Gen sg -o

Udaya

arāhalo L 1345¹⁴.

Gen pl -nam

Udaya

ar(ṭ)hamitānam L 1345¹ etc

(b) Masculine nouns ending in -an

Nom sg -ā .

Udaya

-rājā L 1345^{10, 16, 17}.

Acc pl -no

Udaya

-rājāno L 1345¹¹.

Abl sg -ā

Udaya

-vātā L 1345⁶.

Gen sg (1) -sa This has perhaps more frequency
 Udaya : *Kammasa* L 1349,
 L 1350

Gen pl -nam .
 Udaya : *rājānam* L 1345¹² etc.

(ii) -no .

Udaya *rājano* L 1346¹

(c) Masculine nouns ending in -as .

Nom. sg -e . Jogī . *śeye* L 921⁴.

BOYER compares this word with Pāli *sejyo* and Sk. *śreyān*. BLOCH accepts this parallelism, but also suggests to take it from *śaya-* and regard the form as acc sg. neut

(d) Masculine nouns ending in *-in* :

		Acc. pl. <i>-ī</i> :	
		Udaya	<i>-hathī</i> L 1345 ¹⁵ .
Gen. sg. <i>-no</i> :		Gen. pl. <i>-nam</i>	
Udaya.	: <i>ca(havatino)</i> L 1346 ²	Udaya	<i>-ghata-vāsīnam</i> L 1345 ⁸ , ⁹ .

(e) The feminine base *dis-* :

Acc. sg. <i>-m</i>		
Udaya	<i>-disām</i> L 1345 ⁴ .	
Gen. pl. <i>-nam</i> :		
Udaya	<i>-disānam</i> L 1345 ¹⁶ .	

PRONOUNS

§ 350 Demonstrative Pronouns

(a) The pronominal base *idam*

Nom sg Neut

Piprā *īyam* L 931

(b) The pronominal base *etad*

Nom sg Mas

Mahāsth *esa* EI 21 85⁶

Acc sg Mas

Mahāsth *etam* EI 21 85²

Nom pl Neut .

Sohga *ete* L 937⁷

Gen pl Mas

Udaya *(e)tinam* L 1345⁸.

§ 351 Relative Pronoun

(a) The pronominal base *yad-*

Nom pl. Mas

Sītā *e (< ye)* L 920¹

§ 352 Personal Pronouns

(a) The base *tad*

Nom sg Mas

Udaya *sa* L 1345¹⁶, *(so)* L 1345²

Acc. sg. Fem

Jogī *tam* L 921⁴.

NUMERALS

§ 353 Cardinals

(i) two

Sohga *duve* L 937².

(ii) thirteen

Udaya *terasa* L 1345¹¹.

(iii) fifteen :

Udaya *pañdarasa* L 1345³

- (iv) seventeen .
Udaya . *satadasa* L 1345¹⁴.
- (v) thirty-five .
Udaya. *panatīsā-* (Fem. base) L 1345^{4, 15}.
- (vi) thirty-eight .
Udaya. *aḥātīsā-* L 1345¹⁰.
- (vii) seventy-five
Udaya *panatarīya* L 1345¹⁸
- (viii) hundred thousand
Udaya. . *sata-sahasā-* passim.

§ 354. Ordinals All the instances have been collected from the Udaya. inscriptions

- (i) first . *padhama-* L 1345³
(ii) second *dutīya-* L 1345⁴
(iii) third *latīya-* L 1345^{2, 4}
(iv) fourth *cavutha-* L 1345¹
(v) fifth . *pañcama-* L 1345⁹
(vi) seventh *satama-* L 1345⁷
(vii) eighth *aḥama-* L 1345⁷.
(viii) ninth *navama-* L 1345⁹
(ix) tenth *dasama-* L 1345¹⁰
(x) eleventh (*ekā*)*dasama-* L 1345¹¹
(xi) thirteenth . *terasama-* L 1345¹⁴.

CONJUGATION

§ 355 Present Indicative Active.

Third pers sg (1) - <i>ti</i>	Third pers pl (1) - <i>anti</i>
Udaya <i>visaṇati</i> L 1345 ⁷ , <i>dadāti</i> L 1345 ^{8, 9} , <i>bhidati</i> L 1345 ¹¹ etc	Sitā <i>adīpayanti</i> L 920 ¹ . Udaya <i>pariharamti</i> L 1345 ¹³ .
(ii) - <i>ays-ti</i>	(ii) - <i>aya-mti</i>
Udaya <i>ramjayati</i> L 1345 ¹ , <i>mvesayati</i> L 1345 ¹³ etc.	Udaya <i>p(e)ṣayam ti </i> L 1345 ¹³
(iii) - <i>e-ti</i> :	Third pers. pl causal - <i>aya-mti</i> .
Udaya <i>vitās[e]ti</i> L 1345 ⁴ , (<i>āneti</i>) L 1345 ¹²	Udaya <i>u(p)anāmayanti</i> L 1345 ¹³

Third sg Causal :

- (i) -*aya-ti* .
Udaya *kārayati* L 1345^{1, 10, 15} , *paṇḍapayati* 1345⁶ etc
- (ii) -*e-ti* :
Udaya *vasi-k[ā]retti* L 1345¹⁴.
- (iii) -*āpaya-ti* :
Udaya. : *bandhāpayati* L 1345³ , *vaṇḍāpayati* L 1345^{6, 12} etc.

Third pers sg causal passive .

(i) *-ya-ti* .

Sohga. *kayyiyati* L 937⁴.

§ 356 Aorist.

Third pers sg *-(yi)tha*

Jogi. *. kamayitha* L 921⁴ According to BLOCH it could also

be regarded as a desiderative of *korman-*

§ 357 Future

(a) Third pers sg causal *-payi-sa-ti*

Mahāsth *nvahipayisati* EI 21 85³

(b) Third pers sg passive *-sati*

Mahāsth *.. nvahisati* EI 21 85⁴.

PARTICIPLES

§ 358. Present participles Active . *-anta*

Sīta *. vasanti-* (feminine) L 920²

Udaya *anubhavamta-* L 1345¹⁶, *sunanta-* L 1345¹⁶ ;
pasamta- L 1345¹⁶, *janeta-* L 1345¹².

§ 359 Past Passive Participles (i) *-ta*

Sīta *phata-* (or *spata-*) < *spṛta-* L 920² (BOYER'S view) or
sphata- < *sphāta-* (BLOCH'S view)

Udaya *abhisita-* L 1345^{3, 6}, *apayāta-* L 1345⁸ etc etc.

(ii) *-i-ta*

Udaya *-lasita-* L 1345⁵ *kīḍita-* L 1345², *kārāpita-* (causal)
L 1345¹⁴

(iii) *-na* .

Mahāsth *dina-* EI 21 85³

Jogi *devadina-* L 921⁵

Udaya *-vochimna-* L 1345¹⁶

§ 360 Potential Passive Participle *-tava*

Sohga *gahitava-* L 937⁴

§ 361. Infinitives *-tum*.

Udaya *vīpamumcūm* L 1345⁸

§ 362 Absolutives *-tā*

Udaya *acitayitā* L 1345⁴, *ghātāpayitā* L 1345⁸

CHAPTER VI

SYNOPTIC TABLES

§ 363 The entire material afforded by the Inscriptional Prakrits has thus been dealt with in the preceding chapter. It was intended there to divide the material into suitable geographical divisions according to their find spots and then study it in its time sequence. This chapter and the following one are now devoted to the preparation of the synoptic tables summarising the results of the investigations arrived at in the preceding chapters. The tables are so arranged as to give the reader an exact idea of the treatment of different phonemes and morphemes in their space-time context. The results of the studies in Aśokan inscriptions have been indicated here at the beginning of each article so that the correct perspective of a particular linguistic innovation may not be missed.

PHONOLOGY

Period	West	N West	South	Central	East	North
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I VOWELS

§ 364 Treatment of the vowel *ɾ*

*3 B C	a-	ɾ-, (a-)	a-, ɾ-	a-, i-	a-, ɾ-	a-, i-
(Aśokan)	(u-, a-, with a lab)	(u-, a- with a lab)		(u- with a lab)	(u- with a lab)	(u- with a lab)
	-a-	-a- (-u- with a lab)	(-ɾ-)	-a-	-a-	-a-

Under stress accent

In words of human relationship-

		-u, (-i)			
3 B.C.			-u (human relation- ship)		-ɾ (human relation- ship)
2 B.C.	a- u-(usabha-)		a- i-(ɪst-) (-u-)		

* The number in these tables refers to the century.

Period	West	N. West	South	Central	East	North
Human relationship—						
	-i, -u		-u	-i, -u	-i, -u (also in a few other examples).	
1 B.C.	a- i- (isi-)			a- i- (miga-, sigāla-)		
	-u (human relationship and with a lab)					
1 A.D.	a- i- (isi-) u- (usabha-) (i-) in a loan word in Nas III)		(or 2 A.D.) a- (even with lab and in vasabha-)	a- u- (usabha-)		
Human relationship--						
2 A.D.	-u a- u- (usabha- utu-)		-u, (-i) a- (even with lab and in vasabha-) i (isi, kica-)			
	-u (human relationship)		-u (human relationship)			
3 A.D.			a- (even with lab and in vasabha-) (i-) -u (human relationship)			
4 A.D.				-i-? -u (human relationship)		
§365 Treatment of ai :						
3 B.C. (Aś)	e	e		e (-i-)	e	
3 B.C.			e			
2 B.C.	e		e	e, (i?)	e	
1 B.C.	e (i?)			e		
1 A.D.	e, (i)		e			
2 A.D.	e		e, (ai in loan words at Malav.)			
3 A.D.			e			

Period	West	N West	South	Central	East	North
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§ 366. Treatment of *au*

3 B.C. (Aś)	<i>o</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>o</i>
3 B.C.			<i>o</i>			
2 B.C.	<i>o</i>			<i>o</i>	<i>o</i>	
1 B.C.	<i>o</i> , (<i>u</i> ?)			<i>o</i> , (<i>au</i> , once)		
1 A.D.	<i>o</i>		<i>o</i>			
2 A.D.	<i>o</i>		<i>o</i>			
3 A.D.			<i>o</i>			

§ 367 Treatment of *aya* (*ayi* and *avi*).

3 B.C. (Aś)	<i>e</i> <i>aya</i>	<i>e</i> <i>aya</i>	<i>e</i> <i>aya</i>	<i>e</i> <i>aya</i>	<i>e</i> <i>aya</i>	<i>e</i> <i>aya</i>
3 B.C.			<i>e</i>			
2 B.C.	<i>e</i>			<i>e</i>	<i>e</i> , <i>ya</i>	
1 B.C.	<i>e</i>					
1 A.D.	<i>e</i>		<i>e</i>	<i>e</i> , (<i>ava</i>)		
2 A.D.	<i>e</i>		<i>e</i>			
3 A.D.			<i>e</i>			

§ 368 Treatment of *ava* (and *apa*)

3 B.C. (Aś)	<i>o</i> , (<i>ava</i>)	<i>o</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>o</i>
3 B.C.			<i>o</i>			
2 B.C.				<i>o</i>	<i>o</i>	
1 B.C.	<i>o</i>			<i>o</i>		
1 B.C.-1 A.D.	(<i>ava</i>)					
1 A.D.	<i>o</i> <i>apa</i> > <i>o</i>					
2 A.D.	<i>apa</i> > <i>o</i>		<i>o</i>			
3 A.D.			<i>o</i>			

§ 369 Treatment of the vowel *a*.

The vowel *a* is usually preserved in all positions. The following few peculiarities may be, however, noted

(1) Before a consonant cluster —

3 B.C. (Aś)	<i>ā</i> -, (<i>a</i> -)	<i>a</i> - <i>-ā</i> -	<i>a</i> - <i>-ā</i> -	<i>a</i> -, (<i>ā</i> -)	<i>a</i> -, (<i>ā</i> -) <i>-ā</i> -	<i>a</i> -, (<i>ā</i> -) <i>-ā</i> -
			<i>-ā</i> -	<i>-ā</i> -		<i>-ā</i> -
3 B.C.				<i>ā</i> -		
2 B.C.	<i>ā</i> -		<i>-ā</i> -	<i>ā</i> -	<i>ā</i> -	
1 B.C.	<i>ā</i> -			<i>ā</i> - <i>-ā</i> -		
1 B.C.-1 A.D.	<i>ā</i> -					
1 A.D.	<i>ā</i> -		<i>-ā</i> -			
2 A.D.	<i>ā</i> - <i>-ā</i> -		<i>ā</i> - <i>-ā</i> -			
3 A.D.			<i>ā</i> -			
4 A.D.				<i>ā</i> -		

Period	West	N. West	South	Central	East	North
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(ii) in the neighbourhood of y :

3 B.C. (Aś.)	-a-	e- -a-	-i-	a- -i-, (-a-)	e- -i-, (-a-)	a- -i-, (-a-)
2 B.C.				-i-	-i-	
1 B.C.				-i-		
1 A.D.	(-i- ? in the absence of y)		-i-			
2 A.D.			-i-			

(iii) in the neighbourhood of u , or a labial :

3 B.C. (Aś.)		u-	u-	u-	u-	u-
	-u- -a-	-u-			-u-	-u-

(due to preceding o)

	-u-	-u-			-a-	-a-
1 B.C.				u-		
1 or 2 A.D.			o-			
2 B.C.	-u					

§ 370 Treatment of the vowel \bar{a}

The vowel \bar{a} is usually preserved in these inscriptions. But at times it is changed to the short vowel a under the circumstances noted below

(1) Before a consonant cluster- the change is more frequent from the 1st cent A.D.

3 B.C. (Aś.)	\bar{a} - (\bar{a} -) - \bar{a} -		a- -a- (- \bar{a} -)	a- -a- (- \bar{a} -)	a- -a- (- \bar{a} -)	a- -a- (- \bar{a} -)
3 B.C.			a-	a-		
2 B.C.	a-		a-	a-, -a-	a-	
1 B.C.	a-, -a-			a-, -a-		
1 B.C.-1 A.D.	a-					
1 A.D.	a-, -a-		a-	-a-		
2 A.D.	a-, -a-		a-, -a-			
3 A.D.			a-, -a-			
4 A.D.				a-		

(ii) Before gen sg term of fem bases :

3 B.C.				-a		
2 B.C.	(-a)			-a	-a	
1 B.C.				(-a)		
1 A.D.	(-a)		(-a)			
2 A.D.	(-a)		(-a)			

Period	West	N. West	South	Central	East	North
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(iii) Some other case endings :

3 B.C.	-ā			-ā	-ā	-ā
(Aś)	(-a)				-a	-a
3 B.C.			(-a)			
1 B.C.				(-a)		

§ 371 Treatment of the vowel *i* :

The vowel *i* is mostly preserved in all positions. The following few peculiarities may be noted

(i) Before a consonant cluster.

3 B.C.	(e-?)	(e-?)		(e-?)	(e-?)	(e-?)
(Aś)				(i-)	(i-)	(i-)
	-i-	-i-	-i-	-i-	-i-	-i-
	(-i)					(-i-)
3 B.C.			i-			
			-e-			
2 B.C.				i- (e-?)	i-, e-	
				-e-		
1 B.C.	i-, e-			(i-), e-		
				-e-		
1 A.D.	i-, e-		e-			
			-i-			
2 A.D.	i-, e-		i-			
			-i-, -e-			
3 A.D.			e-			
4 A.D.				e-		

(ii) In the neighbourhood of *v*-

3 B.C.				u-	u-	u-
(Aś)						
2 B.C.					u-	
1 B.C.-1 A.D.	u-					

(iii) Irregular change of *i* > *a*-

3 B.C.		-a-?				
2 B.C.				-a-		
1 B.C.	-a-?			-a-		
2 A.D.	-a-?					

§ 372 Treatment of the vowel *i*. The vowel, though usually preserved, undergoes a few changes in the following circumstances

(i) Before a consonant cluster-

3 B.C.	(i-)		(i-)	i-	i-	i-
(Aś.)	(i-)		(i-)	(i-)	(i-)	(i-)
3 B.C.			-i-			
2 B.C.	i-			i-, -i-		
1 B.C.				i-		
1 A.D.	i-					
2 A.D.	i-		i-			
3 A.D.			i-			

Period	West	N West	South	Central	East	North
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(ii) Before gen sg term of fem. bases .

3 B.C. (Aś)				-i, (-i)		-i
3 B.C.	-i		-i			
2 B.C.	-i		-i	-i	-i	
1 B.C.	-i			-i		
1 A.D.	-i		-i	-i		
2 A.D.	-i		-i			

(iii) In the final syllable of the first member of a compound—

3 B.C.	i-			-i-		
2 B.C.	-i-, -i-			-i-		
1 B.C.	-i-			-i-		
1 A.D.	-i-					
2 A.D.	-i-		(-i-)			

(iv) The change of $\bar{i} > e$

3 B.C. (Aś)	e-	e-		e-	e-	e-
1 B.C.				-e-		

§ 373 Treatment of the vowel u — The vowel is usually preserved everywhere except in a few circumstances that are noticed below

(i) Before a consonant cluster—

3 B.C. (Aś)	u -	u -	u -	u -	u -	u -
3 B.C.	- u -	- u -	(\bar{u} - ?)	(- \bar{u} -)	(- \bar{u} -, - u -)	(- \bar{u} -, - u -)
2 B.C.	\bar{u} -		\bar{u} -	\bar{u} -	\bar{u} -	
1 A.D.	\bar{u} -		(\bar{u} - ?)			
2 A.D.	\bar{u} -					
3 A.D.			\bar{u} -			

(ii) Before a consonant cluster ($u > au > o$).

2 B.C.				o -		
				(also		
				without		
				a cluster)		
1 B.C.				- o - (without		
				a cluster)		
1 or 2 A.D.			o -			
2 A.D.			o -			

Period	West	N. West	South	Central	East	North
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(iii) The change of *u* > *i*—

3 B.C. (A.S.)	-u-	-u-	-i-	-i-	-i-	-i-
3 B.C.			-u-		-i-	-u-
1 A.D.	-i-					
2 A.D.	-i-		-i-			

(iv) The change of *u* > *a*—

3 B.C. (A.S.)	a-	a-	a-		u-	a-
2 B.C.	u-	u-		-a-		u-
1 B.C.				-a-		
1 A.D.	(-a-)					

§ 374 Treatment of the vowel *u*. The vowel is sometimes shortened under the following circumstances

(1) Before a consonant cluster

3 B.C. (A.S.)	u-	u-		u-	u-	u-
2 B.C.	u-			(ū-)	(ū-)	
1 B.C.				u-	u-	
1 B.C.-1 A.D.	u-					
1 A.D.	u-		u-			
2 A.D.	u-		u-			
3 A.D.			u-			

(ii) Before terminations :—

3 B.C.	u-
1 A.D.	u-

(iii) In the final syllable of a compound —

1 A.D.	-u-
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(iv) The change of *ū* > *o* —

2 B.C.	o-
1 A.D.	o-
2 A.D.	o-

§ 375 Treatment of the vowel *e*

The vowel *e* is usually well preserved It is changed to *i* in a very few instances.

3 B.C. (A.S.)	e-	e-	e-	e-, (i-)	e-	e-
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Period	West	N. West	South	Central	East	North
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Before a consonant cluster or in samdhu :

3 B.C.		-i- (without a cluster)				
2 B.C.				-i-		-i-
1 B.C.				-i- (also without a cluster)		

§ 376. Treatment of the vowel o

The vowel o becomes u in a very few cases

(1) Before a consonant cluster or in samdhu :—

3 B.C.		-u-				-u-
(Aś.)						
2 B.C.				-u-		-u-
1 B.C.				-u-		
1 or 2 A.D.			-u-			

II SIMPLE CONSONANTS

The consonants, except the sibilants, are usually well preserved. The following tables show how some of the consonants undergo occasional changes at different times

§ 377. The guttural surd unaspirate k :

3 B.C.	-k-	-k-	-k-	-k-	-k-	-k-
(Aś.)				-g-	-g-	
					-y-	
					(-kh-)	
3 B.C.	-k-		-g-			
			(kh-?)			
2 B.C.	-k-				-g-	
1 B.C.	-y-					
1 A.D.	-g-		-g-	-g-		
	-y-		-lost-			
	-lost-					
2 A.D.	-g-		-g-			
	-y-		-y-			
3 A.D.			-y-			

§ 378. The guttural surd aspirate kh :

2 B.C.	-kh-		-kh-	-h-	-h-
1 B.C.	-gh-		-kh-	-gh-	
1 A.D.	-gh-		-gh-		
2 A.D.	-gh-		-gh-	-kkh- > -kk-	

Period	West	N West	South	Central	East	North
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§ 379. The guttural sonant unaspirate g :

3 B.C. (Aś.)	-g-	-g- -k- -y-		-g-	-g- -k- -y-	
2 B C	-y-			-g-	-k-	
1 B C.	-y- -k-			-g-		
1 A D.	-k-		-k-	-g-		
2 A D.	-k-		-k-	-g-		
3 A D.			-k-	-g-		

§ 380 The guttural sonant aspirate gh :

3 B C (Aś)	-h-			-h-	-h-	
3 B C			-h-?	-h-		
2 B C					-kh-	

§ 381 The palatal surd unaspirate c :

3 B C. (Aś)	-c-	-c-		-c-	-c-	
1 A D.	-j-		-j- -y-	-y-	-j-	
2 A D.			-j- y-			
3 A D.			y-, -y-			
4 A D				y-		

§ 382 The palatal sonant unaspirate j :

3 B C (Aś)	-j-	-j-	-j-	-j-	-j-	
3 B C	-c-	-y-	(c-?)		-c-	
2 B C	-y- -lost-					
1 B C	-y- -lost-			-y-		
1 A D.	-y- -lost-		-y-, -c- -lost-	-y-		
2 A D.	-y- -lost-		-y-			
3 A D.			-y-			
4 A D.				-y-		

Period	West	N West	South	Central	East	North
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§ 383. The cerebral surd unaspirate *t*

3 BC (Aś)	-t-	-t-		-d-	-t-	-t-
3 BC.			(-l- ?)		(-l- ?)	-d-
2 BC	-d-		-d-	-d-		
1 BC	-d-			-d-		
1 BC-1 AD	-d-					
1 AD.	-d-		-d-			
2 AD	-d-		-d-			
3 AD			-d-			
4 AD				-d-		

§ 384 The cerebral surd aspirate *th*

3 BC, (Aś)				-t-	-t-	-t-
2 BC				-th-, -th-		
2 AD	th-		-th-			
	-dh-		-dh-			
	-th-		-th-			
			(-dh-)			
3 AD			-th-			
			-dh-			

§ 385 The cerebral sonant unaspirate *ḍ*

3 BC (Aś)				d-	d-	d-
				(l-)	-d-	-d-
2 BC.				d-	-l-	-l-
1 BC	-d-					
1 BC-1 AD	-d-					
	-n-					
1 AD	-l-					
2 AD	-t-		-l-, -l-			
	-l-, -l-					
3 AD			-l-			

§ 386. The cerebral sonant aspirate *dh*

2 BC	-l-			-d-, (-dr-)		
1 BC	-l-, -lh			-d-		

§ 387 The nasal cerebral *n*

3 BC. (Aś)	-n-	-n-	-n-	-n-	-n-	-n-
3 BC.			-n- (Madras)			
2 BC	-n-		-n-, -n-			
1 BC.	-n-		-n-, -n-	-n-, (-n-)	-n-, -n-	
1 BC-1 AD.	-n					
1 AD.	-n-		-n-, (-n-)	-n-, (-n-)		
2 AD	-n-, -n-		-n-, -n-			
3 AD.			n-, -n-			
4 AD				-n-		

Period	West	N. West	South	Central	East	North
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§ 388. The dental surd unaspirate *t* :

3 B C.	<i>t</i> -	<i>t</i> -			<i>t</i> -	<i>t</i> -, (<i>d</i> -)
(Aś.)	- <i>t</i> -	- <i>t</i> - - <i>d</i> -	- <i>t</i> -	- <i>t</i> -	- <i>t</i> -	- <i>t</i> - - <i>d</i> -
				dropped and <i>v</i> inserted in numeral	dropped and <i>v</i> developed in numeral	
3 B C			- <i>d</i> -			
2 B C	- <i>d</i> -			- <i>y</i> -	- <i>d</i> -, (- <i>tr</i> - > - <i>d</i> -) - <i>v</i> - in numerals	
1 B.C.	- <i>d</i> - - <i>y</i> -			- <i>d</i> -		
1 A D	- <i>d</i> - - <i>r</i> - (in numeral) (-lost- ?)		- <i>d</i> -			
2 A D	-lost-		- <i>d</i> -			
3 A D			- <i>d</i> -			
4 A D				-dropped in numeral-		

§ 389 The dental surd aspirate *th*

2 B C.			- <i>dh</i> -		- <i>dh</i> -	
1 B C				- <i>dh</i> -		
1 A D			- <i>dh</i> -			
2 A D			- <i>dh</i> -			
3 A D			- <i>t</i> - (in rustake)			
4 A D				- <i>dh</i> -		

§ 390 The dental sonant unaspirate *d* :

3 B C.	<i>d</i> -	<i>d</i> -			<i>d</i> -	<i>d</i> -
(Aś.)	(<i>l</i> -) - <i>d</i> - -dropped-	- <i>d</i> -	- <i>d</i> -	- <i>d</i> -	(<i>l</i> -) - <i>d</i> - - <i>t</i> - (<i>dh</i> -) - <i>r</i> - (in numerals)	(<i>l</i> -) - <i>d</i> -
2 B C.	- <i>y</i> -		- <i>t</i> -			
1 B.C.	- <i>y</i> - - <i>r</i> - (in numerals)			- <i>y</i> -		
1 B C-1 A D	- <i>y</i> - - <i>m</i> - (in numerals) -lost-					

Period	West	N. West	South	Central	East	North
1 A.D.	-y- (-r- in numerals) -lost- (dh-) (-t- ?) -r- (numerals) -y-		or 2 A.D. d-, (dh-) -t-, -y-	-j-		
2 A.D.			(dh-)			
3 A.D.			-t-			
4 A.D.				-t-		
§ 391. The dental sonant aspirate <i>dh</i>						
3 B.C. (Aś)	-dh- (-d-)	-dh-	-dh-	-dh-	-dh- -h-	-dh- -h-
[-d- in the doubtful case of <i>hida-</i> in all versions]						
2 B.C.				(-d- ?)		
1 B.C.				(-t-)		
1 A.D.			(-d- in mistake)			
§ 392. The labial surd unaspirate <i>p</i>						
3 B.C. (Aś)	p- -p-	p- -p-	p- -p-	p- (k-) -p-	p- (k-, ph-) -p- -v-	p- (k-) -p- -b-
3 B.C.			-v-			
2 B.C.	-v-				-v-	
1 B.C.	-v-					
1 A.D.	-v-		-v-			
2 A.D.	-v-		-v-			
3 A.D.			-v-			
§ 393 The labial sonant unaspirate <i>b</i> :						
3 B.C. (Aś)	b-	b- (p- ?)	b-	b-	b-	b-
2 B.C.					-mb- > -mp-	
1 B.C.				bh- -p-		
2 A.D.			-v-			
§ 394 The labial sonant aspirate <i>bh</i>						
3 B.C. (Aś)	bh- h- -bh-	bh- h- -bh-	bh- h-	bh- h-	bh- h- -bh-	bh- h- -bh-, (-b- in N East) -h-
2 B.C.	-h- -b- -v-	-h-	-h-	-h- -h- -b-	-h-	
1 A.D.	-v-					
2 A.D.	-b-		b-, h-			

Period	West	N. West	South	Central	East	North
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§ 395. The labial nasal *m* :

3 B.C. (Aś.)	-m-	-m-	-m-	-m- (-ph-)	-m- (-ph-)	-m- (-ph-)
1 A.D.	-v-					

§ 396. The Semi-vowel *y* :

3 B.C. (Aś.)	y- [(y) a]- -y-	y- [(y) a]- -y- -j- -lost- -lost and v developed.	y- -y-	y- [(y) a]- -y-	y- [(y) a]- -y- -j-	-y- [(y) a]- y- -j-
2 B.C.					v developed y- elided	
1 B.C.				(-p- ?)		
1 B.C.-1 A.D.	-lost-					
1 A.D.	-j- -v- -lost- (-c- ?)		-v- -lost-	-lost-		
2 A.D.	-v- -lost-		j- -j- -lost-			
3 A.D.			j-			
4 A.D.				j-		

§ 397 The semi-vowel *r* :

3 B.C. (Aś.)	r- -r-	r- -r-	l- -r- -l- (-l- ?) (-l- ?)	l- -l- (-r-)	l- -l- -l-	l- -l-
3 B.C.					-l-	
2 B.C.					r-, -r- l-	
1 A.D.	(-lost- ?)		(-l- ?)			
2 A.D.			-l- (only in <i>chilāta</i> -)			
4 A.D.				-r- (only once -l-)		

§ 398. The Semivowel *l* :

3 B.C. (Aś.)	-l- (-d-)	-l- (-d-)	-l- (-d-)	-l- (-d-)	-l- (-d-)	-l- (-d-)
2 B.C.					-d-	

Period	West	N West	South	Central	East	North
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§ 399 The Semivowel *v* :

3 B.C. (Aś.)	<i>v</i> - (-lost-)	<i>v</i> -	<i>v</i> -	<i>v</i> - (<i>p</i> -)	<i>v</i> -	<i>v</i> -
3 B.C.	(<i>b</i> -?)		(<i>p</i> -?)			
2 B.C.				- <i>b</i> - - <i>m</i> - - <i>p</i> -	(- <i>p</i> -?)	
1 B.C.	- <i>y</i> -					
1 B.C.-1 A.D.	(<i>p</i> -?)					
1 A.D.	- <i>y</i> - -lost-		- <i>p</i> - (- <i>m</i> -?)			
2 A.D.	-lost-					
3 A.D.			- <i>p</i> -			
4 A.D.				-lost-		

§ 400. Sibilants .

(i) The sibilant *ś*

3 B.C. (Aś)	<i>s</i> -, - <i>s</i> -	<i>ś</i> -, - <i>ś</i> -	<i>s</i> -, - <i>s</i> - (<i>c</i> -)	<i>s</i> -, - <i>s</i> - (<i>c</i> -)	<i>s</i> -, - <i>s</i> - (<i>c</i> -)	<i>s</i> -, - <i>s</i> - <i>ś</i> & <i>ṣ</i> graphical
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(ii) The sibilant *ṣ* .

<i>s</i> -, - <i>s</i> -	<i>ṣ</i> -, - <i>ṣ</i> -	<i>s</i> -, - <i>s</i> - (- <i>ṣ</i> -)	<i>s</i> -, - <i>s</i> - (- <i>ṣ</i> -)	<i>s</i> -, - <i>s</i> - (- <i>ṣ</i> -)	<i>s</i> -, - <i>s</i> - (<i>c</i> -)	<i>s</i> -, - <i>s</i> - (cf note above).
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(iii) The sibilant *s*

<i>s</i> -, - <i>s</i> -	<i>s</i> -, - <i>s</i> -	<i>s</i> -, - <i>s</i> -	<i>s</i> -, - <i>s</i> -	<i>s</i> -, - <i>s</i> -	<i>s</i> -, - <i>s</i> - (cf note above).
in the subsequent inscriptions only dental <i>s</i> appears However, <i>ś</i> & <i>ṣ</i> appear in a few inscriptions.		In Bhaff. <i>ś</i> , <i>ṣ</i> & <i>s</i> are confused A few others give - <i>ṣ</i> - (<i>ś</i> , - <i>ś</i> -). 1&2 cent.A.D. <i>s</i> > <i>h</i> -	In all ins the 3 sibils. become <i>s</i> . <i>ś</i> & <i>ṣ</i> appear sporadic- ally.	Except Jogī (2 B C which has <i>ś</i> , all others give only <i>s</i> .	

§ 401. The aspirate *h* :

3 B.C. (Aś.)	<i>h</i> -	<i>h</i> - (once lost?)	<i>h</i> -	<i>h</i> -	<i>h</i> -	<i>h</i> -
	- <i>h</i> -	- <i>h</i> - (-lost-)	- <i>h</i> -	- <i>h</i> -	- <i>h</i> -	- <i>h</i> -

Period	West	N. West	South	Central	East.	North
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In all subsequent inscriptions and at all places *h* is preserved

1 A.D. -lost- -*kh*-
 (assimilation)

§ 402. Palatalisation

(i) Palatalisation of guttural *k*

3 B.C.	- <i>k</i> -	- <i>k</i> -	- <i>k</i> -	- <i>k</i> -	- <i>k</i> -	
(Aś.)				- <i>ky</i> -	- <i>ky</i> -	
2 B.C.				<i>c</i> -	- <i>ky</i> -	
2 A.D.			<i>c</i> -			

(ii) Palatalisation in the cluster *kṣ*

3 B.C.	<i>ch</i> -	<i>ch</i> -	<i>kh</i> -	<i>kh</i> -	<i>kh</i> -	<i>kh</i> -
(Aś.)		(<i>kh</i> -)				(<i>ch</i> -)
		- <i>ch</i> -		- <i>kh</i> -	- <i>kh</i> -	- <i>kh</i> -
	(- <i>kh</i> -)	(- <i>kh</i> -)				
3 B.C.			- <i>kh</i> -	- <i>kh</i> -		
2 B.C.	<i>kh</i> -		- <i>kh</i> -	- <i>kh</i> -	- <i>kh</i> -	
	- <i>kh</i> -			<i>c</i> -, <i>ch</i> -,		
				- <i>ch</i> -, (- <i>jh</i> -?)		
1 B.C.	- <i>kh</i> -			- <i>kh</i> -		
	(<i>ch</i> -, - <i>ch</i> -)			<i>c</i> -, <i>ch</i> -,		
1 A.D.	<i>kh</i> -, - <i>kh</i> -		- <i>kh</i> -	- <i>kh</i> -	- <i>kh</i> -	
	(<i>ch</i> -, - <i>ch</i> -)		<i>c</i> -			
2 A.D.	<i>kh</i> -, - <i>kh</i> -		- <i>kh</i> -			
	<i>ch</i> -		<i>c</i> -, <i>ch</i> -,			
			- <i>cc</i> -,			
			(- <i>kk</i> -)			
3 A.D.			<i>kh</i> -, - <i>kh</i> -			
			<i>ch</i> -, - <i>cc</i> h-			
4 A.D.				<i>kh</i> -, - <i>kh</i> -		

(iii) Palatalisation of *khy*

3 B.C.	- <i>ch</i> -	- <i>kh</i> -			- <i>kh</i> -	
(Aś.)						

(iv) Palatalisation of *g*

3 B.C.	- <i>g</i> -	- <i>g</i> -	<i>g</i> -	- <i>g</i> -	- <i>g</i> -	- <i>g</i> -
(Aś.)					- <i>gy</i> -	

(v) Palatalisation of *t*

3 B.C.	<i>t</i> -	<i>t</i> -			<i>c</i> -	<i>c</i> -
(Aś.)		<i>c</i> -				
28			0			•

Period.	West	N West.	South.	Central.	East.	North.
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(vi) Palatalisation of *ty* :

3 B.C. (Aś.)	-c-		-c-	-c-		
2 B.C.				c-, -c-, -j-		
1 B.C.	-c-					
1 A.D.	-c-		-c-	-c-		
2 A.D.	-c-		-c-			
3 A.D.			-c-			
4 A.D.				-cc-		

(vii) Palatalisation of *ts* (and *tsy*) :

3 B.C. (Aś.)	-ch- (-s-)		-ch-	-ch-	(-s-) ch-	
3 B.C.			-ch-	-ch-		
2 B.C.	-ch-			-ch-		
1 B.C.	-ch-			-ch-		
1 A.D.	-ch-			-ch-		
2 A.D.	-ch-		-ch-, (-cc-)			
3 A.D.			-ch-			
4 A.D.				-cch-		

(viii) Palatalisation of *dy* :

3 B.C. (Aś.)	-j-				-j-	
2 B.C.	-j-			-j- also -d- > -j-	-j-	
1 B.C.	-j-			-j-		
1 A.D.	-j-					
2 A.D.			-d- > -j-			
4 A.D.				-jj-		

(ix) Palatalisation of *dh* :

3 B.C. (Aś.)	-jh-			-jh-	-jh-	
2 B.C.				-jh-		
1 B.C.				-jh-		
1 A.D.	-jh-					
2 A.D.			-jh-			
3 A.D.			-jh-			

(x) Palatalisation of *ny* :

3 B.C. (Aś.)	-mñ-	-ñ-				
3 B.C.			-ñ-			
2 B.C.				-ñ-		
1 B.C.-1 A.D.	-ñ-					
2 A.D.			-mñ-			

Period.	West.	N West.	South	Central.	East.	North.
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(xi) Palatalisation of ny .

3 B C (Aś)	ñ- -mñ-, -ñ-	-mñ-, -ñ-			(-mñ-)	
2 B C			-mñ-	-ñ-		
1 B C.	-mñ-					
1 B C-1 A D	n- > ny- -mñ-					
2 A D.			-mñ-			
3 A D			-mñ-			

(xii) Palatalisation of ry :

2 A D.			-j-			
3 A D.			-j-			
4 A D.				ñ-		

§ 403. Cerebralisation .

1 Cerebralisation of t due to r (or ṛ) :

(i) -ṛt- .

3 B.C. (Aś)	-t-	-t-	-t-	-t-	-t-	-t-
3 B C				-t-		
2 B C				-t-, -ḍ-, -t-		
1 B C				-t-, -t-		
1 B C-1 A.D.	-t-, -t-					
1 A D	-t-					
2 A D	-t-					

(ii) -ṛt- :

3 B.C. (Aś)	-t-	-t- (-ṛt-)	-t-	-t-	-t- (-t-)	-t- (-t-)
3 B.C.				-t-		
2 B C				-t-, -ḍ-	-t-	
1 A D.	-t-					
2 A.D	-t-		-t-, -t-			
3 A D			-t-			
4 A D.				-t- (?)		

(iii) -ṛt- :

3 B.C. (Aś.)	-t-	-t-	-t-	-t-	-t-	-t-
2 B C.	-t-	-t-		-t-	-t-, -t-	
1 B C				-t-		
1 A D	-t-		-t-			
2 A.D.	-t-, -ḍ-		-t-, -ḍ-			

Period.	West.	N West.	South.	Central.	East	North.
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(iv) *-tr-*

1 B.C.-1 A.D.	-t-, -t-					
1 A.D.	-t-, -d-					
2 A.D.	-t-, -d-					
3 A.D.			-t-, -t-			

2 Cerebralisation of *th* in presence of *τ* (or *ʔ*)(i) *-rth-*

3 B.C.	-th-	th-	-th-	-th-	-th-	-th-
(Aś.)		-th-			-th-	-th-
2 B.C.				-th-, -th-		
1 B.C.	-th-, -th-			-th-		
1 A.D.			-th-, -th-			
2 A.D.	-th-		th-			
3 A.D.			-th-			

(ii) *-rth-*

3 B.C.						-th-
(Aś.)						
2 B.C.	(-th-?)					
1 B.C.	-th-			-th-		
1 A.D.	-th-					
2 A.D.	-th-		(-d-)			
4 A.D.				-dh-		

3 Cerebralisation of *d* in presence of *τ* (or *ʔ*)(i) *-γd-*

2 B.C.					-d-	
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(ii) *-dγ-*

3 B.C.		-d-		-d-	-d-	-d-
(Aś.)						-d-

(iii) *-rd-*

3 B.C.	-d-			-d-	-d-	-d-
(Aś.)						
2 B.C.				-d-		

(iv) *-r-d-*

3 B.C.	-d-	-d-			-d-	-d-
(Aś.)		-d-				

Period	West.	N West	South	Central.	East.	North.
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(v) *-dɾ-*

3 B.C. (Aś.)	-d-	-d-	-d- -d- (Kopbal)	-d-	-d-	-d-
2 B.C. 1 A.D.			-d- (or 2 A.D.)	-d-, -d-		

(vi) *-dɾɾ-*

3 B.C. (Aś.)			-d-	-d-	-d-	
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4 Cerebralisation of *dh* in presence of *ɾ* (and *ɾ*)(i) *-ɾ(d)dh-*

3 B.C. (Aś.)	-dh-	-dh-		-dh-	-dh-	-dh-
2 B.C.	-dh-	-dh-		-dh-		-dh-

(ii) *-ɾdh-*

3 B.C. (Aś.)	-dh-	-dh-	-dh-	-dh-	-dh-	-dh-
2 B.C.	-dh-	-dh-		-dh-, -dh-		-dh-
1 B.C.				-dh-		
1 B.C.-1 A.D.	-dh-, -dh-					
1 A.D.	-dh-		-dh-, -dh- (or 2 A.D.)			
2 A.D.			-dh-, -dh-			
3 A.D.			-dh-, -dh-			
4 A.D.				-ddh-		

5 Cerebralisation of *t* in presence of a sibilant(i) *st-* or *-st-*

3 B.C. (Aś.)	-st- (-tsh-)	-st-	-th-	-tsh- -th-	-th-	-th- (-tsh-)
2 B.C.	tsh-					
1 B.C.	-th-					
1 A.D.	-tsh-, -t-		-tsh-, -th- (or 2 A.D.)			
2 A.D.	-tsh-					
3 A.D.			-tsh-			

6 Cerebralisation of *th* in presence of a sibilant(i) *sth-* or *-sth-*

3 B.C. (Aś.)	st- -st-	th-, tsh- -tsh-	-th-	-th- (-tsh-)	-tsh-	-th- -tsh-
2 B.C.	tsh-				-tsh-	
1 B.C.-1 A.D.	-tsh-					

Period.	West.	N West	South.	Central.	East.	North.
1 or 2 A.D.			<i>ih, th-</i> <i>-ih, -th-</i>			
2 A.D.	<i>-ih-</i>		<i>ih-, -ih-</i> <i>-ih-</i>			
3 A.D.			<i>-ih-</i> <i>-ih-</i>			

7 Cerebralisation of dental *dh* in presence of a sibilant .

(1) *-ṣ-dh-* :

3 B.C. (Aś)	<i>-dh-</i>	<i>-ḍh-</i>			<i>-dh-</i>	<i>-dh-</i>
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8 Cerebralisation of single dentals

(1) *-t-* :

1 A.D.	<i>-t-</i>					
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(11) *-th-*

2 A.D.			<i>-ḍ-</i> (Nāgār.)			
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(111) *-d-* .

3 B.C. (Aś)	<i>-d-</i>	<i>-ḍ-</i> <i>-ḍ-</i>		<i>-d-</i>	<i>-d-</i> <i>-ḍ-, (-ḍ-)</i>	<i>-d-</i>
3 B.C.			<i>(-ḍ- ?)</i>			
1 or 2 A.D.			<i>-ḍ-</i>			

9 Cerebralisation of the dental nasal *n*

3 B.C. (Aś)	<i>n-</i>	<i>n-</i>	<i>n-</i>	<i>n-</i>	<i>n-</i>	<i>n-</i>
			<i>n-</i> (Kopbal)			
	<i>-n-</i>	<i>-n-</i>	<i>-n-</i>	<i>-n-</i>	<i>-n-</i>	<i>-n-</i>
	<i>-n-</i>	<i>-n-</i>	<i>-n-</i> (Kopbal)			
	(In terminations—)					
	<i>-n-</i>	<i>-n-</i>	<i>-n-</i>		<i>-n-</i>	
					<i>-n-</i>	
3 B.C.			<i>-n-, -n-</i>	<i>-n-</i>	<i>-n-</i>	
			<i>-n-</i> (in term)		<i>-n-</i> (term)	
2 B.C.	<i>-n-, -n-</i> (term)		(term)	<i>n-, (n-)</i> <i>-n-, (-n-)</i>	<i>-n-, (-n-)</i> (term)	
	<i>-n-, -n-</i>		<i>-n-, -n-</i>	(term)		
				<i>-n-, -n-</i>	<i>-n-</i>	
1 B.C.	<i>n-, (n- Kuḍā)</i> <i>-n-, -n-</i>			<i>-n-</i>		
1 B.C.-1 A.D.	<i>-n-, -n-</i> (term)					
	<i>-n-, -n-</i>					

Period.	West.	N West	South.	Central	East.	North.
1 A.D.	<i>n-, n-</i> <i>-n-, -n-</i> (term <i>-n-</i> , (<i>-n-</i>)		<i>-n-</i> (or 2 A.D.)	<i>-n-</i> (in term.)		
2 A.D.	<i>n-</i> (Banav.) <i>-n-</i> (term.) <i>-n-, -n-</i>		<i>-n-, -n-</i> (term.) <i>-n-, -n-</i> <i>-n-</i>			
3 A.D.						
4 A.D.				<i>n-, n-</i> (in all words and in terms)		

10. Cerebralisation of *m̃*

3 B.C. (Aś.)	<i>-m̃-</i>	<i>-n-</i> <i>-n-, -ñ-</i>	<i>-n-</i>	<i>-mn-</i>	<i>-m̃-</i>	<i>-n-</i>
1 A.D.	<i>-n-</i>					
2 A.D.	(<i>-n-?</i>)		<i>-n-</i>			
3 A.D.			<i>-n-</i>			
4 A.D.				<i>-n-</i>		

11. Cerebralisation of the liquid *l*

1 A.D.	<i>-l-, -d-</i> <i>-r-</i>
2 A.D.	<i>-l- -</i>

III CONSONANT CLUSTERS

§ 404 Clusters with Gutturals

1 Sibilant + *k* *sk-*, *-sk-*

3 B.C. (Aś.)	<i>kh-</i> <i>-k- (< -šk-)</i>	<i>k-</i> <i>-k-</i>		<i>k-</i> <i>-k-</i>	<i>k-</i> <i>-k-</i>
3 B.C.	<i>-šk- > -k-</i>				
2 B.C.			<i>-šk- > -k-</i>	<i>-šk- > -k-</i>	
1 B.C.	<i>kh-</i>				
1 A.D.	<i>kh-</i> <i>-kh-</i>		<i>kh-</i>		
2 A.D.	<i>kh-, -kh-</i>		<i>kh-, k-</i>		

§ 405. Clusters with Palatals

1. Cluster *-śc-*:

3 B.C. (Aś.)	<i>-ch-</i>	<i>-c-</i>		<i>-ch-</i>	<i>-ch-</i>
2 B.C.				<i>-ch-</i>	

Period.	West.	N West.	South	Central	East	North.
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§ 406 Clusters with Cerebrals .

1. Cluster -ʃ/- :

3 B.C. (Aś.)		-ʃh-	(-tʰ- ?)	-ʃh-	-ʃh- (-tʰ- ?)	-ʃh-
2 B.C				-ʃh- (-tʰ-)	-ʃh-	
1 B.C	-ʃh-					
1 A.D	-ʃh-		-ʃh-			
2 A.D	-ʃh-		-ʃh-			
3 A.D.			-ʃh-			
4 A.D				-ʃʈr- > -ʈʃh-		

2 Cluster -ʃtʰ- .

3 B.C (Aś.)	-ʃt-	-ʃh- (-tʰ-)		-ʃh-	-tʰ- (-tʰ-)	-ʃh-
3 B.C			-ʃh- (-tʰ- ?)		-ʃh-	
2 B.C	-ʃh-			-ʃh-	-tʰ-	
1 B.C.	-ʃh-			-ʃh- (-tʰ-)		
1 A.D	-ʃh- (-tʰ-)		-ʃh-	-ʃh-		
2 A.D	-ʃh-		-ʃh- (-tʰ-)			
3 A.D			-ʃh-			
4 A.D				-ʈʃh-		

§ 407 Clusters with Dentals :

I Sibilants + Dentals

(i) Cluster st .

3 B.C (Aś.)	-st-	-st-		-tʰ-	-tʰ-	(tʰ- -tʰ-, -ʃh-)
2 B.C	tʰ-, ʃh- -tʰ-		tʰ-, -tʰ-	tʰ-	-tʰ-	
1 B.C	tʰ-, -tʰ-			tʰ-, -tʰ-		
1 A.D.	-tʰ- -ʃh-, -ʃ-		(or 2 A.D) tʰ- -tʰ-, (-tʰ-, -ʃh-)			
2 A.D.	tʰ- -tʰ-, -ʃh-		-tʰ-, (-tʰ-)			

(ii) Cluster stʰ

3 B.C. (Aś.)	tʰ-	tʰ-		tʰ-	tʰ-	tʰ-
	st-	ʃh-	tʰ-	ʃh-	ʃh-	ʃh-
	-st-	-tʰ-		-tʰ-	-ʃh-	-tʰ-, -ʃh-
3 B.C			tʰ-, -tʰ-			
2 B.C.	tʰ-, (-tʰ-)			tʰ-	-tʰ-	

Period.	West	N West	South	Central	East	North.
1 BC	<i>th-</i>			<i>th-</i>		
1 AD	<i>th-</i>		(or 2 AD) <i>th-</i> , <i>-th-</i> , <i>-th-</i>			
2 A.D.	<i>th-</i> <i>-th-</i> , <i>-sth-</i>		<i>th-</i> , <i>th-</i> , <i>-th-</i>			
3 A.D.			<i>-th-</i>			
4 AD				<i>-th-</i>		

II *r* + dentals (also cf Cerebratisation)(1) Cluster -*rt-*.

3 BC.	<i>-t-</i>	<i>-tr-</i>	<i>-t-</i>	<i>-t-</i>	(<i>-t-</i>)	<i>-t-</i>
(A6)	(<i>-t-</i>)	<i>-t-</i>			<i>-t-</i>	
3 BC	<i>-t-</i>				<i>-t-</i>	
2 BC				<i>-t-</i>	<i>-t-</i>	
1 BC	<i>-t-</i>			<i>-t-</i>		
1 AD	<i>-t-</i>					

(II) Cluster -*rtth-*.

3 BC	<i>-th-</i>	<i>-th-</i> , <i>-thr-</i>	<i>-th-</i>	<i>-th-</i>	<i>-th-</i>	<i>-th-</i>
(A6)		<i>-th-</i> , <i>-thr-</i>			<i>-th-</i>	<i>-th-</i>
2 BC	<i>-th-</i>					
1 BC-1 AD	<i>-th-</i>			1 BC <i>-th-</i>		
1 AD	<i>-th-</i>		<i>-th-</i>			
2 AD	<i>-th-</i>		<i>-th-</i>			
3 AD.	<i>-th-</i>		<i>-th-</i>			

(III) Cluster -*rd-*.

3 BC	<i>-d-</i>			<i>-d-</i>	<i>-d-</i>	<i>-d-</i>
(A6)						
3 BC	<i>-d-</i>					
1 BC	<i>-d-</i>					
1 AD	<i>-d-</i>					
2 AD	<i>-d-</i>		<i>-d-</i>			
3 AD.			<i>-d-</i>			

(IV) Cluster -*rdh-*.

3 BC	<i>-dh-</i>	<i>-dh-</i>	<i>-dh-</i>	<i>-dh-</i>	<i>-dh-</i>	<i>-dh-</i>
(A6)	<i>-dh-</i>	<i>-dh-</i> , <i>-dhr-</i>				<i>-dh-</i>
2 BC				<i>-dh-</i>	<i>-dh-</i>	
1 BC	<i>-dh-</i>					
1 AD	<i>-dh-</i> , <i>-dh-</i>					
2 AD.	<i>-dh-</i>		<i>-dh-</i>			
3 AD.			<i>-dh-</i>			

Period.	West	N West.	South.	Central.	East.	North.
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§ 408 Clusters with Labials

(i) Cluster *sp* :

3 B.C. (Aś.)				<i>ph-</i>		
2 B.C.					<i>ph-</i> (?)	
1 A.D.			<i>-ph-</i>	<i>-ph-</i>	<i>-s-</i> (< <i>*sv-</i>)	

(ii) Cluster *ṣp* .

3 B.C. (Aś.)				<i>-p-</i>	<i>-ph-, -p-</i>	<i>-p-</i>
2 & 3 A.D.			<i>-ph-</i>			
4 A.D.				<i>-pph-</i>		

(iii) Cluster *ṛp* :

2 B.C.					<i>mp-</i>	
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§ 409 Clusters with Semi-vowel *y* .1 Stops + *y*(i) Cluster *gy* .

3 B.C. (Aś.)			<i>-gty-</i>			
1 A.D.	<i>-g-</i>					

(ii) Cluster *ṣy*

3 B.C. (Aś.)		<i>-ṣ-</i>			<i>-ṣ-</i>	
2 B.C.						
1 B.C.	<i>-yiy-</i>			<i>-j-</i>	<i>-ṣ-</i>	
1 A.D.	<i>-j-</i>					

(iii) Cluster *ty* (cf. Palatalisation)

3 B.C. (Aś.)		<i>(-ty-, -tia-)</i>		<i>(-cy-, -ty-)</i>	<i>-ty-, (-ty-)</i>	<i>-ty, (-ty-)</i>
3 B.C.					<i>-tiy-</i>	
2 B.C.			<i>-tiy-</i>		<i>try- > tiy-</i>	
1 B.C.	<i>-tiy-</i>			<i>-tiy-</i>	<i>-tiy-, -t-</i>	
1 B.C.-1 A.D.	<i>-tiy-, -ty-</i>					
1 A.D.	<i>-t- -ty-</i>		<i>-tiy-, -tay-</i>			
2 A.D.	<i>-tiy- -tia-, (-dia-) (-tiiv-?)</i>		<i>(-t- ?) (-ty-)</i>			

Period.	West	N West.	South	Central	East.	North.
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(iv) Cluster *dy* . (also cf Palatalisation)

3 B C (A6)	-d-y- > -y-	-diy-		-diy-	-diy-	-diy-
2 B C					-d-y- > -y- -dy- > -diy-	

(v) Cluster *dhy* (also cf Palatalisation)

3 B C		-dhiy-		-dhy-	(-dhy-)	-dhiy- (-dhy-)
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2 Cluster *-ry-* . (also cf Palatalisation)

3 B C (A6)		-riy-	-riy-	-riy-	-liy-	-liy-
3 B C	-y-	-y-	-y-	-liy-	-y-	-y-
2 B C	-riy-		-riy-, -y-	riy -y-	-riy- -y- -ira-	
1 B.C.	-riy- -y-			-riy- -y- -r-		
1 B C-1 A.D.	-riy- -y-					
1 A.D.	-y- -ira- (-riy-)		(or 2 A.D.) -riy- -y- -yir- -ira-			
2 A.D.	-riy -ira- -y-		-riy- -y- -yir- -r-			
3 A.D.			-r-			

3 Cluster *-ly-*

3 B.C. (A6)	-l-	-l-		-y-	-y-	-y-
2 B C				-l-	-l-	
1 B C-1 A.D.	-l-, -la-, -ly- (loan- word)					
2 A.D.	-liy- -la-					

4 Cluster *vy*

3 B.C. (A6)	vy-	viy- v-	vy-	viy- (vay- vy-)	viy- (viv-)	viy-
	-vy- (-y-)	-viy- -v-	-viy- (-vy-)	-vy-	-viy- (-vy-, -y-)	-viy-

Period	West	N West	South	Central	East	North
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In all subsequent inscriptions *vy* > *v* in all places. It is only in a loan word that we find *-vy-* preserved in the inscriptions of second cent. A.D. in the South.

5 Clusters with sibilant + *y*

3 B.C.		<i>vy-</i>	<i>vy-</i>	<i>vy-</i>	<i>sy-</i>	<i>sy-</i>
(Aś.)	<i>vy-</i>	<i>-vy-</i>		<i>-y-</i>	<i>-sy-</i>	<i>-sy-</i>
		<i>śvy-</i>			<i>-ś-</i>	<i>-ś-</i>
					<i>-śy-</i>	
					(<i>-śy-</i> > <i>-h-</i> ?) (<i>-śy-</i> > <i>-h-</i> ?)	

In all subsequent inscriptions the cluster becomes *s*

6 The cluster *hy*

3 B.C.		<i>-hy-</i>
(Aś.)		
1 A.D.	<i>-hy-</i> , <i>yh-</i>	
	<i>-y-</i>	

§ 410 Clusters with the semi vowel *r*

1 Stops + *r*

(i) Cluster *kr*

3 B.C.	<i>-kr-</i>	<i>kr-</i>		<i>k-</i>	<i>k-</i>	<i>k-</i>
(Aś.)	(<i>k-</i>)		<i>-k-</i>	<i>-k-</i>	<i>-k-</i>	<i>k-</i>
2 B.C.				<i>k-</i>	<i>-k-</i>	
1 B.C.				<i>-k-</i>		
				(<i>-kr-</i>)		

(ii) Cluster *gr*

3 B.C.				<i>g-</i>	<i>g-</i>	<i>g</i>
(Aś.)	<i>-g-</i>	<i>-gr-</i>		<i>-g-</i>	<i>-g-</i>	<i>g</i>
4 A.D.				<i>-gr-</i>		

(iii) Cluster *tr*

3 B.C.	<i>tr-</i>	<i>tr-</i>				
(Aś.)	<i>t-</i>	<i>t-</i>		<i>t-</i>	<i>t-</i>	<i>t-</i>
	<i>-t-</i>	<i>-tr-</i>	<i>-t-</i>	<i>-t-</i>	<i>-t-</i>	<i>-t-</i>
	<i>tr-</i>	(<i>-dtr-</i>)				
3 B.C.	<i>-t-</i>		<i>-t-</i>		<i>t-</i> , <i>-t-</i>	
2 B.C.	<i>-t-</i>		<i>t-</i> , <i>-t-</i>	<i>-t-</i>	<i>-t-</i>	
	<i>-tr-</i>			(<i>tr-</i> , <i>-tr-</i>)	(<i>-tr-</i>)	
1 B.C.	<i>-t-</i>			<i>t-</i>		
	<i>-tr-</i>			<i>-tr-</i>		
1 A.D.	<i>-t-</i> , <i>-tar-</i>		<i>t-</i> , <i>-t-</i>	<i>-tar-</i>		
	<i>-tr-</i>					
2 A.D.	<i>-t-</i> , <i>-tar-</i>		<i>-t-</i> , <i>-tar-</i>			
	<i>-tr-</i>		<i>-tr-</i>			
3 A.D.			<i>-t-</i>			
			(<i>-tth-</i>)			
4 A.D.				<i>-tt-</i>		

Period	West	N West.	South	Central	East	North
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(iv) Cluster *dr*

3 BC. (Aś.)	-d-	dṛ- -dṛ- -d-	-d-	d	-d-	-d-
2 BC	-d-		-d-	-d- (-dṛ-)	-ndṛ- > -md-, (-ndṛ- ?) -d-	
1 BC	-d- -dṛ-			-d- -dṛ-		
1 AD	-d- -dṛ-		-d-			
2 AD.			-d-			
3 AD			-ndṛ- > -nd-			

(v) Cluster *dhr*

3 BC (Aś.)	(dhr- ?)	dhr-		dhr- -dhr-	dhr- -dhr-	dhr- -dhr-
1 AD	-dhr-					

(vi) Cluster *pr*

3 BC (Aś.)	p-	p-	p-	p-	p-	p-
	pr-	pr-	(pr-)	pr- (-pr-)		
2 BC				p-, -p- (-pr-)	p-, -p-	
1 BC	p-, (-p-) -pr-			p-, -p-		
1 AD	p-, (-p-) pr-			p-		
2 AD.	p-, (-p-)		(pr-)			

(vii) Cluster *br*

3 BC (Aś.)	b-	b-			b-	b-
	br-	br-				
2 BC	b-			b-	b-	
1 BC	(br-)			(br-)		
1 AD	b- br-					
2 AD	br-					
4 AD				b-, br-		

(viii) Cluster *bhr*

3 BC (Aś.)	bhr-	bhr-		-bh-	bh-	bh-
		bhr-			-bh-	bh
3 BC					bh-	
2 BC.				bh-	bh-	

Period.	West	N West	South	Central	East.	North.
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2 Cluster *vr* .

3 B.C.	<i>v-</i>	<i>vr-</i>			<i>v-</i>	<i>v-</i>
(Aś)	<i>v-</i>	<i>-vr-</i>				<i>-v-</i>

In all subsequent inscriptions *vr* > *v* in all places In a probable loan-word in an inscription of the 1st cent B C in West we get *vr-*

3 Sibilant + *r* .

3 B.C.	<i>s-</i>	<i>śr-</i>	<i>s-</i>	<i>s-</i>	<i>s-</i>	<i>s-</i>
(Aś)	(<i>śr-</i>)				(<i>śr-</i>)	
	<i>-s-</i>	<i>-śr-</i>	<i>-s-</i>	<i>-s-</i>	<i>-s-</i>	<i>-s-</i>
	<i>-sr-</i>					
2 B C	<i>s-</i>			<i>s-</i>	<i>ś-, s-</i>	
	<i>srr-</i> (in <i>siri</i> everywhere),			(<i>śr-?</i>)	<i>srr-</i>	
				<i>srr, ser-</i>	<i>-s-</i>	
				<i>-s-</i>		
1 B C				<i>s-</i>		
1 A D.	<i>śr</i>					
	<i>-śr-</i>					

4 Cluster *hr*

2 B.C.					<i>h-</i>	
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§ 411 Clusters with *l* .(i) Cluster *kl*

3 B.C.					<i>kl-</i>	
(Aś)					<i>-kl-</i>	
1 A D.	<i>kl-</i>					

(ii) Cluster *gl*

3 B C			<i>gil- (?)</i>			
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(iii) Cluster *rl*

3 B C				<i>-l-</i>	<i>-l-</i>	<i>-l-</i>
(Aś)						

(iv) Cluster *śl*

3 B C					<i>-ś-</i>	
(Aś)				<i>s-</i>	<i>-ś-</i>	<i>-ś-</i>

(v) Cluster *hl* :

1 A D.	<i>-lh-</i>					
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Period.	West.	N West.	South.	Central	East	North.
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§ 412 Clusters with *v* :1 Stops + *v* :(i) Cluster *kv*

3 B.C.						<i>kuv-</i>
(Aś.)						
1 B.C.				<i>k-</i>		

(ii) Cluster *fv*

1 B.C.				<i>-fuv-</i>		
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(iii) Cluster *dv* :

3 B.C.				<i>-dvv-</i>	<i>-dvv-</i>	<i>-dvv-</i>
(Aś.)						
1 B.C.-1 A.D.	<i>-nuv-</i>					

(iv) Cluster *tv* :

3 B.C.						
(Aś.)	<i>-tp-</i>	<i>-t-</i>		<i>-t-</i>	<i>t-, -t-</i>	<i>-t-</i>
2 B.C.					<i>-t-</i>	
1 B.C.	<i>-t-</i>					
1 A.D.	<i>-t-</i>		<i>-t-</i>	(<i>-tv-</i>)		
2 A.D.	<i>-t-</i>		<i>-t-, (-tv-)</i>			
3 A.D.			<i>-t-</i>			

(v) Cluster *dv*

3 B.C.	(in numerals)					
(Aś.)	<i>dv-</i>	<i>d-, duv-</i>		<i>d-, duv-</i>	<i>d-, duv-</i>	<i>d-, duv-</i>
	<i>db-</i>	<i>b-</i>				
	(in other examples)		<i>-d-</i>	<i>-d-</i>	<i>duv-</i>	
					<i>-d-</i>	
					<i>-d-v-></i>	
					<i>-v-</i>	
3 B.C.	In numerals					
2 B.C.	<i>b-, (v-)</i>			<i>d-, b-</i>		
1 B.C.	<i>b-</i>					
1 B.C.-1 A.D.	<i>b-, dv-</i>					
	<i>-d-</i>					
1 A.D.	<i>b-, (d-)</i>		<i>b-</i>			
2 A.D.	<i>b-, (d-)</i>		<i>b-</i>			
3 A.D.			<i>b-</i>			

(in other examples) :

2 B.C.	<i>-d-</i>					
1 B.C.-1 A.D.	<i>-d-</i>					
2 A.D.	<i>d-</i>			(1 or 2 A.D.)		
			<i>d-</i>			
			<i>-d-</i>			
3 A.D.			<i>θ</i>			

Period.	West	N West	South ¹	Central	East	North
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(vi) Cluster *dhv*

2 B C. -dhv-

2 Semi-vowel + *v*(1) Cluster *rv*

3 B C	-rv-	-vt-		-v-	-v-	-v-
(Aś)	-v-	(ie -rv-)			-huv-	-huv-
		-v-				

In all other inscriptions *rv* > *v*

3 Sibilant , *v*(1) Cluster *śv*

3 B C	śv-	ḥ-	śv-	ś-,	ś-,	ś-,
(Aś)				śuv-	śuv-	śuv-
(śv- or sv-)				(śv-)	(śv-, śua-)	(śv-)
				-śv-	śv-	-śv-
3 B C			-ś-		ś-	
2 B C			ś-	-ś-	ś-	
				-śuv	-śv-	
1 B C	-ś-			-ś-,		
				-śuv-		
2 A D	-ś		ś-, -ś-			
			śv-			
3 A D			ś-, -ś-			
			-śv-			

(ii) Cluster *śv*

(For Aśokan Inscriptions cf above śv)

3 B C			-ś-			
2 B C	ś-		ś-	ś-, śv-	ś-	
				-ś-		
1 B C	ś- śl-			ś-		
1 A D	śv-			ś-		
2 A D	ś, śv-		ś-, -ś-			
3 A D			ś-, -ś-			

§ 413 Clusters with Sibilants

(1) Cluster *ṛś*

3 B C	-ṛ-	-ṛ-		-ṛ-	-ṛ-	-ṛ-
(Aś)	-ṛs-	-ṛś-			(-ṛs-)	
2 B C					-ṛ-,	
					-ṛs-	
1 B C	-ṛs-			-ṛ-		
1 A D	-ṛ-					

Period	West.	N. West.	South.	Central	East	North.
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(ii) For *kṣ* see palatalisation § 402 above.

(iii) Cluster *rṣ*.

3 B.C. (Aś.)	-s- -rs-	-ṣ- (-rs-)	-s-	-s-	-s-	-s-
3 B.C.			-s-			
2 B.C.				-s-	-s-	
1 B.C.	-s-, -rṣ- -h- (<i>kāhāṣana</i> -)					
1 A.D.	-s-, -rṣ- (-rṣ-), -h- (<i>kāhāṣana</i> -)					
2 A.D.	-s- -h- (<i>kāhāṣana</i> -)		-s- -rṣ-			
3 A.D.			-s-, -rṣ-			

(iv) Cluster *ts* :

3 B.C. (Aś.)	-ch- -t-s > -s-	-s- -t-s > -s-	-ch- -ch-		-s- -s-	-s- -t-s > -s-
2 B.C.			-ch-		-s-	
1 B.C.					(-ps- > -ch-)	
2 A.D.			-ch- (-cc-)			
3 A.D.			-ts-			

§414 Clusters with *h* -*rḥ* :

3 B.C. (Aś.)	-rah- -r-	-rah- -r-	-rah-			-l-
3 B.C.			-rah-			
2 B.C.				-rah- (-rḥ-, -rāh)	-rah- -r(i)h-	
1 B.C.	-rah-			-rah-		

§ 415 Clusters with the nasal *ñ*

(1) The cluster *ñc* :

3 B.C. (Aś.)	-mc- (Aś.)	-mc-		-mc-	-mc- -mn-	-mc- -mn-
3 B.C.					-c-	
2 B.C.				-c-	-mc-	
1 B.C.	-c-, -ñ-			-c-	-ñ-, -mḍ-	
1 A.D.	-c-, -mc- -ñ-					
2 A.D.	-c-, -mc-		-mc- -mḍ- (-ñ-)			
3 A.D.			-mc-, -ñc-			
4 A.D.				-ñc-		

Period.	West.	N West.	South.	Central.	East.	North.
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(ii) The cluster $\tilde{n}j$

3 BC. (Aś.)	-mj-	-j- (-ñ-)		-mj-, -j-	-mj-	-mj-
3 BC.			-j-			
2 BC				-j-		
1 BC.				-j-		
4 AD				-ñj-		

(iii) The cluster $j\tilde{n}$

3 BC (Aś.)	\tilde{n} - -ñ-, -mñ-	\tilde{n} - -n- -ñ- -ñ-	\tilde{n} - -n-	n- -n- -mn-	n- -ñ- -mn- -mñ- (-jn-)	\tilde{n} -, n- -n- (-jn-)
2 BC	(-jn-) n-	(-jn-)		\tilde{n} -, -ñ-	\tilde{n} -	
1 BC	\tilde{n} -, -mñ-			-ñ-		
1 AD.	\tilde{n} \tilde{n} -, -mñ-, -n- -n-		n-, -ñ-			
2 AD	n-, -n- -ñ-, (-ñ-?)		n-, -ñ- -mñ-, -ñ- -n-, -n-			
3 AD						
4 AD				-n-		

§ 416 Clusters with the nasal n (i) The cluster $n\dot{d}$

3 BC (Aś.)		-m\dot{d}-		-m\dot{d}-	-md-	-m\dot{d}-
2 BC	-d-			-m\dot{d}-, -\dot{d}- (-d-?)		
1 BC	-m\dot{d}- -md-, -d-?			-d-		
1 or 2 AD			-m\dot{d}- -\dot{d}- (-mn-) (-n\dot{d}-)			
2 AD.			-m\dot{d}-, -\dot{d}-			
3 AD.				-n\dot{d}-		
4 AD.						

(ii) The cluster $n\dot{y}$

3 BC (Aś.)	-mn- -mñ-	-niy- -ñ- (-ñ-)			-niy- -mn-	-niy- -mn- n-
3 BC			-ñ-, -ñ-			
2 BC	-n-			-ñ-		
1 BC-1 AD	-ñ- -ñ-					

Period.	West.	N West	South	Central.	East.	North.
1 or 2 A.D.			- <i>n</i> -			
			- <i>n</i> -			
2 A.D.	- <i>n</i> -		- <i>mn</i> -			
	- <i>n</i> -		(- <i>mn</i> -)			
			- <i>mñ</i> -, - <i>n</i> -			
			- <i>nn</i> -			
3 A.D.			- <i>n</i> -			

(iii) The cluster *nn*.

3 B.C.			- <i>mn</i> -	- <i>mn</i> -	- <i>mn</i> -	- <i>mn</i> -
(A.S.)						
3 B.C.				- <i>n</i> -		
2 B.C.				- <i>n</i> -, - <i>n</i> -	- <i>n</i> - (earlier)	
					- <i>n</i> - (later)	
1 B.C.	- <i>mn</i> -, - <i>n</i> -			- <i>n</i> -		
1 B.C. or 1 A.D.	- <i>n</i> -					
1 A.D.	- <i>n</i> -		(or 2 A.D.)			
	(- <i>nn</i> -)		- <i>n</i> -			
2 A.D.	- <i>n</i> -, - <i>mn</i> -		- <i>n</i> -, - <i>mñ</i> -			
			(- <i>nn</i> -)			

(iv) The cluster *nn*

2 B.C.	- <i>nh</i> -			- <i>nh</i> -		
				- <i>nh</i> -		
1 B.C.	- <i>nh</i> -			- <i>nh</i> -		
	- <i>nh</i> -					
1 A.D.	- <i>nh</i> -		(or 2 A.D.)			
	(- <i>nn</i> -)		- <i>n</i> -, - <i>nh</i> -			
			- <i>nh</i> -			
2 A.D.	- <i>nh</i> -		- <i>n</i> -			
	(- <i>nn</i> -)		- <i>nh</i> -			
4 A.D.				- <i>nh</i> -		

§ 417 Clusters with the nasal *n*(1) The cluster *ny*

3 B.C.	<i>ñ</i> -				<i>n(i)</i> -	<i>n(i)</i> -
(A.S.)	- <i>mñ</i> -, - <i>ñ</i> -	- <i>mñ</i> -, - <i>ñ</i> -		- <i>mn</i> -	- <i>mn</i> -, - <i>n</i> -	- <i>mn</i> -, - <i>n</i> -
		- <i>n</i> -, (- <i>n</i> -)			(- <i>mñ</i> -)	
3 B.C.			- <i>mn</i> -		- <i>niy</i> -	
2 B.C.			- <i>n</i> -	- <i>n</i> -		
			- <i>mñ</i> -	- <i>ñ</i> -		
1 B.C.	- <i>mñ</i> -			<i>n(i)</i> -		
1 B.C. or 1 A.D.	- <i>mñ</i> -					
2 A.D.	- <i>n</i> -		- <i>mn</i> -, - <i>n</i> -			
			(- <i>ny</i> -)			
			(- <i>mñ</i> -)			
3 A.D.			- <i>mn</i> -, - <i>n</i> -			
			- <i>mn</i> -, - <i>mñ</i> -			

Period.	West.	N. West.	South.	Central.	East.	North.
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(ii) The cluster *gn* (or *g-n*):

3 B.C. (Aś.)	-g-	-g-			-g- -g-n- > -gin-	-g-
2 B.C.	-g-			-g-		
1 B.C.	-g- (-gn-)			-g-n- > -gan-		
2 A.D.			-g-			
3 A.D.			-g-			

(iii) The cluster *tn*:

2 B.C.					-tan-	
1 A.D.	-tin-					
2 A.D.	-t-		-tn-			

(iv) The cluster *p-n*:

3 B.C. (Aś.)	-pun-	-pun-			-pun-	-pun-
2 B.C.					-pun-	

(v) The cluster *sn*:

3 B.C. (Aś.)		n-, sn-		-śn- > -sn-		śn-
2 B.C.				-(t) sn- > -nh-		
1 B.C.	san-			In <i>smuṣā</i> nh-, h-, n-		
1 or 2 A.D.			In <i>smuṣā</i> smn- smn-			
2 A.D.				(<i>sumn</i> - ?) smn-, smn-		

§ 418 Clusters with the nasal *m*:(i) *m* + the semivowel *r*: In all inscriptions it becomes *b* or *m̐b*.(ii) The cluster *tm*:

3 B.C. (Aś.)	-tp-	-t-	-tp-	-t-	-t-	-t-
2 B.C.					-t-	
1 or 2 A.D.	-tm-					
1 B.C.			-p-			
2 A.D.			-p-, -t- (-tm-) (pp-)			
3 A.D.						
4 A.D.					-p-	

Period.	West.	N. West.	South.	Central.	East.	North.
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(iii) The cluster *sm* :
In termination.

3 B.C. (Aś.)	-mh-	-sp-	-s- sum- (sumi)	-s- sum- (sumi) -ph- (pron) -sm- > -s- s- (-ś-)	-s- sum- (sumi) -ph-, -sm- (pron)	-s- -ph- (pron.)
2 B.C.						
1 B.C.	-mh- or -m- (term.)					
1 A.D.	-mh-, -sm- (pron.)'					
2 A.D.	-sm- > -mh- -sm- > -mh-		-sm- > -mh- -hm-			
3 A.D.			-mh- -sm- > -mh-			
4 A.D.				-mh-, -hm-		

(iv) The cluster *hm* :

3 B.C. (Aś.)	-hm- -mh- (-mh- ?) (-mbh- ?)	-m-			-bh- (?)	-mbh- (?) -bh- (?)
2 B.C.	-mh-			h-	-mh	
1 B.C.	-mmh- -mm-			-hm- -mh-		
1 A.D.	-mh- -hm-					
2 A.D.	-hm-		-hm- -mh-			
3 A.D.			-hm- -mh-			
4 A.D.				-mh-		

CHAPTER VII

MORPHOLOGY

Period.	West.	N West.	South.	Central	East.	North.
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§ 419 Bases ending in -a, -ā

(a) Masculine and Neuter nouns in -a

(i) Nom sg Mas

3 BC. (Aś)	-o (-e)	-o (-a, -i)	-e	-e	-e (-a, -o)	-e (-ā, -o)
3 BC. 2 BC			-o	-o	-e	
			-o	-o	-o (Udayagiri)	
				(-e)	-e (Jogimārā)	
1 BC.	-o			-o	-e	
				(-e, -o ?)		
1 AD	-o, (-e)		-o	-o		
2 AD	-o, (-a)		-o, (-a ?)			
3 AD			-o			
4 AD				-o		

(ii) Acc sg Mas

3 BC (Aś)	-am	-am (-a) (-o, -e)	-am	-am (-a)	-am (-a)	-am (-a)
3 BC. 2 BC.			(-am ?)	-am, -a	-am	
1 BC.				-a		
1 AD.	-a					
2 AD	-a, (-e)		-am			
3 AD			-am, -a			

(iii) Nom sg Neut

3 BC (Aś)	-am, -a (-e)	-am -a (-e, -o)	-e (-am)	-e (-a ?)	-e (-am, -ā)	-e (-am, -ā)
3 BC			-am	-am	-e (-am)	
2 BC.	-am, -a		-am, -a	-am, -a (-e)	-am	
1 BC	-am, -a			-am, -a		
1 AD.	-am, -a (-e, -ā)		-am, -a			
2 AD.	-am -a		-am, -a			
3 AD			-am			

Period.	West.	N. West.	South.	Central.	East.	North.
(iv) Acc. sg. Neut						
3 B.C. (Aś)	-am	-am (-a)	-am	-am (-a)	-am (-e, -a)	-am (-e, -ā)
3 B.C.				-am	-am	
2 B.C.				-a, (-e)		
1 A.D.	-am, -a					
2 A.D.			-am			
3 A.D.			-am, -e			
4 A.D.				-e (?)		
(v) Inst sg						
3 B.C. (Aś)	-ena	-ena	-ena	-ena	-ena, (-enā)	-ena, (-enā)
2 B.C.	-ena, -ena (-enū?, -enam?)			-ena (-ena)	-ena	
1 B.C.	-ena, -ena			-ena, (-ena)		
1 A.D.	-ena, -ena-		-ena			
2 A.D.	-ena, -ena		-ena, ena			
3 A.D.			-ena, -ena			
(vi) Dat sg						
3 B.C. (Aś)	-ya, (-ā)	-ye	-ya	-ye, -ya	-ye	-ye
3 B.C.					-ya, (a?)	
2 B.C.	-ya			-ya		
1 B.C.	-ya			-yā		
1 A.D.			-ya	-ye		
2 A.D.	-ya		-ya			
3 A.D.			-ya, (-e?)			
(vii) Abl sg						
3 B.C. (Aś)	-ā	-a	-ā	-ā	-ā, (-a)	
3 B.C.			-ā			
2 B.C.	-ā (-āto)		-ā	-ā, -a -āto, (-atu)	-ā (-ato)	
1 B.C.	-ā			-ā, -a (-āto)		
1 A.D.	-ā (-āto)		-ā (-āto?)			
2 A.D.	-ā (-āto)		-ā			
3 A.D.			-ā (-āto)			

Period.	West.	N. West.	South. &	Central	East.	North.
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(viii) Gen. sg

3 B.C. (Aś.)	-sa	-sa	-sa	-sa	-sa	-sa (-sā, -ṣā)
3 B.C.			-sa, (-ṣa) -(e)sa	-sa (-ā)sa	-sa	
2 B.C.	-sa (-e)sa		-sa (-āsa)	-sa (-āsa)	-sa	
1 B.C.	-sa, (-ṣa ?) (-e)sa			-sa		
1 A.D.	-sa, (-śa)		-sa, (-sā ?)	-sa		
2 A.D.	-sa, (-syā) (-e)sa		-sa			
3 A.D.			-sa, -ssa			
4 A.D.				-si, -sim		

(ix) Loc. sg

3 B.C. (Aś.)	-mhi	-spā, -si	-si	-si	-si (-e)	-si
3 B.C.	-e	-e			e, (-si)	
2 B.C.	-mhi		-e	-e, (-i)	-e, (-i)	
1 B.C.	-e			-e, (-mhi)		
1 A.D.	-e		-e	-e, (-mmhi)		
2 A.D.	-e		-e, (-mhi)			
3 A.D.			-e, (-mhi)			

(x) Nom. pl. Mas.

3 B.C. (Aś.)	-ā	-a	-ā	-ā	-ā (a)	-ā (-a, -āse)
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In all subsequent inscriptions the term is -ā

(xi) Acc. pl. Mas

3 B.C. (Aś.)	-e (-āni)	-ani		(-āni)	-āni	-āni
2 B.C.					-e	
1 B.C.				-e		
1 A.D.	(-e ?)					
2 A.D.			-ā, -e			
3 A.D.			-e			
4 A.D.				-e		

(xii) Nom. Acc. pl. Neut.

3 B.C. (Aś.)	-āni (-ā)	-ani (-a)	-āni	-āni (-a)	-āni (-ā)	-āni (-ā)
3 B.C.			-āni		-āni	
2 B.C.				-āni	-āni	

Period.	West.	N West.	South.	Central	East.	North.
1 B.C.	-āns			-āni		
1 A.D.	-āns		-ā			
	-āni					
2 A.D.	-āns		-āni			
	-āns					
3 A.D.			-āns,			
			-āni, -ā			

(xiii) Inst. pl.

3 B.C. (Aś.)	-ehi	-ehi	-ehi	-ehi	-ehi	-ehi
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In all subsequent inscriptions the term is *-ehi*.

(xiv) Dat. pl

3 B.C. (Aś.)		-ehi			-ehi	-ehi
1 A.D.	-ehi ?					
4 A.D.				-ehsm		

(xv) Gen. pl

3 B.C. (Aś.)	-nam (-nām)	-nam -na	-nam	-nam	-nam	-nam -na, -nā
3 B.C.			-nam		-nam -na	
2 B.C.	-nam, -na, -nām, -nā -nam, -na		-nam, -na	-nam, -na, -nā	-nam	
1 B.C.	-nam, -na -nam, -na			-nam, -na		
1 A.D.	-nam, -na -na		-nam, -na	-nā		
2 A.D.	-nam, -na, -nam, -na		-nam, -na -nam			
3 A.D.			-nam -nam, -na			
4 A.D.				-na		

(xvi) Loc pl

3 B.C. (Aś.)	-su (-sū)	-śu	-su	-śu	-su	-śu
1 B.C. or 1 A.D.	-su (-śu ?)					
1 A.D.	-su					
2 A.D.	-su		-su			
4 A.D.				-su		

Period.	West.	N West.	South.	Central.	East.	North.
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(b) Feminine nouns ending in *-ā* :

(i) Nom. sg

3 B.C. (Aś.)	-ā	-a	-ā	-ā	-ā (-a)	-ā (-a)
3 B.C.			-ā, (-a)			
2 B.C.	-ā			-ā	-ā	
1 B.C.	-ā			-ā, -a		
1 A.D.	-ā (-a)		-ā			
2 A.D.	-ā (-a)		-ā			
3 A.D.			-ā			

(ii) Acc. sg

3 B.C. (Aś.)	-ām, -ā	-am, -a		-am	-am	-am, -ā
2 B.C.				-a	-am	
2 A.D.			-am			
3 A.D.			-ā			

(iii) Inst. sg

3 B.C. (Aś.)	-ya	-ya		-ya (-yā)	-ya	-ye, -yā (-ya)
2 B.C.	-ya (ye?)			-ye	-ya	
1 B.C.	-ya, (-a?)					
1 A.D.	-ya				(-ye?)	
2 A.D.	-ya		-ya			
3 A.D.			-ya, -ye			

(iv) Dat. sg.

3 B.C. (Aś.)					-ye	-ye
1 B.C.	-ya					
1 A.D.	-ya				-yā	
2 A.D.	-ya, (-ā?)		-ya			

(v) Abl. sg

1 B.C.				-yā		
1 A.D.	-ye					

(vi) Gen. sg

3 B.C. (Aś.)				-ye (?)		-ye (?)
3 B.C.	-ya			-ye		

Period.	West.	N. West.	• South.	Central.	East.	North.
2 B.C.	-ya -yā -ye		-yā	-ye -yā -ya	-ye -ya	
1 B.C.	-ya -va			-ye -yā -ya		
1 A.D.	-ya -va		(1 or 2 A.D.) -ya (-yā, -ye, -sa) -ya	-e		
2 A.D.	-ya -a					

(vii) Log sg

3 B.C.	-yam	-ye			-yam, (-ya)	-yam
(Aś.)	(-ya)				-ye	-ye
2 B.C.	-ya					
1 B.C.	-yam				-ya	
1 A.D.	-ya			-yam		
2 A.D.	-ya, -yam -yā		-ya, -yam			

(viii) Nom. pl.

3 B.C.	-ā, -āyo	-a-	-ā	-ā		-ā
(Aś.)	(-a)					
2 B.C.	-ā			-ayo	-ā	
1 B.C.	-ā			-ā		
1 A.D.	-āyo					
2 A.D.	-ā					

(ix) Acc pl.

2 B.C.					-ni (?) (perhaps neut.)	
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(x) Inst. pl

3 B.C.			-hi			
(Aś.)						
2 B.C.					-hi	
1 B.C.	-hi					
2 A.D.	-hi		-hi			

(xi) Gen pl

2 B.C.				-nā		
2 A.D.			-nam			

Period.	West.	N. West.	South.	• Central.	East.	North.
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(xii) Loc. pl.

3 B.C.						-su
(Aś)						
1 & 2 A.D.	-su					

§ 420. Bases ending in -i and ī

(a) Mas. and Neut nouns in -i :

(i) Nom sg. Mas

3 B.C.				-i	-i, (ī)	-ī
(Aś.)						
2 B.C.					-i, -ī	
1 B.C.				-i		
1 A.D.	-i					
2 A.D.	-ī		-i, -ī			
3 A.D.			-i, -ī			
4 A.D.				-i		

(ii) Acc sg Mas

2 B.C.					-im	
1 B.C.				-i		
2 A.D.			-im, -ī			

(iii) Nom sg Neut

3 B.C.						-i
(Aś)						

(iv) Inst sg

2 B.C.	-nā				-nā	
1 B.C.				-na		
1 A.D.	-nā, -nā		-nā			
2 A.D.			-nā			
4 A.D.				-nā		

(v) Abl sg

2 B.C.				-mhā		
1 B.C.	-mhā			-mhā, -nā		

(vi) Gen. sg

2 B.C.	-no		-sa	-no	-no	
	-sa (?)			(frequent)		
				-sa (rare)		
1 B.C.	-no, (-no)			-no		
	-sa			(frequent)		
				-sa (rare)		

Period.	West.	N. West.	South.	Central.	East.	North.
1 B.C. or 1 A.D.	-sa (frequent)					
	-no					
1 A.D.	-sa		(or 2 A.D.) -sa -no, (-no)			
2 A.D.	-se		-sa			
3 A.D.			-sa			
(vii) Loc sg						
1 B.C.				-mi		
2 A.D.			-yam			
(viii) Nom pl Mas						
3 B.C.	-i	-yo?				
(Aś)						
2 B.C.					-yo	
3 A.D.	-yo					
(ix) Acc pl Mas						
2 B.C.					-yo	
3 A.D.			-ye			
(x) Nom Acc pl Neut						
3 B.C.					ni	-ni
(Aś)						
(xi) Inst Pl						
2 B.C.					hi	
2 A.D.	-hi					
(xii) Gen. pl						
3 B.C.	-nam	-nam,				-nam
(Aś)		-na				nā
2 B.C.	-nām,			-nam	-nam	
1 A.D.	-na					
2 A.D.	-nam					
(xiii) Loc pl						
3 B.C.	-su	-su			-su	ns-
(Aś)						
1 A.D.	-su					

Period.	West.	N. West.	South ^c	Central.	East.	North.
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(b) Feminine nouns ending in -i :

(i) Nom. sg.

3 B.C. (Aś.)	-i (-i)	-i	-i	-i (-i)	-i (-i)	-i (-i)
2 B.C.			-i	-i		
1 B.C.				-i		
1 A.D.	-i		(or 2 A.D.)			
2 A.D.	-i, -i		-i			

(ii) Acc sg

3 B.C. (Aś.)	-im (-i)	-i		-i	-i (-im, -i)	-i (-im, -i)
2 B.C.				-im		

(iii) Inst sg

3 B.C. (Aś.)	-yā	-ya		-yā	-yā, (-ya)	-yā, (-ya, -ye)
2 B.C.					(-nā ?) mas. term.	

(iv) Dat sg.

3 B.C. (Aś.)	-ya	-ya			-ye	-ye
2 A.D.	-ye	-ye				-yā

(v) Abl sg

3 B.C. (Aś.)		-ya			yā	-yā
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(vi) Gen sg

2 B.C.				-ya		
1 B.C. or 1 A.D.	-ya					

(vii) Loc sg.

3 B.C. (Aś.)		-ya			-ya, -ye	-ye
1 A.D.	-mā (?)					

(viii) Nom pl.

2 B.C.			-yo			
1 or 2 A.D.			-ya			

Period.	West.	N. West.	South.	Central.	East.	North
(ix) Acc. pl.						
2 B.C.					-yo	
(x) Inst. pl.						
1 or 2 A.D.			-hi			
(xi) Loc. pl.						
3 B.C. (Aś.)				su (?)		
1 A.D.	-su					
(c) Feminine nouns ending in -ī :						
(i) Nom. sg.						
3 B.C. (Aś.)					-ī, -ī	-ī, -ī
3 B.C.	-ī		-ī			
2 B.C.	-ī, -ī			-ī	-ī	
1 B.C.	-ī, -ī			-ī		
1 A.D.	-ī, -ī		-ī	-ī		
2 A.D.	-ī		-ī			
3 A.D.			-ī			
(ii) Acc. sg.						
2 B.C.					-īm	
2 A.D.			-īm			
(iii) Inst. sg.						
2 B.C.					-nā (Mas. Term.)	
1 B.C.	-ya					
1 A.D.			-ya, -yā	-ya		
2 A.D.	-ya		-ya, (-a)			
(iv) Dat. sg.						
3 B.C. (Aś.)					-ye	-ye
(v) Abl. sg.						
3 B.C. (Aś.)		-ya				ya
2 B.C.	-to			-yā, -ye ?)		
1 B.C.				-ya		
1 A.D.	-ye					

Period.	West.	N. West.	South.	Central.	East.	North.
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(vi) Gen. sg.

3 B.C. (Aś.)					-ye	
3 B.C.	-ya		-yā			
2 B.C.	-ya		-yā	-ye -yā, -ya (-yā)	-ye -ya, (-yā)	
1 B.C.	-ya (-ye)			-ye -yā -ya		
1 A.D.	-ya (-yāva)		-yā -ya	-e		
2 A.D.	-ya (-ye, -yā)		-yā -ya (-sa ?, -na ? -vu ?)			

(vii) Loc. sg.

3 B.C. (Aś.)				-yam	-yam	-yam
2 B.C.					-ye	-ye
1 A.D.	-ya, -ye			-yam		
2 A.D.	-yā -yam		-yam			
3 A.D.			-yam			

(viii) Nom. pl.

3 B.C. (Aś.)	-yo	-i		-ye	-i	-yo
1 B.C.	-yo, -o					
1 A.D.	-yo					
2 A.D.	-yo					

(ix) Inst. pl.

2 B.C.	-hi				-hi	
2 A.D.			-hi			

(x) Gen. pl.

3 B.C. (Aś.)				-nam	-nam	-nā
2 B.C.	-na			-nam -nā -na		
1 B.C.	-nam					
2 A.D.			-nam			

Period.	West.	N. West.	* South.	Central.	East.	North.
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(xi) Loc. pl.

3 B.C. (Aś.)					-su	-su
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§ 421 Bases ending in -u and -ū.

(a) Masculine nouns in -u

(i) Nom sg

3 B.C. (Aś.)	-u	-u		-ū	-ū	-ū
1 B.C.				ū		
1 A.D.	-u					
2 A.D.	-u					

(ii) Inst sg.

4 A.D.				na		
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(iii) Abl sg

2 B.C.				-yā		
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(iv) Gen sg

2 B.C.	-sa		(-no ?)	-no		
				(-sa)		
1 A.D.	-sa		-sa	-no		
2 A.D.	-sa		-sa			
	-no		(-no)			

(v) Loc sg

1 B.C.	-mhi					
	-mi					
1 A.D.	-mhi					

(vi) Acc. pl.

2 B.C.					-(v)am	
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(vii) Inst pl

3 B.C. (Aś.)	-hi	-hi			-hi	-hi
1 A.D.	-hi					

(viii) Gen pl.

3 B.C. (Aś.)	-nam	-na		-nam	-nam	-nā
2 B.C.				-nam	(-na ?)	
1 A.D.	-nam					
	-na					
2 A.D.	-na		-nam,			
			f -nam			

Period.	West.	N West.	South. *	Central.	East.	North.
(ix) Loc. pl.						
3 B.C. (Aś.)			-su	-su	-su	-su
3rd cent. B.C. (Aśoka). Nom. Acc. sg. Neut. : u, W, N-W, C, E, N. 3rd cent. B.C. (Aśoka). Nom. Acc. pl. Neut. : -u, W, N-W, C, E, N.						
(b) Feminine nouns ending in -ū :						
(i) Nom. sg.						
3 B.C. (Aś.)	-u	-u		-u	-u	-u
1 B.C.				-u		
(ii) Gen. sg.						
3 B.C.	-ya					
1 B.C.				-ya		
1 A.D.	-ya					
§ 422. Bases in -ī :						
(a) Masculine nouns in -ī :						
(i) Nom. sg.						
3 B.C. (Aś.)					-ā	-ā
1 B.C.				-ā		
(ii) Inst. sg.						
3 B.C. (Aś.)	-ā	-nā			-nā	-nā
1 A.D.	-ā					
2 A.D.	-ā					
(iii) Gen. sg.						
3 B.C.			-no			
2 B.C.	-no			-u		
1 B.C.	-no					
1 A.D.	-u		-no			
2 A.D.	-no		-no			
(iv) Nom. pl.						
3 B.C. (Aś.)		-o			-i	-e
2 B.C.		-e			-o	
(v) Inst. pl.						
2 B.C.					-hi	
1 A.D.	-hi					

Period.	West.	N. West.	South.	Central.	East.
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(vi) Gen pl.

3 B.C. (Aś.)		-na			
3 B.C.					
2 B.C.					-nañ
1 B.C.	-nañ (-nañ)			-na	-nañ
1 or 2 A.D.			-nam		
2 A.D.			-nañ		

(b) Feminine nouns in -ŋ

(i) Nom sg

1 A.D.	-ā	
2 A.D.		-ā

(ii) Acc sg

2 A.D.		-añ
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(iii) Inst. sg

1 B.C.	-u	
1 A.D.	-ya, -ye	-(ŋ)e
2 A.D.	-u, -(ŋ)a,	

(iv) Gen sg

3 B.C. (Aś.)		-u
3 B.C.		-u
2 B.C.	-u	-u, -ya
1 B.C.	-u	-u
	-ya	
1 A.D.	-ya	(or 2 A.D.)
		-u
2 A.D.	-ya	-ya
	-u	

(v) Inst. pl.

2 A.D.		-hi
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(vi) Gen. pl.

3 B.C. (Aś.)		-na
1 B.C.	-nañ	

Period.	West.	N. West.	South.	Central.	East.	North.
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§ 423 Bases in *-au* :

(i) Nom. pl. fem.

1 B C.	- <i>(v)o</i>
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(ii) Gen. pl. fem.

1 A D	- <i>(v)ām</i>
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§ 424 Bases ending in Consonants

(a) Masculine nouns in *-at*

(i) Nom. sg

3 B C	- <i>um -u,</i>	- <i>a, -am</i>		- <i>e, -am</i>	- <i>a, -e</i>	- <i>am, -a</i>
(Aś)	- <i>(t)o</i>				- <i>am</i>	
1 B C	- <i>o</i>			- <i>ā</i>		

(ii) Acc. sg

1 B C				- <i>o</i>		
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(iii) Inst. sg

3 B C				- <i>ā</i>		- <i>ā</i>
(Aś)						
2 B C					- <i>ā</i>	

(iv) Gen. sg

3 B C		- <i>sa</i>				
(Aś.)						
3 B C					- <i>e</i>	
2 B C				- <i>o, -sa</i>	- <i>o</i>	
1 B C	- <i>sa</i>			- <i>o, -sa</i>		
1 A D	- <i>sa</i>		- <i>o</i>	- <i>o</i>		
2 & 3 A D			- <i>o</i>			

(v) Loc. sg

1 B C				- <i>e</i>		
1 A D	- <i>i</i>					

(vi) Nom. pl.

3 B C.	- <i>(m)lo</i>
(Aś)	

(vii) Gen. pl.

2 B C.					- <i>nam</i>	
1 B C	- <i>nam</i>			- <i>nam</i>		
1 A D	- <i>nam</i>					
	- <i>ām, -ā</i>					

Period.	West.	N. West.	South.	Central	East.	North.
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(b) Mas. and Neut nouns in -an :

(i) Nom sg Mas

3 B C (Aś)	-ā	-a		-ā	-ā	-ā
3 B.C			-ā			
2 B.C.					-ā	
1 B.C.	-ā			-ā		
2 A.D.			-ā			
3 A.D.			-ā, -e			

(ii) Nom. Acc. sg Neut.

3 B C (Aś)	-a	-am			-e	-e
3 B C		-a	-a		-a, -am	-am, -ā, -ā
2 B.C	-am		-am			

(iii) Inst. sg

3 B C (Aś)	-nā	-na	-na	-nā	-nā	-nā
1 B.C.	-nā			-nā		
2 A.D	-ñā		-nā			
3 A.D			-(e)na			

(iv) Abl. sg.

2 B.C.

(v) Gen. sg.

3 B C (Aś)	-ño	-ño			-ne	-ne
2 B.C	-sa	-ne			-sa	
1 B.C	-sa			-ño	-sa	
	-ño			-sa	-no	
					no	
					(-ne ?)	
1 B.C or 1 A.D.	-sa					
1 A.D	-ño		(or 2 A.D)			
	-no		-ño,			
			-no, -no			
2 A.D.	-ño		-ño, -no			
	-no, -na		-no			
			(-ne, -nam)			
			-sa			
3 A.D			-sa, -ssa			
4 A.D.				-no		

(vi) Loc. sg.

1 B.C. -mī

Period.	West.	N. West.	South.	Central.	East.	North.
(vii) Acc. pl						
2 B.C.					-no	
(viii) Gen. pl						
2 B.C.					-nam	
(c) Fem. nouns in -an :						
(i) Loc. sg						
1 A.D.	-e					
(d) Mas. and Neut. nouns in -as :						
(i) Nom. sg. Mas						
2 B.C.					(-e ?)	
2 A.D.	-a, (-e)					
(ii) Inst. sg						
2 A.D.			-ā			
(iii) Abl. sg						
2 B.C.				-ā (?)		
(iv) Gen. sg						
2 B.C.				-sa		
1 B.C.				-sa		
1 A.D.	-sa					
(v) Loc. sg						
2 B.C.				-e ?		
1 B.C.	-si			(compound)		
	(compound)					
(vi) Gen. sg						
2 B.C.				-na(?)		
(e) Feminine nouns in -as :						
(i) Nom. sg						
1 B.C.				-ā		

Period.	West.	N. West.	South.	Central.	East.	North.
(ii) Gen. sg.						
2 B.C.				-ye -yā (?)		
(iii) Noun pl.						
1 B.C.				-ā		
(f) Masculine nouns in -in .						
(i) Nom. sg						
3 B.C. (Aś.)	-i	-i		-ī	-ī	-ī
3 B.C.			-i			
2 B.C.	-i		-i			
1 B.C.	-i, -ī			-i		
1 A.D.	-i					
3 A.D.			-i			
(ii) Inst sg						
3 B.C. (Aś.)	-nā	-na	-nā	-nā	nā -na	-nā -na
2 B.C.	-nā, (-nā?)			-nā		
1 A.D.	-nā					
2 A.D.	-nā		-nā			
(iii) Gen sg						
3 B.C. (Aś.)	-no	-sa -ne			-ne	-ne -sā
3 B.C.				-sa		
2 B.C.	-sa			-no -sa	-no	
1 B.C.	-no (-no)			-no (-sa)		
1 A.D.	-sa		(or 2 A.D.) -no			
2 A.D.	-sa		-sa (-no)			
3 A.D.			-no			
(iv) Nom. pl.						
2 B.C.				-ne		
(v) Acc pl.						
3 B.C. (Aś.)		-na -ne			-ni	-ni
2 B.C.			!		-i	

Period.	West.	N. West.	South.	Central.	East.	North.
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(vi) Inst pl

3 A.D.			- <i>hi</i>			
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(vii) Gen pl.

2 B.C.	- <i>nā</i> , - <i>nam</i>				- <i>nam</i>	
1 B.C.	- <i>nam</i>					
1 A.D.	- <i>nam</i>					
2 A.D.	- <i>nam</i>					

(g) A few other bases

1 Noun *diś-*

(1) Acc sg

3 B.C.						- <i>ā</i>
(Aś)						
2 B.C.					- <i>am</i>	
1 B.C.				(- <i>a</i> ?)		

(11) Gen pl

2 B.C.					- <i>nam</i>	
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2 Nouns ending in -*d*

(1) Nom sg

3 B.C.			- <i>ā</i>			
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3 Nouns ending in -*j*

(i) Gen sg

2 B.C.	- <i>sa</i>			- <i>sa</i>		
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4 Nouns ending in -*h*

(1) Gen. pl

2 A.D.	- <i>na</i>					
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5 Nouns ending in -*ut*

(1) Nom sg

1 B.C.				- <i>i</i>		
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6. Nouns ending in -*ut*

(1) Gen sg

1 B.C.				- <i>sa</i> (compound)		
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Period.	West.	N. West.	South.	Central.	East.	North.
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PRONOUNS

§ 425 The First Personal Pronoun.

(i) Dat sg.

2 A.D.	<i>me</i>					
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(ii) Gen sg

1 A.D.	<i>mama, me</i>					
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(iii) Nom. pl.

3 B.C. (Aś.)					<i>maye</i>	
3 A.D.			<i>amhe, am̐mhe, amho</i>			

(iv) Inst. pl.

1 A.D.	<i>amhe-hs</i>					
3 A.D.			<i>amhe-hs, amhe-hum̐</i>			
4 A.D.				<i>āhme-him̐</i>		

(v) Gen. pl

3 B.C. (Aś.)					<i>aphākā,</i>	<i>ne</i>
1 A.D.	<i>na</i>				<i>ne</i>	
3 A.D.			<i>amham no (?)</i>			

§ 426 The Second Personal Pronoun.

(i) Gen pl.

3 B.C. (Aś.)				<i>tuphākam, tuphāka</i>		
3 A.D.			<i>vo</i>			

§ 427 The third Personal Pronoun

(i) Nom sg Mas.

3 B.C. (Aś.)	<i>so</i>	<i>so, sa</i>			<i>se</i>	<i>se, i</i>
2 B.C.	<i>sā</i>	<i>sē</i>		<i>so</i>	<i>te</i>	
					<i>sa, (so)</i>	
1 A.D.	<i>so</i>					
2 A.D.			<i>se (?)</i>			
3 A.D.			<i>sa</i>			

Period. West. N West. South. Central East. North

(ii) Acc. sg. Mas.

3 B.C. (Aś.)	<i>so</i>	<i>tañ</i>				<i>tañ</i>
3 A.D.			<i>tañ</i>			

(iii) Inst. sg

3 B.C. (Aś.)	<i>tena</i>	<i>tena</i>			<i>tena</i>	<i>tenā</i>
3 B.C.			<i>tena</i>			

(iv) Gen sg

3 B.C. (Aś.)	<i>tasa</i>	<i>tasa</i>			<i>tasa</i>	<i>taśa, taṣā,</i> <i>tasā</i>
2 B.C.				<i>tasa</i>		
1 A.D.	<i>tasa</i>					
2 A.D.			<i>se, sa</i> <i>tasa</i>			
3 A.D.			<i>tasa</i>			
4 A.D.				<i>se,</i> <i>tissa</i>		

(v) Nom pl

3 B.C. (Aś.)	<i>te</i>		<i>te, se</i>	<i>te</i>	<i>te, se</i>	<i>te</i>
2 B.C.				<i>te</i>		

(vi) Gen pl

3 B.C. (Aś.)	<i>teṣam</i> <i>tesa</i>	<i>teṣam</i> <i>teṣa</i> <i>tenam</i> (Mansehra)		<i>tānam</i>	<i>tesam</i> <i>tesa</i> <i>tānañ</i>	<i>tesam</i> <i>teṣam</i> <i>tānañ</i>
3 B.C.		<i>teṣam</i>				
1 B.C.	<i>tesa(?)</i>					

(vii) Nom sg Fem

3 B.C. (Aś.)	<i>sā</i>	<i>sa</i>				<i>sā,</i> <i>ṣā</i>
1 A.D.	<i>sa</i>					

(viii) Acc. sg Fem

3 B.C. (Aś.)					<i>tañ</i>	<i>tañ</i>
2 B.C.					<i>tañ</i>	

Period.	West.	N. West	South.	Central	East.	North.
(ix) Nom. sg Neut.						
3 B.C. (Aś.) (nom & Acc sg)	<i>ta</i> (<i>se</i>)	<i>taṁ, so</i> (<i>sa, se</i>)		<i>se</i> <i>še (kq)</i>		<i>ta,</i> <i>se, še</i>
1 A.D.	<i>ta</i>		,			
4 A.D.				<i>taṁ</i>		

§ 428. Demonstrative pronouns

(a) The pronoun *etad* :

(i) Nom sg Mas

3 B.C. (Aś.) ¹	<i>esa</i> (<i>esā</i>)	<i>eṣe</i> <i>eṣa</i>			<i>esa</i> (<i>esā</i>)	<i>eṣe, eṣe,</i> <i>esa, eṣa</i>
1 B.C.	<i>esa,</i> <i>eto</i>					

(ii) Nom. sg Neut

3 B.C. (Aś.) ¹	<i>eta,</i> <i>etaṁ</i> <i>esa</i>	<i>etake,</i> <i>eta</i> <i>etaṁ</i> <i>eṣe</i>	<i>esa</i>	<i>esa</i> <i>eso</i>	<i>esa</i>	<i>eṣe, eṣe,</i> <i>esa</i>
1 A.D.	<i>eta,</i> <i>etata</i>					
2 A.D.	<i>esa</i>		<i>etaṁ</i>			
3 A.D.			<i>etaṁ</i>			
4 A.D.				<i>ettham (?)</i>		

(iii) Acc sg. Neut

3 B.C. (Aś.) ¹	<i>eta</i>				<i>etaṁ</i>	<i>etaṁ</i>
1 A.D.	<i>eta</i>					
2 & 3 A.D.			<i>etaṁ</i>			

(iv) Abl sg

1 A.D.	<i>eto</i>
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(v) Gen. sg.

3 B.C. (Aś.) ¹	<i>etasa</i>	<i>etasa</i> <i>etisa</i>			<i>etasa</i>	<i>etiṣā</i>
1 B.C.	<i>etasa</i>					
1 A.D.	<i>etasa,</i> <i>etesa</i>					
2 A.D.	<i>etasa,</i> <i>etesa</i>					
3 A.D.		<i>etasa,</i> <i>etassa</i>				

Period.	West	N West	South	Central	East	North.
(vi) Loc sg						
3 B.C. (Aś.)	<i>etamhi</i>				<i>etasi</i>	
2 A.D.	<i>etesi</i>					
3 A.D.			<i>etamsi</i> <i>etesi(?)</i>			
(vii) Nom pl Mas.						
3 B.C. (Aś.)	<i>ete</i>	<i>eta</i>			<i>ete</i>	<i>ete</i>
1 A.D.	<i>ete</i>					
2 A.D.			<i>ete</i>			
(viii) Nom pl Neut						
3 B.C. (Aś.)		<i>etani</i>		<i>etāni</i>	<i>etāni</i>	<i>etāni</i>
2 B.C.					<i>ete</i>	
(ix) Inst pl						
1 A.D.	<i>etehi</i> , <i>etahi</i>					
2 A.D.	<i>etehi</i>					
3 A.D.			<i>etehi</i>			
4 A.D.				<i>etehi</i>		
(x) Abl pl						
1 A.D.	<i>eto</i>					
(xi) Gen pl.						
2 B.C.					<i>(e)tinam</i>	
4 A.D.				<i>etāna</i>		
(xii) Loc sg fern						
1 A.D.	<i>etīya</i>					
2 A.D.	<i>etāya</i>		<i>etīya</i>			
(b) The Pronoun <i>idam</i>						
(1) Nom sg Mas						
3 B.C. (Aś.)	<i>uyam</i>	<i>ayam</i> <i>ayi</i>	<i>iyam</i>	<i>iyam</i> <i>iya</i>	<i>ayam</i> <i>iyam</i>	<i>ayam</i> <i>iyam</i>
2 B.C.				<i>uyam</i>		
2 A.D.	<i>ima</i>		<i>ima</i> <i>imam</i> (Mas or Neut. ?)			

Period.	West	N. West	South.	Central.	East.	North.
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(ii) Nom Acc. sg. Neut.

3 B C. (Aś)	<i>īdam</i> (<i>īdd</i>) <i>ayam</i>	Nom. <i>īdaṁ</i> <i>ida</i> <i>imam, ima</i> <i>īyam, iya</i> <i>īyo</i> Acc. <i>imam</i>	<i>īmaṁ</i> <i>īyam</i>	<i>īmam</i> <i>īyam</i>	Nom. <i>īyaṁ</i> Acc. <i>īdaṁ</i>	Nom. <i>īyaṁ</i> Acc. <i>īmaṁ</i>
3 B C (Aś)						
3 B C					<i>īyam</i>	
1 B C	<i>īmaṁ</i> <i>ima</i>					
1 A D	<i>īmam</i>					
2 A D	<i>ima</i>		<i>īmaṁ</i>			
4 A D.				<i>īmam</i>		

(iii) Inst sg

3 B C (Aś)	<i>īminā</i>		<i>īminā</i>		<i>īmena</i>	
1 A D	(<i>a</i>) <i>nema</i>					

(iv) Gen sg

3 B C (Aś)	<i>īmasa</i>	<i>īmasa</i> <i>īmisa</i>			<i>īmasa</i>	<i>īmīsā</i>
1 A D.	<i>asa</i>					
2 A D			<i>īmasa</i>			

(v) Loc sg

3 B C (Aś)	<i>īmamhi</i>					
1 A D.	<i>īmasmin</i>					
2 A D			<i>īmamhi</i>			

(vi) Nom pl Mas

3 B C (Aś)	<i>īme</i>	<i>īme</i>	<i>īme</i>		<i>īme</i>	<i>īme</i>
1 A D.	<i>īme</i>					

§ 429. Relative Pronoun

(a) The pronoun *yad* .

(1) Nom sg Mas

3 B C (Aś)	<i>yo</i>	<i>yo</i> <i>ye</i>		<i>ye</i> <i>e</i> <i>yo</i>	<i>ye</i> <i>e</i>	<i>ye</i> <i>e</i>
2 B C.						
3 A D.			<i>yo</i> <i>yo</i>			
4 A D.						

Period.	West.	N. West.	South.	Central.	East.	North.
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(ii) Acc sg. Mas

1 B.C.

yam

(iii) Nom sg Neut

3 B.C.
(Aś.)*ya**yam*
*ye**e**e**ye, e,*
a, am

1 A.D.

ye
ya

(iv) Inst sg

3 B.C.
(Aś.)*yena**yena*
*ena**yena*
ena

3 B.C.

yena

(v) Nom pl Mas

3 B.C.
(Aś.)*ye**ye**e**ye**ye*

2 B.C.

*e**e*

1 A.D.

ya (?)

(vi) Nom pl Neut

3 B.C.
(Aś.)*yāni**āni**yāni*

2 A.D.

yāni (?)

(vii) Nom sg. Fem

3 B.C.
(Aś.)*ya**yā, ā**yā*

1 B.C.

yam (?)

1 A.D.

yā

§ 430 Interrogative Pronoun

(a) The pronoun *kim*.

(1) Nom sg Mas

3 B.C.
(Aś.)*ko-ci**ka-ci*
*ke-chi**ke-cā*
*ke-cha**ke-cha*

3 A.D.

ko§ 431 The pronoun *sarva-*:

(1) Acc sg. Mas.

3 B.C.
(Aś.)*-am**-am**-am*

1 B.C.

-am

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Period.	West.	N West.	South.	Central.	East.	North.
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(ii) Nom. sg. Neut.

3 B.C. (Aś.)	-am	-am -e		-e	-e	-e
2 A.D.			-am			-a

(iii) Inst. sg

3 B.C. (Aś.)					-na -nā	
2 A.D.	-ena					

(iv) Gen sg

3 B.C. (Aś.)					-sa	
2 A.D.			-sa			

(v) Nom. pl Mas.

3 B.C. (Aś.)	-e	-e			-e	-e
2 B.C.				-e		

(vi) Inst. pl.

2 A.D.	-eḥi					
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(vii) Gen pl

2 B.C.				-nam, -na (?)		
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§ 432. The pronoun *anya-* :

(1) Nom sg. Mas

3 B.C. (Aś.)	-e	-e, -i			-e	e
2 B.C.	-o					

(ii) Nom. sg. Neut

3 B.C. (Aś.)	-a, -e	-am, e		e	-e	-e
3 B.C.			-am			

(iii) Nom. pl. Neut.

3 B.C. (Aś.)	-āni	-ani		-ām	-āni	
2 A.D.	-āni					

Period.	West.	N West	South.	Central	East.	North.
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(iv) Inst pl

3 A D.			-ch ₁			
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VERB FORMS

§ 433 Present Indicative

(i) First pers sg

3 B C (Aś)	-m ₁	-m ₁		-m ₁	-m ₁	- ²
3 A D.			-m ₁			

(ii) Thurd pers sg.

3 B C (Aś)	-t ₁	-t ₁		-t ₁	-t ₁	-t ₁
2 B.C.					-t ₁ -aya-t ₁ , -e-t ₁	
1 B.C.				-t ₁		
1 A D	t ₁ -aya-t ₁					
2 A D			-t ₁			
3 A D			-t ₁			
4 A.D.				-t ₁		

(iii) Thurd pers sg Causal

2 B.C.					aya-t ₁ -āpaya-t ₁ -e-t ₁	
3 A D			-ue-t ₁			

(iv) Third sg Middle

3 B C. (Aś)	-te				-te	
1 B.C.				-te		
1 A D	-te					

(v) Thurd pers sg Passive

3 B C. (Aś)		-t ₁			-t ₁	-t ₁
1 A.D.	-te					

(vi) First pers pl

1 A D.	-ma					
2 A.D.	-ma					
3 A.D.			-m ₁			
4 A.D.				-ma		

Period.	West.	N. West.	South.	Central.	East.	North.
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vii) Third pers. pl.

3 B.C. (Aś.)	-ati	-amti -ati			-amti -ati	-amti -ati
1 B.C.				-amti	-amti -aya-mti	

§ 434. Imperative Mood.

(i) Second pers. sg.

1 A.D.	-hi -pe-hi (causal)					
2 A.D.	-hi -pe-hi (causal)'					
3 A.D.			-hi -pe ² hi (causal)			

(ii) Third pers. sg.

3 B.C. (Aś.)		-tu		-tū	-tū	-tū
2 A.D.			-tu -ttu			

(iii) Third pers. sg Middle

1 B.C.				-tam		
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(iv) Second pers. pl.

3 B.C. (Aś.)	-tha			-ta	-thā	
1 A.D.	-tha, -pha					
3 A.D.			-tha -pe-tha, (causal)			
4 A.D.				-dha -pe-dha (causal)		

(v) Third pers. pl

3 B.C. (Aś.)	-amtu -atu -tu	-amtu -atu			-amtu	-amtu -atu
2 A.D. 34			- -untu			

Period.	West.	N. West.	South. ^a	Central.	East.	North.
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§ 435. Potential Mood

(i) Third pers sg.

3 B.C. (Aś)	-a -e -eya	-ya -ti	-eyā	-vā -yā	-vā -e -eyā, -yā	-vā -eyā
2 B.C.				-yā -pe-ya (causal)		-ti
3 A.D.			-ja, -jā -yya -pe-jā -ve-jā (causal)			
4 A.D.				-jja		

(ii) First pers pl.

3 B.C. (Aś)	-ema				-ema	-ema
3 A.D.			-vya-ma -jā-mo			
4 A.D.				-ejjā-ma		

(iii) Third pers pl.

3 B.C. (Aś)	-u, -eyu	-u, -eyu	-eyu	-āvū -eyu	-eyū -evū	-u, -eyu -evū
2 B.C.				-yu, -yā (?)		

§ 436 Imperfect

(i) Third pers sg

3 B.C. (Aś)	(forms of aho	√bhū-) aho				
2 A.D.	-pa-yi-ta (causal)					

aho	aho
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§ 437. Aorist

(i) Third pers sg

3 B.C. (Aś).		-mi			-mi	
2 B.C.				or 1 B.C. -si	-(ys)tha(?)	

§ 438. Future.

(i) Third pers sg

3 B.C. (Aś.)	-sa-ti	-sa-ti	-sa-ti	-śa-ti -sa-ti	-sa-ti	-sa-ti
1 A.D.	-sa-ti					

Period.	West.	N. West.	South.	Central.	East.	North.
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§ 439. Present Participles.

(A) Active —

3 B.C. (Aś.)	-ata, -amta (-u, -um)	-amta		-amta	-amta	-amta
1 A.D.	-amta, -ata			-amta	-amta (fem -amti)	
2 A.D.	-ata					

(B) Middle —

3 B.C. (Aś.)	-māna	-mana	-miṇa -mina	-mīna	-mīna	-māna -mīna
1 A.D.	-māna					
2 A.D.			-māna			

§ 440. Past Passive Participles .

3 B.C. (Aś.),	-ta, -na	-ta, -na	-ta	-ta, -na	-ta, -na	-ta, -na
3 B.C.			-na			
2 B.C.	-ta, -na			-ta, -na	-ta, (-na)	
1 B.C.	-ta, -na			-ta, (-na)		
1 A.D.	-ta		(-na)	-ta		
2 A.D.	-ta (-ṭa, -na, -na)		-ta, (-na)			
3 A.D.			ta			

§ 441. Potential Passive Participles

3 B.C. (Aś.)	-lavya, -ya	-lavya, -lave -ya -aniya	-lavya -laviya	-laviya -ya	-lavya -laviya -ya, -aniya -lava	-laviya -aniya
3 B.C.						
1 A.D.	-ya, -lava					
2 A.D.	-ya, -lava		-ṇa			
3 A.D.			-lava, -lavva -pe-lavva (causal)			
4 A.D.				-lavvā		

§ 442 Absolutives

3 B.C. (Aś.)	-tpā, -ya	-tu, -ti -ya		-tīnam	-tā	-tu, -ya
3 B.C.			-tu			
2 B.C.			ṭ	-ya	-tā	
1 B.C.	-ya	•				

Period.	West.	N. West.	South.	Central.	East.	North.
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2 A.D.

*-tānam**-tāna*

3 A.D.

*-tūnam, -tūna**-tūna*

4 A.D.

-tā

§ 443 Infinitives.

3 B.C.

*-tu**-lave**-lave**-lave**-lave*

(Aś.)

-lave

2 B.C.

-tum

CONCLUSIONS

§ 444. As has been already noted the purpose of the preceding two chapters was to tabulate the results of investigations both regionally and chronologically. This chapter is devoted to derive conclusions from these tables and decide, wherever possible, the home of a particular linguistic change and its further progress. It has been already pointed out in the Introduction that the uneven distribution of the material at our disposal forms one of the difficulties in our studies and as such in some cases the conclusions could remain open to corrections. In the following paragraphs only such cases have been treated as could yield some specific results, leaving aside those where the changes are too sporadic, or where they are not properly exemplified.

I. VOWELS

§ 445. The vowel *ṛ* In Aśokan inscriptions the vowel *ṛ* in the initial syllable becomes *a*- almost in all cases in the West and in some cases in the rest of the inscriptions. But in later centuries the *a*-treatment in the initial syllable becomes predominant in inscriptions from all parts of India.

Medially *-ṛ-* > *-a-* not only in the West but even elsewhere in Aśokan days. This treatment has only been preserved in later centuries

The treatment $\acute{s} \rightarrow z$ which is noticed in all Aśokan inscriptions, except those in the West, as has been stated above, gradually disappears in later centuries. Yet it lingers on in inscriptions of the 2nd and 1st centuries B.C. of Central India. In the South we find $\acute{r} \rightarrow a$ even in the presence of labials. This is in all probability due to the Western influence.

Thus $\tau \rightarrow a$ $W(est) \rightarrow C(entral) \rightarrow E(ast)$
 $\rightarrow S(outh)$

7. > 1. E, C, S (met with almost only in the Aśokan inscriptions).

The vowel $\gamma > -u$ mostly in nouns expressive of human relationship. The treatment is noticed in the N-West and the South in the 3rd cent B.C. But in the same century $\gamma > -i$ in similar words in the East and the North (also in the South and the North-West). In later centuries, however, the $-u$ treatment gets the upper hand and is exemplified in inscriptions from 2nd cent B.C. to 3rd cent. A.D. in the West and from 2nd cent. B.C. to 3 cent. A.D. in the South. In Central India, however, it is the $-i$ treatment which is mostly preserved.

Thus $-r > -u$: N-W, W \rightarrow C }
 $-r > -i$: N, E, (S, N-W) \rightarrow C \rightarrow W }
S S

§ 446. The vowel *a* : This vowel is generally well preserved. It is changed to *ā* in a metrically long syllable in some words since the days of Aśoka. In that period the tendency is noticed in the West, East and North and less forcibly in the Centre and the South. In later inscriptions from the West we do not get many examples of the change till we come to the 1st cent. A.D. whence we get more or less definite examples. In the East the tendency is almost rarely met with. In the Central group, however, definite instances are available even in the 2nd cent. B.C. In the South, as in the West, early inscriptions give rather few examples but inscriptions from 1st cent. A.D. yield definite instances. Thus the tendency seems to have died out in the East, preserved in the Centre and revived in the West and South from 1st cent. A.D.

§ 447. The vowel *ā* : The vowel is generally preserved. But the change *ā* > *a* before a consonant cluster is met with more often than the reverse change *a* > *ā* in similar circumstances. The tendency is noticed markedly in the West and less forcibly in the East, Centre, North and South in Aśokan inscriptions. Among the later inscriptions in the West, those dating before the beginning of the Christian era give a few examples but the instances get multiplied from 1st cent. A.D. onwards. In the East we get a few examples in the 2nd cent. B.C. inscriptions. In the Central group the tendency is strongly felt even from the 2nd cent. B.C. to the 4th cent. A.D. In the South, too, we get a few instances from the 3rd cent. B.C. inscriptions, but as centuries roll on we find more and more examples indicating the change. The change, therefore, seems to have spread on the one hand from the West to the Centre and on the other from the West to the South.

The vowel *ā* is sometimes shortened even before the case terminations of the fem. noun in *-ā*. We get very few instances of this type in the West and East. In the Central group the vowel *ā* is shortened in the inscriptions of 2nd cent. B.C. But in the 1st cent. B.C. it is more preserved than shortened. In the South, however, exactly the opposite of this has taken place. For, there the early inscriptions preserve long *ā*, but the later ones from 2nd cent. A.D., shorten it to *a* more often.

§ 448. The vowel *i* : The vowel *i*, though mostly preserved, becomes long in a metrically long syllable. The change is observed more in the West than anywhere else in the Aśokan inscriptions. In the following centuries we find very few instances in the West from about 1st cent. B.C. In the East, too, there are very few examples. In the Central group some examples are available from the 2nd cent. B.C. inscriptions but there are almost no examples in the 1st cent. B.C. inscriptions. In the South also later inscriptions give but a few examples. Thus the tendency which was weak in the West itself has slightly influenced the other parts in later centuries.

The vowel also changes to *e* before a consonant cluster. The instances are available from all groups and almost from early days but in all of them the examples are very few.

§ 449. The vowel *ī* : The long vowel *ī* is sometimes shortened to *i* before a consonant cluster. This type of change is more strongly felt in the East, Centre and the North than in the West and South in the Aśokan inscriptions. In later inscriptions few instances are available in the West from 1st cent. B.C. to 2nd cent. A.D. In the East however, the long vowel is generally preserved. Similarly in the Central and Southern groups very few examples are available which indicate this change.

Like the vowel *ā*, the vowel *ī* also is shortened before the case terminations of the

feminine nouns ending in *i*. The tendency is observed in the Central and Northern inscriptions of Aśoka. This tendency is fairly common in the West, East and South even from the 3rd cent. B.C. But in the Central group we get very few examples at all times.

The vowel *i* is shortened even at the end of the first member of a compound. In the West it is preserved in the earliest inscriptions but from about 1st cent. B.C. we get usually a short *-i-* in its place. In the Central group the tendency is common from the 3rd cent. B.C. This, therefore, seems to have been the home of the change whence it quickly went to the West. In the South the influence is noted very late in the 2nd cent. A.D., but the examples are not at all common.

§ 450. The vowel *u*. In Aśokan inscriptions the vowel is preserved in the West (North-West) and South, whereas it is sometimes lengthened to *ū* in the Centre, East and North in a metrically long syllable. In the following inscriptions too in the West the assimilation of the cluster does not much affect the preceding vowel. In the East also the examples of the 2nd cent. B.C. inscriptions indicating the change *u* > *ū* are almost negligible. In the Central group we do meet with a few examples showing the change *u* > *ū* in the 3rd cent. and 2nd cent. B.C., but in later inscriptions the change is conspicuous by its absence. In the South, however, we get some definite instances in the inscriptions of the 2nd and 3rd cent. A.D.

The vowel *u* > *o* in a metrically long syllable. But the instances are few in all groups and at all times.

§ 451. The vowel *ū*. The long vowel is generally shortened to *u* in all inscriptions of Aśoka whenever it is followed by a consonant cluster. This tendency is normally preserved in all later inscriptions.

II. SIMPLE CONSONANTS

§ 452. The guttural *k*. Initially *k-* is preserved everywhere. Medially its sonantisation is first noticed in the 3rd cent. B.C. in the Eastern, Central and Southern groups. The same change appears in the Western group in the first cent. A.D. The examples of the change *-k-* > *-g-* become of some frequency in the Western and Southern groups from about the 2nd cent. A.D. The change *-k-* > *-g-* therefore, seems to have travelled from the East (→ the Centre) to the South and to the West. In the North-west the change is noticed from the first cent. B.C. Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions.

The change *-k-* > *-y-* has its first appearance in the Eastern group in the 3rd cent. B.C. It is next found in the Western group in the first cent. B.C. and in the Southern group in the 2nd cent. A.D. This change, therefore, seems to have taken a different course in travelling from the East to the South via West. This change is very rarely met with in the later N-Western Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions.

The loss of intervocal *-k-* does not appear in earlier inscriptions. Its first occurrence is met with in the inscriptions of the first cent. A.D. on the Western, North-Western and the Southern side.

§ 453. The guttural *kh*. This is also preserved initially everywhere. Medially it is changed to *-gh-* first in the Central and Western inscriptions of the first century B.C. and then in the Southern ones in the first century A.D. The change, therefore, seems to have followed C → W → S direction.

§ 454. The guttural *g*. It is initially preserved. Medially it is devoiced to *-k-* first in the East and North-West divisions of the Aśokan inscriptions. Next it is noticed

in the Western group in the first century B.C. and then again with some frequency, though more or less in proper names in the Southern group from the first century A.D. The change, therefore, seems to have travelled from the East to the West and the South. The change of *-g- > -k(r)-* is found in a few instances of the 1st cent. A.D. in the N-West.

The change *-g- > -y-* has occurred right from the inscriptions of Aśoka in the Eastern, Western and North-Western divisions. This change then appears in the Western group from the second and the first centuries B.C. but does not appear in the inscriptions after the beginning of the Christian era anywhere else.

Intervocal loss of *-g-* is found in a 2nd cent. A.D. inscription of the N-West.

§ 455 The guttural *gh*. It is initially preserved. Intervocally it is devoiced very rarely, the examples being noted only from the inscriptions of Eastern India of about the 2nd cent. B.C. The change *-gʰ- > -h-* has occurred in most of the divisions even in the inscriptions of Aśoka.

§ 456 The palatal *c*. Medially it is softened to *-j-* in the Eastern and Central divisions of the Aśokan inscriptions. Next the change is met with in the West and South in the first cent. A.D. The change, therefore, seems to have gone in the following direction :

$$E \rightarrow C \rightarrow W \text{ and } E \rightarrow C \rightarrow S$$

The change *-c- > -y-* occurs even initially in the N-Western, Southern and Central groups though in very late inscriptions of the 2nd, 3rd and 4th centuries A.D. The same change has medially occurred even before, its first appearance being noted in the 1st cent. B.C. inscriptions of N-West and then in the 1st cent. A.D. in the Central and Southern groups. The change *-c- > -y-* appears in the South in later centuries too.

§ 457 The palatal *j*. It is initially preserved. The hardening of *-j- > -c-* has been found in the Western and Eastern inscriptions of Aśoka. There are not many examples of this type of change, it being later on only in the Southern group in the 1st cent. A.D.

The change *-j- > -y-* appears in the North-Western region from the period of Aśokan inscriptions. Next it is met with in the Western group in the 2nd cent. B.C. and becomes more and more frequent later on. In the Central group its occurrence is noticed from the 1st cent. B.C. and in the Southern one from the 1st cent. A.D. The change, therefore, seems to have taken the following course: N.-W \rightarrow W \rightarrow C \rightarrow S.

The loss of intervocal *-j-* is found first in the West from an early date in the 2nd cent. B.C. Among the rest of the groups it is found only in the South and the N-West in the 1st cent. A.D.

§ 458 The cerebral *ṭ*. It is medially softened to *-ḍ-* in the Northern and Central divisions of Aśokan inscriptions. The softening has next come to the Western and Southern groups from 2nd cent. B.C. Thus the change has perhaps gone from N \rightarrow C \rightarrow W \rightarrow S (?). It is very rarely met with in the N-West in the 2nd cent. A.D.

§ 459 The cerebral *ṭh*. Medially the change *-ṭh- > -ḍh-* has been noticed only very late in the 2nd cent. A.D. in the Western and Southern groups. The loss of the cerebral aspect (*-ṭh- > -ṭh-*) is found in the Central group in the 2nd cent. B.C. It is also met with in the Western and Southern groups in later centuries.

§ 460 The cerebral *ḍ*. Medially the change *-ḍ- > -ḷ-* or *-ḷ-* is found in the East and North (and perhaps in the Centre) in the days of Aśoka. It is next

noticed in the Western inscriptions in the 1st cent. A.D. and in the Southern group in the 2nd cent. A.D. The change, therefore, seems to have gone from E (and N) → C → W → S

The change *-q- > -d-* also occurs in the Aśokan inscriptions on the Eastern, Northern and Central side. It appears in the Western group in the 1st cent. B.C.

§ 461 The cerebral *n*. The nasal *-n-* is preserved in the Western, North-Western, and Southern inscriptions of Aśoka; it is also changed to dental *-n-* in the same period in the Eastern, Central, Northern and also in the Southern divisions. But the change *-n- > -n-* is met with in the West and South in the inscriptions following the period of Aśoka. In the N-West *-n-* is preserved in the 1st cent. B.C. but is changed to *-n-* in a few cases from 1st cent. A.D. The preservation of *-n-*, on the other hand, is found in the East in the 2nd cent. B.C., in the Centre in the 1st cent. B.C., in the South from the 1st cent. A.D. and in the West in the 2nd cent. A.D. Thus there appear to have been two currents of changes

(1) *-n- > -n-*. E (and N) → C → S, W, and N-W

(2) *-n- > -n-*. W (and N-W) → C → E and again C and S → W

§ 462 The dental *t*. Except for a probable instance of the voicing of initial *t- > -d-* in the Northern division of Aśokan inscriptions, initially *t-* is well preserved. The change *-t- > -d-* is found in the North, North-West and South in the 3rd cent. B.C. Next it is found in the East and West in the 2nd cent. B.C. and in the N-West and Centre in the 1st cent. B.C. The change, therefore, seems to have come on the one hand from N-W → W and on the other from N → E → C. Its occurrence in the South seems to be an independent development.

The softening *-t- > -y-* occurs in the Central group in the 2nd cent. B.C. and in the west in the 1st cent. B.C. The loss of intervocal *-t-*, however, has first appeared in the West perhaps in the 1st cent. A.D.

§ 463 The dental *th*. The voicing of *-th- > -dh-* first appears in the 2nd cent. B.C. in the Southern and Eastern groups. It is later on found in the Central group in the 1st cent. B.C. Here also the change in the upper India seems to have travelled from E → N, its development in the South being an independent one.

§ 464 The dental *d*. The devoicing of *-d- > -t-* has occurred as early as in the Aśokan inscriptions of East India. Next it appears in the South from the 2nd cent. B.C., in the N-West from the 1st cent. B.C., perhaps in the West in the 2nd cent. A.D., and in the Centre in the 4th cent. A.D. As instances from the inscriptions of later centuries from Eastern India are not available, the change *-d- > -t-* in the Central India is obviously due to the Southern influence.

The softening of *-d- > -y-* occurs very often in the West from the 2nd cent. B.C. It has next come to Central India in the 1st cent. B.C. and to the South in the 1st cent. A.D.

The loss of intervocal *-d-* is almost a singular achievement of Western India, instances being found there right from the middle of the 3rd cent. B.C. to the 1st cent. A.D. Its occurrence in the N-West is found in a rare illustration of 3rd cent. A.D.

§ 465 The labial *p*. Intervocally the change *-p- > -v-* has crept in Eastern and Southern India from the 3rd cent. B.C. It occurs in the West from 2nd cent. B.C. This change in the West is due to the influence from the South or from the East and very likely from the former. Its development in the South is most probably inde-

pendent of any outside influence. The change is rather frequent in the N-West and occurs from 1st cent. B.C.

Intervocally *-p-* is never dropped even in the West but in a few instances of the N-West from the 1st cent. B.C. onwards it is dropped.

§ 466. The semivowel *y*. Though usually preserved in the initial position, it is in a few cases dropped even in the Aśokan inscriptions. Later on we do not find many instances of this initial elision, only a few being available in the Eastern group in the 2nd cent. B.C.

The change *-y- > -j-* in the medial position has occurred very early. But in the initial syllable the change appears as late as in the 2nd cent. A.D. in the Southern group and in the 4th cent. A.D. in the Central group. In the medial position *-y- > -j-* in the North-Western, Northern and Eastern divisions of Aśokan inscriptions. In later centuries its occurrence is first noticed in the West in the 1st cent. A.D. and in South in the 2nd cent. A.D. The initial change seems to have taken a start in the South and thence gone over to the West, whereas medially the change seems to have first occurred in the North and North-West of India. On the one hand it came to the East and on the other to the West and South.

The loss of intervocal *-y-* has been noticed in the North-Western Aśokan inscriptions. It is also found in the N-West later on from 1st cent. A.D. onwards. Next it is found in the Western group in the 1st cent. B.C. and in the Southern and Central groups in the first cent. A.D. The change, therefore, probably ran from N.W. → W → S and C.

§ 467. The semivowel *r*. The treatment of *r* in Aśokan inscriptions is almost distinct. It is preserved as *r* both initially and medially in the Western and North-Western inscriptions. But it is changed to *l-* or *-l-* in the Eastern, Central and Northern inscriptions. In the Southern inscriptions *r- > l-* regularly but *-r- > -r-* or *-l-*. In the Central division, too, stray occurrences of *-r-* can be found.

Later on this distinction is lost and *r* is almost invariably preserved in all positions in the Western, N-Western, Southern and Central groups. In a few early inscriptions of Eastern (and N-Western) India, however, *r* is changed to *l*.

468. The semivowel *v*. Though initially well preserved it becomes *p-*, very rarely though in the Central and Southern groups in the 3rd cent. B.C. and in the Western group in the 1st cent. B.C. Later on its probable occurrence in the medial position is found in the Eastern group in the 2nd cent. B.C. But definite instances of the medial change are available from the 1st cent. B.C. in Central India and from the 1st cent. A.D. in South India. The change, therefore, seems to have adopted the following course

C → S
→ E (?)
→ W (?)

The change *v > b* is found in rather insufficient number of examples to deduce any conclusion.

The loss of intervocal *-v-* is noticed only in the Western and Central groups. It seems to have come to the latter from the former, as in the former group instances are available from the 3rd cent. B.C. to the 2nd cent. A.D. and in the latter they are found only in the 4th cent. A.D.

§ 469. Sibilants : Except the North-Western inscriptions where the distinction between the three sibilants is maintained from the days of Aśoka onwards, everywhere else they are reduced to the single dental sibilant (the distinction at Kalsi being more graphical than real). In the subsequent inscriptions the change of *ś*, *ṣ* > *s* is complete, barring of course some stray cases where the palatal *ś* or the cerebral *ṣ* still lingers on.

§ 470. Palatalisation The treatment of different stops which are palatalised is detailed below under different heads.

(i) The guttural *k* is medially palatalised in the Aśokan inscriptions of Central and East India and later on it is initially palatalised in Central India in the 2nd cent. B.C. and in Southern India in the 2nd cent. A.D. The change has thus travelled from E → C → S

(ii) The cluster *kṣ* > *ch* initially and medially in the Western and North-Western inscriptions of Aśoka but elsewhere it becomes *kh*. Later on this distinction is not maintained as the change *kṣ* > *kh* is noticed in the Western group from the 2nd cent. B.C. onwards (the examples of the change *kṣ* > *ch* are, however, found at every stage). Stray palatalisation of *ks* is noticed in the Southern group from 1st cent. A.D. and in the Central group in the 2nd and 1st cent. B.C. Later inscriptions from Central India as well as all the inscriptions from N-Western (where the cluster is also often preserved) and Eastern India never show this palatalisation. The course of the change, therefore, may be thus represented :

W → C → S

(iii) The change *-ty* > *-c-*, *-ts* > *-ch-* (or *-ś-* in the N-W), *-dy* > *-j-* and *-dhy* > *-jh-* in some words is found almost everywhere from the earliest times and hence it is hard to indicate the line of treatment

(iv) The change *-ry* > *-j-* has first occurred in the South in the 2nd cent. A.D. and it has perhaps thence travelled upwards so that we get some examples from the Central group in the 4th cent. A.D.

§ 471 Cerebralisation As in the case of palatalisation, the cerebralisation of dentals is differently noted

(i) The dental *-t-* is cerebralised under the influence of *ṛ* in all Aśokan inscriptions except those in the West. In the West this cerebralisation is observed from 1st cent. B.C. Similarly *-rt-* > *-ṛ-* everywhere in Aśokan inscriptions but not in the West where it has started from the 1st cent. A.D.

(ii) Similarly cerebralisation of *-rth-* has occurred in all parts in Aśokan days but not in the West where it is observed from the 1st cent. B.C. Change *ṛ-th-* > *-ṛh-* or *-ḍh-* occurs in the N-West in the 1st cent. A.D.

(iii) There are very few instances of cerebralisation of *d* under the influence of *ṛ*. Yet from the few instances available it appears that the change *-dr-* or *-dṛ-* > *-ḍ-* is quite independent in the South

(iv) Unlike the cases of *-rt* and *-rth-*, cerebralisation or *-rdh-* has started in the West even in the days of Aśoka

(v) The cluster *-st-* > *-ṣh-* in the Central and perhaps in the Western and Northern inscriptions of Aśoka. Definite instances of the change are, however, available from the 2nd cent. B.C. in the West and 1st or 2nd cent. A.D. in the South. It has, therefore, probably travelled from C → W and S.

(vi) The cluster *sth* > *st*- in the West, in the 3rd cent B.C. In the medial position it sometimes becomes *-th*- in the East, Centre, North, North-West and South in the same period. But it becomes *-th*- in the West immediately after this period i.e. in the 2nd cent. B.C.

(vii) Initially *n*- does not become *n*- in Aśokan inscriptions except in a few cases at Kopbāḷ in the South. Later on stray instances of this initial change are found in Central India in the 2nd cent B.C. and in Western India perhaps from the 1st cent A.D. Definite instances of this change are observed in the N-West from 1st cent A.D. It next appears in the Central India in the 4th cent A.D.

Medially, however, *-n* > *-n*- sometimes in all inscriptions of Aśoka, the preference for the cerebral being noted in the West and North-West. It must be noted that in the Piprahwa vase inscription (Eastern group, 3rd cent. B.C.) *-n* > *-n*-. In later inscriptions also this preference for *-n*- in the West and N-West is exemplified. This preference for *-n*- is next noted in the inscriptions from South India from the 1st cent A.D. In the 4th cent A.D. copper plates of Central India we notice the sweeping change of *-n* > *-n*-.

The cerebralisation *-n* > *-n*- in terminations is found only in the South and East in the days of Aśoka. In the later inscriptions usually we find both *-n*- and *-n*- where Sanskrit requires *-n*-. It is only in the Basim plates of the 4th cent A.D. in Central India that *-n*- appears everywhere in terminations. The change, on the whole, seems to have influenced the regions in this way

$$\begin{array}{c} W \rightarrow C \rightarrow (E) \\ \uparrow \\ S \end{array}$$

III CONSONANT CLUSTERS

§ 472 Clusters with Gutturals. It seems that in early inscriptions the unaspirated guttural in combination with a sibilant was not aspirated except in the West and Central India. Even later inscriptions from N-West show a tendency towards non-aspiration. But in all other regions from 1st cent B.C. this aspiration is observed.

§ 473 Clusters with Cerebrals

(i) *st* · It normally becomes *th* everywhere. In the inscriptions dating prior to the beginning of the Christian era, however, in the South (?), Centre, and East, *-th*- sometimes takes the place of *-th*-.

(ii) *sth* · Barring a few exceptions as above where *th* is represented as *th*, in all cases *sth* > *th*. It is also preserved as *-st-* in a few cases in the N-Western Kharosthi inscriptions.

§ 474. Clusters with Dentals :

(i) *st* · In Aśokan inscriptions this cluster is preserved in the Western and North-Western divisions. But elsewhere it is assimilated to *th*. This latter treatment is followed throughout in later centuries, not even excepting Western India. But in the N-West the cluster is preserved in its medial position. (For cerebralisation of the cluster see above § 471).

(ii) *sth* · Except in the West where the cluster is sometimes preserved as *st*- or *-st-*, in all other inscriptions it is assimilated to *th* in Aśoka's days. Later on

though -st- is sometimes found in the N-West, the cluster is generally assimilated in all inscriptions including those in the West. (For cerebralisation see above § 471).

(iii) The clusters with *r* + dentals are either assimilated to the dental or to the cerebral. The former treatment does not show any peculiarity and the latter has been discussed above (§ 471). The clusters with *r* + dentals are preserved sometimes only in the North-Western inscriptions of Aśoka and of later days (cf below the treatment of stops + *r*).

§ 475 Clusters with Labials Except a few instances where -sp- > -p- in the Eastern and Central inscriptions of Aśoka, in all other instances the unaspirated labial in combination with a sibilant is aspirated

§ 476 Clusters with *y*

(i) *ty* The cluster -ty- is usually dissolved by svarabhakti into -tiy- from the earliest times at all places. In a few cases, however, the cluster is preserved in the inscriptions of Aśoka in the Centre, East and North. Then again the cluster is sometimes preserved in the West in the inscriptions of the first cent B.C. and first cent A.D., in the South in the second cent A.D., and in the N-West in the third cent A.D. There is also a third treatment where the cluster is assimilated to -t-. This treatment has a very limited sphere of operation, for the instances are available only in the East in the 2nd cent B.C. and in the West in the 1st cent. A.D. (For palatalisation cf above, § 470)

(ii) *ry* This cluster is variously represented and hence each treatment will have to be separately studied

(a) -ry- > -riy- This dissolution of the compound is met with in all inscriptions and at all stages. It was perhaps absent in the West in Aśoka's days but was subsequently introduced there in the 2nd cent B.C. The treatment -ry- > -riy- > -ria- is found in a few Kharoṣṭhī instances of N-West of 1st and 3rd cent. A.D.

(b) -ry- > -yir- by metathesis and -ira- by further loss of initial *y* in the presence of -i-. Though instances of -ry- > -yir- are available from South India in the 1st and 2nd cent A.D., its further transformation into -ira- is met with much earlier in the East in the 2nd cent B.C. and next in the West in the 1st cent A.D. It, therefore, clearly follows that the change -ry- > -yir- was originally started sometime earlier than the 2nd cent B.C. in the East and thence it travelled to the West and South.

(c) -ry- > -y- Besides the treatment noted in the beginning where -ry- > -riy-, there is also this treatment which shows its influence in all inscriptions of Aśoka, excepting those in the Centre. The treatment is immediately introduced into the Centre in the 2nd cent B.C. where it is exemplified in all later inscriptions. It is also to be met with in the N-West in the 1st cent B.C.

(d) -ry- > -r- This treatment which was either due to the assimilation of the conjunct or due to the further development of the treatment noted above viz -ry- > -riy- > -yir- > -ira- > -r-, is met with first in the Centre in the 1st cent. B.C. and then in the South in the 2nd and 3rd cent A.D. Its very late appearance, perhaps, would not justify us in seeking its origin directly from the cluster by way of assimilation.

(e) The cluster is also preserved in the later N-West Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions from the 1st cent. A.D.

(iii) *ly* : Its treatment in the inscriptions of Aśoka is quite distinct for it is assimilated to *l* in the West and North-West, and to *y* elsewhere. In the inscriptions of the 2nd cent. B.C., however, it is assimilated to *-l-* and not to *y-* in the East and Centre. In the later inscriptions from the West the cluster is also dissolved into *-liy-* or *-lia-*.

(iv) *vy* : In Aśokan inscriptions the treatment of this cluster is threefold. It is dissolved by svarabhakti in the East, Centre, North and North-West in all positions and medially in the South, but it is usually preserved in the West both initially and medially, in the South initially, and sometimes in the Centre and East in the initial and medial positions respectively, the assimilation of the cluster to *v* is found only in the North-West. But in all subsequent inscriptions at all places the cluster is only assimilated to *v*.

(v) Sibilant *ty* : In Aśokan inscriptions the cluster is normally dissolved by svarabhakti everywhere. In the East, Centre, and North, however, the cluster is sometimes assimilated to *s*. In all later inscriptions it is this later treatment alone which is to be met with. But the later N-Western inscriptions sometimes preserve the cluster.

§ 477 Clusters with *r* : The general treatment that we anticipate is the assimilation of the cluster to the stronger of the two consonants. But besides this, it is interesting to note the preservation of the cluster in certain parts and especially in the N-West.

(i) *kr* : It is preserved only in the North-West and West in the Aśokan inscriptions. Later on it is not only preserved in the N-West but also in a few instances from the Centre where we find the cluster sometimes medially preserved in the inscriptions of the 1st cent. B.C.

(ii) *gr* : *gr* is preserved only in the North-West from the 3rd cent. B.C. onwards. Its occurrence is met with very late in the 4th cent. A.D. in the Centre.

(iii) *tr* : The cluster is preserved in the North-West and sometimes also in the West in the Aśokan inscriptions. Next, later Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions preserve it intervocally but assimilate it to *t-* initially. Among other regions the inscriptions of the 2nd cent. B.C. show the preservation of the cluster in a few cases, not only in the West but in the Centre and East also. In the West this tendency to preserve the cluster *tr* is maintained, though only in some cases, in all later inscriptions upto 2nd cent. A.D. In the Centre, some stray instances of preservation occur even in the 1st cent. B.C. In the South, however, this influence of the West becomes apparent very late in the 2nd cent. B.C. The tendency, therefore, seems to have gone from North-West and West → Centre → East ; West → South.

As a result of this tendency towards preservation, *-tr-* > *-tar-* in some instances in the West and Centre in the 1st cent. A.D. and in the South in the 2nd cent. A.D.

(iv) *dr* : The cluster *dr* is preserved only in the North-West from the days of Aśoka. It is, however, in a very few instances met with in the Centre in the 2nd and 1st cent. B.C. and in the West in the 1st cent. B.C. and A.D.

(v) *pr* : This cluster is preserved sometimes in the North-West and West and in less number of instances even in the South and Centre in the inscriptions of Aśoka. Later it is preserved both initially and medially in the N-West. The cluster *-pr-* is next met with in a few cases in the Central group in the 2nd cent. B.C., in the

Western group as *-pīr-* in the 1st cent. B.C. and as *pr-* in the 1st cent. A.D., and in the Southern group in the 2nd cent. A.D. Unlike other clusters with *r*, the cluster *pr* seems to have well-nigh fitted in the mouths of the people of North India as early as the 3rd cent. B.C.

(vi) *br* This cluster is sometimes preserved in the North-West and West in Aśokan inscriptions. It is also preserved in later inscriptions in the N-West and West. It occurs very rarely in the Centre in the 1st cent. B.C. and 4th cent. A.D.

(vii) Sibilant + *r* The cluster is generally preserved in the North-West, sometimes in the West, and in a few cases in the East in the Aśokan inscriptions. Its preservation becomes scarce in the West and also in the N-West where *śr* > *s* from the 1st cent. A.D.

§ 478 Clusters with *v*

(i) *tv* It is preserved in Aśokan inscriptions as *-tp-* in the West. Elsewhere it is assimilated to *t*. In later inscriptions it is preserved sometimes in the Centre in the 1st cent. A.D. and perhaps in the South a century later. In the West itself there are no examples of preservation beyond those that are found in Aśokan inscriptions. In the later inscriptions of N-West the cluster is either changed to *-p-*, assimilated to *-t-*, or preserved as *-tv-*.

(ii) *dv* It is generally assimilated to *d* in all inscriptions. But when the cluster occurs in numerals it is preserved as *db-* and *dv-* in the West, becomes *b* in the North-West, and *duv-* or *d-* in all other inscriptions in Aśoka's times. Later on in the West the cluster *dv* in numerals normally becomes *b-*, but it also becomes *d* in some cases from the 1st cent. B.C. onwards. Similarly the inscriptions in the South show uniformly *b-* from the 1st cent. A.D. onwards. In other groups, unfortunately, instances are not available. In the Centre, however, the cluster *dv-* is represented both as *d-* and *b-* in the 2nd cent. B.C. The process seems to have been .

(For *dv- > b*) (For *dv- > d-*)

$$\left. \begin{array}{l} W \rightarrow C \\ \rightarrow S \end{array} \right\} \text{ and } E \text{ and } C \rightarrow W$$

(iii) *rv* The cluster is usually preserved in the North-West and West in Aśokan period. At other places, as also sometimes in the West and North-West, it is assimilated to *v*. In the East and North it is also sometimes dissolved by svarabhakti. Later N-Western inscriptions either preserve it or assimilate it to *-v-*. But in all other regions *rv > v*.

(iv) Sibilant + *v* It is usually preserved in the West, North-West (as *śp-*) and South and very often in the Centre, East and North (mostly in the medial position) in the Aśokan inscriptions. In later inscriptions from N-West it is usually preserved as *śp*, *śv* or *sv*, but elsewhere it is usual to assimilate the cluster to *s*. In a few instances from the Centre of the 2nd cent. B.C., from the West of the 1st cent. B.C. and 2nd cent. A.D., and from the South of the 2nd and 3rd cent. A.D. the cluster is preserved. In the Centre, the cluster is also sometimes dissolved by svarabhakti in the 2nd cent. B.C.

§ 479 Clusters with sibilants .

(1) *ṛś* The cluster is sometimes preserved in the West and North-West (and rarely in the East) but usually assimilated to *s* in the inscriptions of Aśoka. In all

later inscriptions it is assimilated to *s* (or to *ṣ* in the N-West) but in the East in the 2nd cent. B.C. and in the West in the 1st cent. B.C. a nasal is added to it.

(ii) *ṛṣ* : As in the above case, the cluster is sometimes preserved in the West and North-West, but usually assimilated to *s* in the inscriptions of Aśoka. In later inscriptions also it is assimilated to *s* (with a nasal sometimes added to it in the West) and to *ṣ* (or *h*) in the N-West. In a few cases it is dissolved into *-ṛis-* first in the West in the 1st cent. A.D. and then in the South in the 2nd and 3rd cent. A.D.

(iii) For the treatment of *kṣ* and *ts* see under palatalisation (§ 370)

§ 480. Clusters with *h*. The cluster *rh* is usually dissolved by the addition of the vowel *a*. But in a few inscriptions of the 2nd cent. B.C. in the Centre and East the vowel *i* is added instead of *a*.

§ 481. Clusters with the nasal *ñ*

(i) *ñc*. This cluster is generally represented as *mc* or *c*. But sometimes it becomes *-mn-* in the East and North in Aśokan inscriptions. This treatment is noticed in the East even in the following century, in the West in the 1st cent. B.C. and A.D., and in the South in the 2nd cent. A.D. The treatment, thus, seems to have taken the following course

$$E \rightarrow W \rightarrow S$$

In certain instances the cluster is cerebralised and we get *-ñc-* > *-md-* first in the East in the 2nd cent. B.C. and then in the South in the 2nd cent. A.D.

(ii) *ññ*. The general treatment of the cluster is to change it to *mñ* or *ñ*. In certain cases the cluster is assimilated to *n* and in a few instances to *ṇ*. Thus the Central, Eastern and some of the Northern inscriptions of Aśoka show *n* or *mñ* both initially and medially as opposed to the Western and North-Western (also Southern) inscriptions which show *ñ* or *mñ*. These two treatments, however, show mutual influence from 2nd cent. B.C. onwards so that instances of the *n* treatment are found in the West (but not in the N-West) and of the *ñ* treatment in the Centre and the East. The later N-Western inscriptions simply preserve the early *-ñ-* treatment. In the South we find *n* and *ñ* side by side in the inscriptions of 1st and 2nd cent. A.D. but *ñ* disappears in the 3rd cent. A.D.

The cerebralisation of *-ññ-* > *-n-* is met with in the North-West and South in Aśokan inscriptions. It is next found in a few instances from the West in the 1st cent. A.D. (also perhaps in the 2nd cent. A.D.) in the South in the 2nd and 3rd cent. A.D. and in the Centre in the 4th cent. A.D. In the N-West it is found only in the Wardah vase inscription. The cerebralisation of *ññ* > *-n-* is thus an independent development of the South.

(i) *ññ* > *ñ*. W (NW) → C → E

(ii) *ññ* > *n*. E → C → W
→ S

(iii) *ññ* > *n*. NW → W → } C
S }

§ 482. Clusters with the nasal *n*

(i) *ny*. The cluster is assimilated to the nasals *n* and *ñ* in the West (to *ñ* in the N-West) and to *n* in the East and North in Aśokan inscriptions. In later cen-

tures \tilde{n} appears in the West in the 1st cent. B.C. but disappears there later, in the South in the 3rd cent. B.C. and 2nd cent. A.D., and in the Centre in the 2nd cent. B.C. The dental \tilde{n} appears in the West in the 2nd cent. A.D. and in the South from the 1st cent. A.D.

Thus $wy > \tilde{n}$. $\left. \begin{array}{l} W \rightarrow \\ S \rightarrow \end{array} \right\}$

Thus $m_y > n$. $E \rightarrow C' \rightarrow W$
 $\rightarrow S$

But the cluster is assimilated to the cerebral *n* also. As has been noticed in the treatment of the cluster *ɲn*, this happens first in the North-West and South in the 3rd cent. B.C. It comes to the West immediately in the following century and is seen there in all subsequent inscriptions. In the South, of course, the later inscriptions show this treatment as the principal one, so much so that the 3rd cent. A.D. inscriptions show only this treatment. In this case also the assimilation of the cluster to *n* is an independent characteristic of the South.

Thus $ny > n : N W. \rightarrow W$
S

(11) *n*. The cluster is represented as *mn* in the South and *mn* in Centre, East and North in Aśokan inscriptions. But *-n* is found in the Centre in other inscriptions of equal antiquity. The inscriptions of the 2nd cent. B.C. and 1st cent. B.C. in the Centre, however, show *n*. In the East, the 2nd cent. B.C. inscriptions show both *n* and *n*. Coming to the West we find that *-n* appears in the 1st cent. B.C., but later inscriptions regularly show *n*. In the South *-n* appears in the 1st cent. A.D. but *-n* in the 2nd cent. A.D.

Thus $-m- > -mn-$ E (and N)' $\rightarrow C \rightarrow W \rightarrow S$
 $-m- > -mn-$ C $\rightarrow W \rightarrow S$
S

In the South the treatment *-m- > -n-*, which seems to have disappeared from the 3rd cent. B.C. to the 1st cent. B.C. in favour of *-n-* under the influence from the Centre and the West, reasserted itself later in the 2nd cent. A.D.

(iii) *sn* In 2nd cent B C the cluster is represented as *nh* in Western and as *nh* and *nh* in Central India. In the 1st cent B C *-nh-* appears side by side with *-nh-* in the West but *-nh-* disappears from the Centre and *-n-* > *s'* in the N-West in that period. In the 1st and 2nd cent. A D *-nh-* and *-n-* appear in the West and *-n-*, *-nh-* or *-nh-* in the South. In the 4th cent A D *-nh-* appears in the Centre.

§ 483 Clusters with the nasal *n*

(1) *ny* In Asokan inscriptions the cluster is assimilated to *ñ* or *mñ* in the West and North-West, but to *n* or *mn* in the East, Centre and North. In the South also *-mn-* appears in the 3rd cent. B.C.

In the West, later inscriptions upto the 2nd cent. A.D. show *mñ* but in the 2nd cent. A.D. we have *n*. In the South *n* and *ñ* appear side by side till the 3rd cent. A.D. Except some instances in the 2nd cent. B.C. in Central India, the assimilation of the cluster to *n* is maintained in Central and Eastern India in later inscriptions.

Thus $ny > n$: E (and N.) $\rightarrow C \rightarrow W$ (2nd cent. A.D.).

S

$ny > \tilde{n}$ W (and N West) $\rightarrow S$
 $\rightarrow C$

§ 484 Clusters with the nasal *m*

(i) *tm* : It is preserved as *tp* (and as *-tm-* in the 1st cent. B.C.) in the West and South and assimilated to *t* in the rest of Aśokan inscriptions. It appears principally as *-p-* in the South in later centuries, but the change *-tm- > -t-* is also noticed in the 2nd cent. A.D. In Central India *-tm- > -p-* in the 4th cent. A.D. In the N-West it is preserved as *-tv-* in the 1st cent. A.D., but assimilated to *-t-* or *-p-* or preserved as *-tm-* in the 2nd cent. A.D.

Thus *-tm- > -tp- (> -p-)* : W > C

S

-tm- > -t- : E, N. C \rightarrow S

(ii) *rm* The cluster is everywhere assimilated to *m*. In the N-West, however, instances of preservation become frequent from the 2nd cent. A.D. In proper names it is dissolved into *-rum-* in that region.

MORPHOLOGY

485. Masculine and Neuter nouns ending in *-a*

(i) Nom sg Mas. . In Aśokan inscriptions the usual termination in the West and North-West is *-o*, but in the East, North, Centre and South it is *-e*. The fact that some of the other inscriptions in the South and Centre of the 3rd cent. B.C. give the termination *-o* and not *-e* shows that the existence of *-e* in these groups in the Aśokan inscriptions is due to the Eastern influence. Almost all the later inscriptions in the West and South show the termination *-o*. In the Centre, however, a few inscriptions in the 2nd and 1st cent. B.C. give the termination *-e* besides the normal *-o*. The termination *-e* has completely disappeared from the Central group from the 1st cent. A.D. In the East, excepting the Udayagiri inscriptions which give *-o*, all others give the termination *-e*. In the N-West *-o* is the more frequent of the two *-o* and *-e*.

(ii) Nom sg Neut. In Aśokan inscriptions the normal termination in the West and North-West is *-am* or *-a*, but *-e* in the rest of the inscriptions. All later inscriptions give only the former termination. The 2nd cent. B.C. inscriptions of the East too point to *am* and not *e*. The Eastern influence can be seen, however, in a few cases in the Central group in the 2nd cent. B.C. and in the Western and N-Western one in the 1st cent. A.D. Thus the termination *-am* has travelled from W \rightarrow C \rightarrow E whereas the termination *-e* has taken the reverse route though with less speed and still less force.

(iii) Acc sg Neut. The termination *am* or *a* is to be normally found in all inscriptions of Aśoka, but *-e* is at least exceptionally met with in the East and North. This exceptional termination *-e* has influenced some of the inscriptions in the Central group in the 2nd cent. B.C. and in the Southern one in the 3rd cent. A.D. Otherwise the normal termination everywhere is *-am* or *-a*. Thus *-e* has gone from E \rightarrow C \rightarrow S.

(iv) The instrumental sg termination is *-ena* everywhere. The cerebralisation of the termination is first started in the West and Centre in the 2nd cent. B.C. and

is introduced in the N-West in the 1st cent. B.C. where it becomes more frequent and in the South only in the 2nd cent. A.D. Thus cerebralisation has travelled in the following direction :

W and C → N-W,
→ S

More peculiar is the term. *-e* found in the 1st cent. A.D. inscriptions of the N-West.

(v) The Dat sg termination in the West and South is *-ya*, but in other groups it is generally *-ye* in Aśokan inscriptions. (The Central group shows both). The later inscriptions of N-West give more frequently the term. *-e* (< *-ye*) and also *-ya* and *a*. The termination *-ya* is next found in almost all later inscriptions from other regions. It is only in the 1st cent. A.D. instances from Central India that we get the termination *-ye*.

(vi) Abl. sg : The normal termination is *-ā* everywhere. The other termination *-āto*, which is never used frequently, shows its first appearance in the West, Centre and East in the 2nd cent. B.C. It went to the South perhaps in the 1st cent. A.D. but definite instances are obtained only in the 3rd cent. A.D.

(vii) Gen sg. The normal termination in all inscriptions is *-(a)sa*. The lengthening of the preceding vowel which makes the ending *-(ā)sa* is to be noted first in Central India in the 3rd cent. B.C. where it continued its existence only a century more. Thence it went to the South as it is sometimes found there only in the 2nd cent. B.C. inscriptions.

The termination *-(e)sa* has its appearance recorded in the 3rd cent. B.C. inscriptions in the South. It is not seen there any more, but is next found in the West from about 2nd cent. B.C. to 2nd cent. A.D.¹

Thus *-(ā)sa* · C → S
-(e)sa · S → W

The termination *-si* or *-sim* is found in the 4th cent. A.D. inscriptions in the Centre.

The fricative form of this *-sa* as *-s(ṛ)a* or *-s(y)a* is found in the N-West from the 2nd cent. A.D.

(viii) Loc sg. In Aśokan inscriptions we find *-mhi* or *-e* usually in the West, *-spi*, *-si*, or *-e* in the North-West, and *-si* in all other inscriptions. All later inscriptions from regions other than the N-West normally show *-e* everywhere. The termination *-mhi* of the West is continued there only for a century more but is found in the Centre in the 1st cent. B.C. or A.D. and in the South in the 2nd and 3rd cent. A.D.

Thus *-e* W → to all other places almost from the 2nd cent. B.C.

-mhi · W → C in the 1st cent. B.C.
→ S in the 2nd cent. A.D.

In the N-West we find *-e* (or *-eṃ*) from the 1st cent. B.C., *-mī* (or *-m̐mī*, or *-m(ṛ)i*) or *-m̐m(ṛ)i* from the 1st and 2nd cent. A.D., and *-i* from the 2nd cent. A.D.

(ix) Acc. pl. Mas. The termination in the West is *-e* and in all other parts *-āni* in the Aśokan period. But all subsequent inscriptions at all places show usually the Western termination *-e*.

1. Cf. the pronominal form *etesa* in the West in the 1st and 2nd centuries A.D.

(x) Nom. Acc. pl. Neut. The usual termination that is employed everywhere is *āni*. The cerebralisation is noticed very late in the 1st cent. A.D. in the West and in the 3rd cent. A.D. in the South.

(xi) Gen. pl. : The usual termination is *-nam* or *-na* and is found in all inscriptions of Aśoka, except those in the South. But it is found even in the South as in other parts in all later inscriptions.

The termination *-nā* (or *-nām*) is found in the West and North in the 3rd cent. B.C. Except in the 2nd cent. B.C. the termination is not met with any more in the West. It is found only in the Centre in the 2nd cent. B.C. and 1st cent. A.D.

Cerebralisation of this term is a distinct peculiarity of the Southern Aśokan inscriptions. It appears to have gone out of use there for some of the following centuries, but reappears there from the 2nd cent. A.D. This cerebralisation has been quickly taken over by the Western inscriptions, for there instances are consistently found from the 2nd cent. B.C. In the Central group, however, cerebralisation is completely absent in early inscriptions. It is found there as late as the 4th cent. A.D. In the N-West the cerebralised form is found side by side the dental one from the 1st cent. B.C., but in the 3rd cent. A.D. it is the latter that is more frequent.

W
C
N
-nam (-na) · S → W → C
→ N-W

§ 486 Feminine nouns ending in *-ā*

(i) Inst. sg. : In all there are three terminations *-ya*, *-yā* and *-ye*. First we will take the Aśokan inscriptions. The termination *-ya* is normally found in the West, Centre, East and exceptionally in the North. The termination *-ye* is found in the North-West and North. The termination *-yā* is found in the Centre and North besides the other termination noted above. As regards the later inscriptions, the termination *-ya* is found normally in the West. It is found in the South together with the termination *-ye* only in the 2nd and 3rd cent. A.D. In the East also it is found in the 2nd cent. B.C. The termination *-ye* is perhaps found in the West in the 2nd cent. B.C. but definitely in the 1st cent. A.D. As is noted above it is also found in the South in the 3rd cent. A.D. and in the Centre in the 2nd cent. B.C. It also occurs in the form *-e* in later inscriptions from the N-West.

The termination *-yā* does not occur any more after the Aśokan inscriptions.

Thus *-ya* · W → S
E

-ye · N and NW → W → S
C

(ii) Gen. sg. As in the instrumental singular the terminations for gen. sg. are more than one. In the 3rd cent. B.C. the normal termination in the Centre (and North) is *-ye*, and in the West *-ya*. The termination *-ye* appears in the West in a few cases only in the 2nd cent. B.C. In the South too it appears in a few cases but late in the 1st cent. A.D. In the Centre and East, however, it is the more frequent termination and has a continuous existence. As in the instrumental, this term. ap-

pears as *-e* in the N-West. The termination *-ya*, which can be characterised as the Western one due to its consistent presence there, appears in the East and Centre from the 2nd cent. B.C. It has come to the South only later in the 1st cent. A.D.

The termination *-yā* appears in the West only in the 2nd cent. B.C., but in the Centre in the 2nd and 1st cent. B.C., and in the South in the 2nd cent. B.C. and 1st cent. A.D.

The termination *-va* is a distinct characteristic of the West where it appears in the 1st cent. B.C. and A.D. inscriptions

Thus *-ya* : W → C → E
→ S

-ye E and C → N-W, W (The influence is not strong).
→ S

(iii) Loc. sg. The usual termination in the inscriptions excepting those of Aśoka is *-yam* or *-ya*. In Aśokan inscriptions it appears in the West, East and North. But there is also another termination *-ye* which appears in the North-West, East and North. In later inscriptions it is preserved only in the N-West as *-ye* or *-e* but has gone out of use elsewhere.

(iv) Nom. pl. : The usual termination is *-ā* in all inscriptions. The next termination *-āyo* appears only in the West in Aśokan inscriptions and later on in the 1st cent. A.D. It is also found in the Centre in the 2nd cent. B.C.

§ 487 Masculine and Neuter Nouns ending in -ī

(i) Inst. sg. The usual termination is *-nā* everywhere. The cerebralisation is first found in the West in the 1st cent. A.D. and thence carried to the Centre in as late a period as the 4th cent. A.D.

(ii) Gen. sg. The two terminations are *-no* and *-sa*. The termination *-no* is the principal one in the West in the period anterior to the beginning of the Christian era. Following it, however, the termination *-sa* becomes the principal one so that *-no* completely disappears from the 1st cent. A.D. In the Centre and East we do not get examples from later centuries. In the earlier centuries in those regions, the termination *-no* is the principal one, though *-sa* appears sometimes. In the South, however, the termination *-sa* seems to be the one prevalent in the field, as *-no* appears only exceptionally in the 1st cent. A.D. In the N-West the only term is *-sa* (which sometimes becomes *-s(y)a*). Only once a second cent. A.D. instance gives *-e* (< Sk. *-ek*).

The cerebralisation of *-no* is first noticed in the West in the first cent. B.C. and then in the South in the 1st cent. A.D.

(iii) Gen. pl. The usual termination is *-nām* or *-na* everywhere. The cerebralised termination *-na* is made available only in the West in the 1st cent. A.D.

§ 488 Feminine Nouns ending in -ī

(i) Dat. sg. It appears that *-ya* is the Western termination which was in course of time replaced by *-ye*, the Eastern termination. In the N-West also the term. is *-ye* or *-e*. The examples are, however, few.

§ 489. Feminine Nouns ending in -ī

(i) Inst. sg. The Western termination *-ya* is found in examples from the 1st cent. B.C. It has travelled Southwards from the 1st cent. A.D. In the N-West also we get the term. *-a* (*-ya*) in the 1st cent. A.D. The Central termination is *-ye*. Curiously enough in the East we get the mas. termination *-nā* only in the 2nd cent. B.C.

divisions later examples are not available. But in Aśokan inscriptions they show the termination *-nā*.

(ii) Gen. sg. : The usual termination in the West and South is *-no*. In the Centre, only the 2nd cent. B.C. inscriptions yield examples showing the termination *-u*. This termination has to a certain extent influenced the Western inscriptions, for we get there the termination *-u* in the 1st cent. A.D. In the N-West also this is the more important term. appearing from the 1st cent. B.C. onwards

(iii) Gen. pl. The common termination is *-nam* or *-na* which is employed in all inscriptions. It is cerebralised first in the West in the 1st cent. B.C. and thence it goes to the South in about the 1st or 2nd cent. A.D., and to the N-West in the 2nd cent. A.D.

§ 493 Feminine Nouns ending in *-r* :

(i) Inst. sg. . The termination *-u* is found in earlier inscriptions in the West. The 2nd cent. A.D. inscriptions no doubt give *-u*, but also point to *-(r)a*, *-ya*, and *-ye*. The Central inscriptions of the 1st cent. A.D. show the termination *-(r)e*, and the N-Western show *-(r)a*

(ii) Gen. sg. . The only termination that we get in the Central inscriptions is *-u*. In the West *-u* is the termination in the 2nd cent. B.C. In the following century *-ya* also appears by the side of *-u*, and from the 1st cent. A.D. it (i.e. *-ya*) dominates the field. In the South *-u* appears in all inscriptions except those of the 2nd cent. A.D. The termination there is *-ya* which also appears in some cases in the early inscriptions of 2nd cent. B.C. In the N-West the only term. that appears is *-u* in the 1st and 2nd cent. A.D.

Thus *-u* : C → W

S →

§ 494 Masculine Nouns ending in *-at*

(i) Gen. sg. . The Western termination is *-sa*, whereas the Southern is *-o* (where it appears in the 1st cent. and 2nd cent. A.D., the early instances from the South being not available). In the Centre, *-o* is the principal termination from the 2nd cent. B.C. to the 1st cent. A.D. but *-sa* appears as a secondary one in the 2nd cent. and 1st cent. B.C. The termination of the East is *-e* or *-o*. In the N-West *-a* and *-o* are more frequent, the term *-sa* being available only in the 2nd cent. A.D.

Thus *-sa* W → C and N-W

-o E and C → S (?)

(ii) Gen. pl. The usual termination employed in all places is *-nam*. But in the West in the 1st cent. A.D. we also find *-ām* or *-ā*

§ 495. Masculine and Neuter Nouns ending in *-an*

(i) Nom. Acc. sg. Neut. The usual termination of the West and South is *-am* or *-a*. In the East and North, however, this termination appears as the subordinate one, the principal one being *-e*, in the inscriptions of Aśoka

(ii) Inst. sg. : The usual termination is *-nā*. It is palatalised in the 2nd cent. A.D. in the West, and cerebralised in the same century in the South.

(iii) Gen. sg. : The termination *-ne* or *-no* appears in the East (and North) in the 3rd cent. B.C. as the principal one and *-sa* as the subordinate one. But in the 2nd cent. B.C. the scales are turned in favour of *-sa*.

This termination *-no* appears in a few instances in Central India in the 1st cent. B.C. and in Southern India in the 1st and 2nd cent. A.D.

But it appears in its palatalised form as *-ño* in the West from the 3rd cent. B.C. to the 2nd cent. A.D., in the South in the 1st and 2nd cent. A.D., in the Centre in the 2nd and 1st cent. B.C., and in the N-West (as *-ña*) in the 1st cent. A.D.

In its cerebralised form it appears as *-no* in the West and South in the first two centuries following the beginning of the Christian era, in the N-West in the 1st cent. A.D., and in the Centre in the 4th cent. A.D.

The termination *-sa*, as noted above, first appears in the East. In the West it is employed only from the 2nd cent. B.C. to the 1st cent. B.C. or A.D. In the Centre, also, it appears in the 2nd cent. B.C. In the N-West it is the only term that is consistently employed from the 1st cent. B.C. to 3rd cent. A.D. It is found in the South in the 2nd cent. A.D., where it has completely driven out other terminations in the 3rd cent. A.D.

Thus <i>-ne</i> or <i>-no</i>	E (N and N.W.) → C → S
<i>-ño</i>	W (and N.W.) → C
	(?)
	→ S
<i>-ño</i>	W and S → C
<i>-sa</i>	E → C → W and N-W → S

§ 496 Masculine Nouns ending in *-m*

(i) Inst sg The usual termination that is used everywhere is *-nā*. It is perhaps cerebralised in the West in as early inscriptions as of the 2nd cent. B.C.

(ii) Gen sg The termination *-no* or *-ne* appears in the West and East (besides North and North-West) in the 3rd cent. B.C. In the East it is preserved in the 2nd cent. B.C. but in the West it is quickly supplanted by *-sa* in the 2nd cent. B.C. so that barring the instances of the 1st cent. B.C. it never appears there again. In the Centre *-no* appears in the 2nd cent. B.C. and 1st cent. B.C. In the South also *-no* appears from the 1st cent. A.D. to the 3rd cent. A.D. It is cerebralised only in the West in a few instances of the 1st cent. B.C.

The other termination *-sa*, as noted above, did hold the ground in the West. It is the only term again that is available in the N-West. But in the Centre and South it had a place only subordinate to *-no*.

Thus <i>-ne</i> or <i>-no</i>	E → C → W
	→ S
<i>-sa</i>	W (and N-W) → C → S

(iii) Gen pl. The only term which appears in all inscriptions is *-nam* (rarely as *-na* or *-nā*). In its cerebralised form it appears as *-na* only in the N-West in the 3rd cent. A.D.

§ 497 In the sphere of Pronouns and Verb forms there are very few regional variations and hence there is little to indicate as regards their chronological movements. However, a few remarks with regard to some peculiar forms are added in the introduction, pp. xxviii-xxxii.

CHAPTER IX

KHAROṢṬHĪ INSCRIPTIONS

(*With the exception of those of Aśoka*)

§ 498 INTRODUCTORY.

The present chapter takes into account all the Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions that are included in the *CII* Vol. II, Part I (Calcutta, 1929) by Sten KONOW. As the inscriptions of Aśoka are mostly in Brāhmī, the two Kharoṣṭhī versions of his famous fourteen rock edicts discovered at Shāhbāzgarhī and Mansehrā are treated together with the other Aśokan inscriptions. At the same time the few Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions that are found in the east (at Mathurā, Rawal, and Karnal) and in the west (in Sind) are not separated from the main stock and put in the eastern or western group, but all of them are treated here jointly. Unlike Brāhmī, the use of Kharoṣṭhī is restricted to the north-west extending from about 69° to 73° 30' E and from the Hindu Kush to about 33° N. It is believed that the place of origin of this alphabet was Gandhara and from its use in the north-western inscriptions of Aśoka it can be seen that it was known to India definitely from the 3rd century B.C.

The period covered by the inscriptions treated here extends from about the 1st cent. B.C. to the 4th century A.D., though a large number of the inscriptions belong to the first two centuries of the Christian era. Almost all of them record some donations or pious acts either by individuals or some associations, in all probability of Buddhists. These donations include various utensils like a lamp, ladle, jars, silver vases, or images and sculptures, and the pious acts generally refer to digging of wells or dedicating tanks, some religious buildings, or gardens. Below is given a list of inscriptions dealt with in this chapter arranged according to their probable chronology.

I 1st Century B.C. Inscriptions.

- 1 Swāt Relic vase inscription of the Meridarkh Theodoros (K1)¹. The vase was discovered in a Parthian village in the Swāt valley. The lines of the inscription have become indistinct through the paint.
- 2 Taxila Copper plate inscription of a Meridarkh (K2). The plate was discovered in three or four pieces in one of the stūpas to the west of Shāhpur, a village in Taxila.
- 3 Tīrath Rock inscription (K5). The inscription is found below the two large pādukās on a rock near the village of Tīrath, situated on the border of the Swāt Kohistan.
- 4 Maira inscription (K8). It was found in a well in a small village Maira, Jhelum District. The record seems to be dated in the year 58 and thus probably corresponds to 27-26 B.C.
- 5 Shahdaur inscription of Damijada (K9). It is engraved on a rock near the hamlet of Shahdaur in the Agror valley (Oghi Kanungo Circle). It is dated perhaps in the year 60 = 25-24 B.C.

¹ K refers to KONOW's edition of the *Kharoṣṭhī Inscriptions* and the number following it refers to the one assigned to it in KONOW's work.

6. Mansehra inscription on a stone slab (K11): The inscription which is not well preserved probably belongs to the year 68 = 17-16 B C
7. Fatehjang Stone Inscription (K12) Fatehjang is the easternmost tahsil of the Attock District. The inscription is dated in the year 68 = 17 B C
8. Taxila Copper plate inscription of Patika (K13) The exact find spot of the inscription is not known. It is dated in the year 78 = 6 B C.
9. Muchai inscription (K14) Muchai is in Yusufzai and the slab of sand-stone on which the inscription is found is No 146 of the Lahore Museum. It is dated in the year 81 = 4-3 B C.
10. Kumrahār terra cotta plaque inscription (K93) This was discovered at Kumrahār, Patna. Nothing definite can be said about its date
11. Pathyār Rock inscription (K94) It is in the Kāngrā district, Punjab. The inscription consists of two lines of which the upper is in Brāhmī while the lower is in Kharoṣṭhī. It may be dated in the 2nd or 1st century B C.
12. Kanhuāra inscription (K95) On boulders of granite in the Kāngrā district there are two inscriptions, one in Brāhmī and the other in Kharoṣṭhī, of the same import. They may be dated in the 1st century B C.
13. Karnāl inscription (K96) Karnāl is the head quarters of the district and tahsil (29° 41' N and 76° E) on the old bank of Jumna. The inscription may be dated in the 1st century B C.

II. 1st Century A D Inscriptions

1. Bajaur seal inscription of Theodamas (K3) It is on a stone slab found in the village Miankilli in Bajaur, south-east of Jalalabad
2. Paris Cornelian inscription (K4) This cornelian, of unknown origin, is now to be found in the cabinet of Medals in Paris
3. Saddo Rock inscription (K7) Saddo is a village on the road leading from Swāt to Chitrāl
4. Shahdaur inscription of Śivarakṣita (K8) For Shahdaur see above No 5.
5. The Mathura Lion Capital (K15) The capital of red sand-stone which was discovered in 1869 consists of two closely joined lions standing on a pedestal. The inscriptions are found on the bodies of the two lions and the top, back, and the bottom of the block. The main part of the inscription records the donations by the chief queen of the Mahākṣatrapa Rajula
6. Mathura elephant inscription (K16) The stone decorated with an elephant war found in a mound at Rawal near Mathura. The inscription is on the back of it
7. Bīmarūn vase inscription (K17) Bīmarān, where this inscribed steatite vase was found, is a small village to west-north-west of Jalālābād
8. Kala Sang inscription (K18) It is a stone inscription found at Kala Sang, a hillock in the territory of Khudu Khels of the Yusufzai border. It is dated probably in the year 100 = A D 16-17
9. Mount Banj slab inscription (K19) The find-spot is perhaps an ancient well situated in the valley between the two spurs of the Mount Banj. It is dated in the year 102 = A D 18-19
10. The so-called Takht-i-Bāhī inscription (K20). The stone No I. 1 in the Lahore Museum is supposed to have come from Takht-i-Bāhī in Yusufzai.

It is dated in the year 103 = A.D. 19. It is also dated in the year 26 which is perhaps to be referred to the Parthian era instituted by Azes.

- 11 and 12. Other Takht-i-Bāhī inscriptions (K21, K22): On the back of a damaged Buddha figure (Peshawar Museum No. 1160) and on the fragment of a black pottery (Peshawar Museum No. 444) are to be found these inscriptions
13. Pāyā inscription (K23) It is a stone inscription found at Pāyā, a ridge and a village between Jamālgarhī and Takht-i-Bāhī. It is dated in the year 111 = A.D. 27
14. Kāldarra inscription (K24) It is near Dargai, to the south of Malakand pass in Swāt. It is dated in the year 113 = A.D. 29
15. Mārguz inscription (K25) The inscribed slab was found in the village Mārguz in the Swābī tahsil of the Peshawar district. It is dated probably in the year 117 = A.D. 33-34
16. Panjtār inscription (K26) The inscribed stone is reported to have been found at Salimpūr, near Panjtār. It is dated in the year 136 = A.D. 52
17. Taxila silver scroll inscription (K27) The silver scroll was found in one of the chambers to the west of the Dharmarājikā stūpa of the Chir mound. It is dated in the year 136 = A.D. 52
18. Peshāvar Museum inscription (K28) This is No. 20 of the Peshāvar Museum, the details about its provenance being unknown. It is dated in the year 168 = A.D. 84.
19. Taxila Gold plate inscription (K31) It was discovered in a group of remains outside the northern wall of the Sirkap city. This and the following two are undated
20. Taxila vase inscription (K32)
21. Taxila copper ladle inscription (K33) Two of the ladles in the Taxila Museum contain an identical inscription
22. Bedadī copper ladle inscription (K34) The village Bedadī is on the Siram river, some 12 miles from Mānsehrā
23. Dharmarājikā inscriptions (K35) Six fragmentary inscriptions were found in this site near Taxila

III 2nd Century A.D. Inscriptions.

1. Khalatse inscription (K29) It is a village in Ladakh, 52 miles below Leh. It is dated in the year 187 = A.D. 103-4. There are also other Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions discovered at Khalatse. One of them reads *sakhavasa*, another *śasakhasa* or *śasatasa*, while two more give only the letter *sa*. As these readings are only tentative no meaning can be ascribed to them
2. Taxila silver vase inscription (K30) This is dated in the year 191 = A.D. 107-8.
3. Minor Taxila inscriptions (K37) The excavations at Sirkap have brought to light several antiquities bearing Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions, perhaps of the 1st or 2nd century A.D.
4. Seal inscription of Śivasena (K38) A seal ring of copper was found in the Panjab which bore the name of a Kṣatrapa Śivasena.

5. Dewai inscription (K39). The inscribed stone was found at Dewai, a small fort on the eastern slope of Mahāban. It is dated in the year 200 = A.D. 116.
6. Jamālgarhī lamp inscription (K51). There is a fragmentary inscription on a fragment of a stone lamp discovered at Jamālgarhī.
7. Jamālgarhī pavement stone inscription (K52). The pavement is round the main stūpa. It may be dated perhaps in the 2nd century A.D.
8. Peshāvar Museum inscription (K61). No. 1 of the Peshāvar Museum was brought from the Khudu Khel country, the exact find spot of which is unknown.
9. Peshāvar Museum inscription (K62). This wedge-shaped fragment is No. 4 of the Museum and it was also brought from the Khudu Khel country.
10. Naugrām inscription (K63). A stone bearing a fragmentary inscription was found at Naugrām, a village in the Khudu Khel country.
11. Peshāvar inscription on writing-board (K64). This sculpture, No. 347 of the Peshāvar Museum, shows the Bodhisattva seated with a writing-board in his lap.
12. Lahore inscription on writing board (K65). This is No. 206 of the Lahore Museum showing the Bodhisattva standing before his teacher Viśvāmītra.
13. Yākubī image inscription (K66). A sculpture, now No. 280 of the Peshāvar Museum, was found at Yākubī in the Swabī tahsil of the Peshāvar District.
14. Peshāvar Museum inscription (K67). On a fragment of a building stone, No. 3 of the Peshāvar Museum, are two letters, *mī*, and *me* or *śa*. They may be mason's marks.
15. Peshāvar Museum inscription (K68). This is a small stone, No. 5 of the Museum, of unknown provenance.
16. Peshāvar Museum inscription (K69). This is another fragment, No. 7 of the Museum, with a few letters in two lines.
17. Peshāvar sculpture inscription (K70). On the upper right hand corner of a sculpture (No. 193 of the Museum) representing two wrestlers is a short inscription.
18. Nowshera pedestal inscription (K71). It is on the pedestal of a sculpture in the officers' mess.
19. Kanīṣka casket inscriptions (K72). A relic casket was discovered in the big Kanīṣka stūpa which stands outside the Ganj gate of the Peshāvar City. It is dated in the year 1 of Kanīṣka.
20. Shāh-jī-kī Dherī inscribed bricks (K73). These bricks were discovered in the western edge of the above stūpa. They contain either one or more letters and are now deposited in the Peshāvar Museum (Nos. 483-93).
21. Sui Vihār copper-plate inscription (K74). Sui Vihār is the name of a ruined stūpa to the south-west of Bahāwalpur. The record is dated in the year 11 of the Kanīṣka era = A.D. 139.
22. Zeda inscription (K75). Zeda is a village near Und, situated in 34°3' N and 72° 32' E. It is dated in the year 11 of Kanīṣka era = A.D. 139.
23. Mānikāla inscription (K76). It is on a massive stone in one of the stūpas to the south of the village Mānikāla in the Rawalpindi district. It is dated in the year 18 of Kanīṣka era = A.D. 145.

- 24 Mānikāla bronze casket inscription (K77) The casket was found in the great stūpa.
- 25 Mānikāla silver disc inscription (K78) This was also found in the same stūpa.
- 26 Box-lid inscription (K79) The lid of a brass-casket sent from Afghanistan contains an inscription Its exact find-place is not known. It is dated in the year 18 of Kan era = A D 146.
- 27 Kurram casket inscription (K80) The inscription is found on the four sides of the copper casket of which the original find spot is not known. It is dated in the year 20 of Kan. era = A D 148
28. Peshāvar Museum inscription (K81): This is a stone inscription, No 21 of the Museum
29. Hidda inscription (K82). The village Hidda is situated about five miles to the south of Jalālābād It is dated in the year 28 of the Kan. era = A.D. 155
- 30 Shakardarra inscription (K83) The inscription comes from an old well in Shakardarra near Campbellpore in N. W Frontier Province. It is dated in the ear 40 of Kan era = A D 168.
- 31 Rāwal stone inscription (K84) Rāwal is a village near Mathurā. The inscription which is now placed in the Mathurā Museum is nothing but a clumsy copy of the Shakardarra record (No 30 above)
32. Ārā inscription (K85) This is Lahore Museum No I 133 Ārā is a nālā near Bāgnulab which is to the south-south-west of Attock Date year 41 = A D 169
- 33 Wardak vase inscription (K86) Wardak is some 30 miles to the west of Kabul Date year 51 = A D 179
- 34 Uṇḍ inscription (K87) Uṇḍ or Ohind is a village 15 miles above Attock Date year 61 = A D 189

IV. 3rd Century A D (and some later) Inscriptions

- 1 Loryān Tangai pedestal inscription (K40). The pedestal of a statue was discovered in a ruined stūpa in the valley of Loryān near the northern opening of the Shāhkot pass into Lower Swāt. It is dated in the year 318 = A D 234
- 2 Loryān Tangai inscription (K41) No 4860 of the Calcutta Museum is a Buddha statue brought from Loryān Tangai Below the folds of garment is an inscription
- 3 Loryān Tangai inscription (K42) Another statue of the Buddha, No. 4871 of the Calcutta Museum, was also brought from the same place
- 4 Loryān Tangai inscription (K43). This is No. 4995 of the Calcutta Museum, a headless statue of a Bodhisattva
- 5 Loryān Tangai inscription (K44) This is No. 5095 of the Calcutta Museum, a bas-relief representing a teaching Buddha
6. Jamālgarhī inscription (K45) Jamālgarhī is a village to the south of the Pājā ridge It is dated in the year 359 = A.D. 275.
7. Jamālgarhī pedestal inscription (K46) This sculpture forming the pedestal for a standing statue comes from the same place.

8. Jamālgarhī image halo inscription (K47): This halo of a statue seems to have disappeared to-day.
9. Jamālgarhī pilaster base inscription (K48): This inscription on a fragment of a pilaster base may be dated in the end of the 3rd century A.D.
10. Lahore Museum halo inscription (K49) · This is No 257 of the Museum, a broken Buddha image of unknown provenance
11. Lahore pedestal inscription (K50) This is No 679 of the Lahore Museum, a pedestal of unknown provenance. The characters seem to agree with the Jamālgarhī records
12. Hashtnagar pedestal inscription (K53) · Hashtnagar is a modern name given to eight small villages on the left bank of the Swāt river above its confluence with the Kābul river It is dated in the year 384 = A.D. 300
13. Pālāṭu Dherī pedestal inscription (K54) At this place a pedestal of a standing Buddha was found and this is at present No 626 of the Peshavar Museum
14. Pālāṭu Dherī inscriptions on jars (K55) These are written in a thin wash on the walls of three jars found in a mound
15. Sahr-I-Bahlol potsherds (K56) A considerable number of pottery fragments with ink inscriptions were found here during excavations
16. Ghaz Dherī pedestal inscription (K57) Ghaz Dherī is a mound opposite Pālāṭu Dherī The pedestal is of a fragmentary Bodhisattva statue.
17. Shahr-I-Nāpursān pedestal inscription (K58) The place is situated between Rājar and Utmanzai in Hashtnagar. The pedestal is No 1194 of the Lahore Museum
18. Mīr Ziyārat clay sherd (K59) One of the Mounds in the Shahr-i-Nāpursān group is now called Mīr Ziyārat The letters found on the broken shed do not yield any sense
18. Māmāne Dherī pedestal inscription (K88) This sculpture represents Indra's visit to Buddha It as found in a small hamlet built on the top of a small ancient mound in the Chārsadda tahsīl of the Peshavar district. It is dated in the year 89 = A.D. 216
20. Kāniza Dherī inscription (K89) The find place is an ancient mound near the village Umarazai in the Chārsadda tahsīl Palaeographically the inscription may be dated in the 3rd century A.D.
21. Taja inscription (K90) The inscription is, however, not published
22. Mohenjo Daro fragments (K91) At Mohenjo Daro Larkhana district, Sind, were found some glazed fragments of pottery containing a word or few letters on each
23. Tor Dherai inscribed potsherds (K92): It is seven miles south-east of Duki tahsīl, Lorlai district, Baluchistan. Fifty pottery fragments with inked letters, five in Brāhmī and the rest in Kharoṣṭhī, were discovered here. Nothing can be made out of Brāhmī fragments Though the Kharoṣṭhī fragments belong to different jars it has been found possible to connect them together in a single legend which seems to have been repeated, only with slight variations, on different jars They may roughly be dated about or after 200 A.D.

24. **Skarāh Dherī** image inscription (K60): The place is situated near the village Spinvarī, eight miles north of Chārsadda. It is dated in the year 399 = A D 315.
25. **Jaulā** inscriptions (K36): According to Sir John MARSHALL the inscriptions belong to the 5th or the 6th century A.D.

PHONOLOGY

I. VOWELS

§ 499 The vowels, with the exception of *r* and the diphthongs, are usually well preserved. As the Kharoṣṭhī script does not mark the long vowels, it has not been possible to discuss their treatment as in the Brāhmī inscriptions.

§ 500. Treatment of the vowel *ɪ*. The vowel *ɪ* is never preserved. It is generally changed to *a*, and in a few cases to *i* and *u*. It is only in exceptional instances that *ī* is changed to *ri*.

- (a) Change $r > a$

1st cent. A.D. . Sk *grha-* > *-gaha-* K 27^a.
 Sk *amṛta-* > *amata* K 26^a.
 2nd cent. A.D. . Sk *kṛta-* > *kata-* K 75^a.
 Sk *tṛṣā-* > *taṣa-* K 80^a.

- (b) Change $\tau > i$:**

1st cent B.C . Sk *kṛti-* > *kṛti-* K 93.

- (c) Change $\tau > u$.

2nd cent A.D. · Sk. *vṛddha-* > *vudha-* K 75^a

- (d) Change $\tau > \tau_a$.

1st cent AD Sk *pṛthivī-* > *pradhravi-* K 15

- (e) Change $\bar{\tau} > \tau l^2$:

1st cent. BC Sk. *kr̥nayaśas-* > *kr̥ṣayaśa-* K95¹, K 96¹.
3rd cent. AD Sk. *pil̥ṇām* > *-pitrnam* K 92

§ 501 Treatment of the diphthongs *ai* and *au* They are regularly changed to *e* and *o* respectively

- (a) Change $a_1 > e$

1st cent A D . Sk *Vaiśakha* > *Veśakha* K 20².
 2nd cent A D . : Sk. *Castra* > *Cetra* K 87¹, also cf *Veśakha* K 39¹.
 3rd cent A D . Sk *casya* > *celiya* K 48¹.

- (b) Change $au > 0$.

1st cent. B.C. Sk *pauṭra-* > *poṭra-* K 96²
 Sk *Prauṭhapada-* > *Proṭhavata-* K 12.
 2nd cent. A.D. Sk *Gautama-* > *Gotama-* K 79.
 Sk *naukrāma-* > *noḥkrāma-* K 83²⁻³.
 3rd cent. A.D. . cf. *Proṭhvada-* K 40¹

2. This is the regular treatment of the vowel *ɪ* in the Kharoṣṭhī documents of Chinese Turkestan, cf. BURROW, §5.

§ 502. Treatment of Sk. *aya* and *ava* . They are changed to *e* and *o* respectively.

(a) Change *aya* > *e* :

1st cent. B.C . Sk *prati-√sthāpaya-* > *prati-ṭhaveli* K 13^a.

1st cent. A.D. : cf. *prethaveli-* K 31¹

2nd cent. A.D. . of *pratiṭhaveli* K 86¹ etc

(b) Change *ava* > *o* :

3rd cent. A.D . Sk *Saṅghavarman-* > *Saḡhoruma-* K 40²,

also cf *Budhoruma-* K 41¹, K 58¹.

§ 503 Treatment of the Sk vowel *a* The vowel *a* is fairly well preserved. The following sporadic changes, however, may be noted

(a) Change *a* > *i* :

1st cent. A.D . Sk *śata-* > *-śati-* K 20⁻, K 23¹

2nd cent. A.D . Sk *sarva-* > *sarvī-na* K 86³

Sk *kṛtālaya-ka-* > *kadalayi-g(ṛ)a-* K 86¹

4th cent. A.D. cf *caduśati-* K 60¹

(b) Change *a* > *u* occurs only in a single word.

2nd cent. A.D . Sk *kṣana-* > *kṣuna-* K 75¹, K 79 etc

3rd cent. A.D . cf *kṣuna-* K 88

(c) Change *a* > *e* before a cluster

1st cent. A.D . Sk *pra-√sthāpaya-* > *prethaveli-* K 31¹.

(d) Initially *a-* is lost in the following cases

1st cent. A.D . Sk *apī* > *vī* K 15 I¹

2nd cent. A.D . Sk *aranya-* > *rañña-* K 80¹

3rd cent. A.D . cf *rañña-* K 45²

§ 504 Treatment of the vowel *i* It is well preserved The following changes are only occasional.

(a) Change *i* > *a* :

1st cent. A.D. . Sk *puṣkarinī-* > *pukarān-* K 24¹⁻²

Sk *pṛthwī-* > *padhravī-* K 15M²⁻³

The change sometimes occurs before terminations

1st cent. A.D . Sk *Sarvāstivādin-* > *Sarvastival(ṛ)a-na* K 15A¹³,
K 15 J³ etc

3rd cent. A.D . Sk *samanuyāyin-* > *samanuyaya-na* K 88

(b) change *i* > *e* before a cluster

1st cent. A.D . Sk *agra-mahiṣī-* > *agra-maheṣ(ṛ)i-* K 15 A².

2nd cent. A.D . Sk **itra* > *etra* K 76¹, ⁵

Sk *kaṇṣka-* > *kaneṣha-* K 76¹⁻² also cf K 72³.

§ 505. Treatment of the vowel *u* The vowel is very well preserved Note however the following

(a) Change *u* > *i* due to dissimulation

2nd cent. A.D . Sk *kuṭumbini-* > *kuṭimbini-* K 74³.

(b) Change $u > o$ before a cluster :

1st cent. B.C. : Sk *Buddha* > *Bodha*- K 5.

§ 506 The vowel o is perhaps changed to u in :

4th cent. A.D. : Sk *ekona* > *ek[u]ṇa*- K 60¹.

II. CONSONANTS SIMPLE

§ 507. The consonants in their initial position are almost always well preserved. There occur only a few cases of initial cerebralisation and loss of occlusion in the case of aspirates. The distinction between the three sibilants is closely preserved and the change of $r > l$ is almost absent. The changes that are noted below are mostly intervocal and are more or less of limited application showing only some general tendencies of pronunciation. The striking feature in this connection is the change of a consonant into fricative which is generally represented by the addition of r put into brackets or sometimes by the addition of y . The following paragraphs do not illustrate the cases of preservation—they only show the changes which the consonants sometimes undergo

§ 508 Gutturals (a) The change of intervocal surd to sonant³ is noticed only in the case of $-k$. It may be noted further that in all instances the change has occurred in the last syllable.

(1) Change $-k$ > $-g$ -

1st cent. B.C. . Sk. *jñālika* > [*ñali*ga]- K 13⁴.

1st cent. A.D. Sk *pratyeka* > *pracega*- K 27⁴

2nd cent. A.D. Sk *danḍanāyaka* > *daḍḍanayaga*- K 76¹.

Sk *navakramika* > *navakarmiga*- K 76¹².

Sk *mahāsanghika* > *mahasamghiga*- K 86¹

3rd cent. A.D. Sk *stūpaka* > *-tubaga*- K 41²

Also cf [*ṇa*|*d*]*ga*]- K 55 C

(b) The change of a guttural to a fricative or a sonantised fricative is noticed in the following cases¹

(1) Change $-k$ > $-k(r)$ - or $-g(r)$ -

1st cent. A.D. Sk *nāgaraka* > *nak(r)arak(r)a*- K 15 N¹.

also cf *ṣak(r)astana* K 15P¹ ²

2nd cent. A.D. Sk *naraka* > *narag(r)a*- K 86¹

Sk *śoka* > *śog(r)a*- K 80¹.

(11) Change $-g$ > $-g(r)$ -

1st cent. B.C. Sk *bhagaval* > *bhag(r)avata*- K 1

1st cent. A.D. . cf *bhag(r)aval(r)a*- K 17²

2nd cent. A.D. Sk. *agrabhāga* > *agrabhag(r)a*- K 86²

also cf. *bhag(r)avata*- K 80¹, K 86¹

3 For the voicing of intervocal unvoiced stops and their further spirantisation in some cases in the Niya Prakrit, cf BURNOW, § 16¹, § 17.

4 KONOW (p. xcix) remarks that guttural fricatives are found in modern Khowār.

(c) The weakening of a guttural to *y* is noticed in such cases as :

(1) Change *-k-* > *-y-* : The change is very rare and occurs only in the suffix.

1st cent B C : Sk *samvatsaraka-* > *samvatśaraya-* K 13¹.

1st cent A D. : cf *samvatśaraya-* K 19², K 23¹

(d) Change of sonant to *suid*³ is also not quite frequent

(1) Change *-g-* > *-k(ṛ)-* .

1st cent A D Sk *vīgaraka-* > *nak(ṛ)ara-* K 15F¹

Sk *bhagavat-* > *bhak(ṛ)avat(ṛ)a-* K 15A¹².

(e) Occlusion is lost in the following cases .

(1) Change *kh-* > *-h-* .

1st cent A D : Sk *dānamukha-* > *danamukha-* K 17²

Sk *hīlasukha-* > *hidasuha-* K 23².

2nd cent A D cf *danamuha-* K 39²⁻³

(f) Initial loss of aspiration occurs only in .

(1) Change *gh-* > *g-*

2nd cent A D Sk *gharika-* > *gad(ṛ)ig(ṛ)a-* K 86¹.

(g) Gutturals are lost intervocally in the following cases :

(1) *-k-* is lost in

1st cent B C (?) Sk *vasṭhika-* > [*vasṭha-*] K 9¹.

1st cent A D. . Sk *loka-* > *loa-* K 31²

Sk *Bāhlika-* > *Bahāla-* K 27²

Sk *mahāsāṅghika-* > *Mahasāgha-* K 15N³

The instances are rather frequent, especially showing the loss in the suffix.

2nd cent A D Sk *śrāvaka-* > *śava-* K 76⁰

Sk *navakarmika-* > *navakarmia-* K 82¹

3rd cent A D Sk *svāmika-* > *sāma* K 46¹.

also cf *śava-* K 45¹, K 55C

4th cent A D Sk *Vaṇayika-* > *Venae(ṛ)a-* K 36 7

(11) *-g-* is lost in

1st cent B C . *Moga-* > *Moa-* (?) K p 12, slab c

2nd cent A D . Sk *nagara-* > *naara-* K 38

§ 509 Palatals (a) The weakening of a palatal occurs in .

(1) Change *-c-* > *-y-* .

1st cent B C Sk *sahacara-* > *sahayara-* K 14²

1st cent A D : Sk *ācārya-* > *ayaria-* K 15 N¹, also

cf *sahayara-* K 18, K 25¹⁻², K 28².

2nd cent A D The change occurs even initially in Sk. *ca* > *ya* K 86³.

Perhaps the whole syllable *-ca-* is lost in

Sk *sahacara-* > *sahara-* ? K 83³⁻⁴

3rd cent A D Sk *sārdhamcārī-* ? > *sadayaria-* K 42²

5. This change is quite frequent in the *Kharoṣṭhī Dhammapada* For the sporadic appearance of unvoicing of *g*, *ṛ*, *d*, and *b* in the Nīya Prakrit, cf. BURROW, § 14.

(ii) Change -j- > -y-⁶ :

- 1st cent B.C. Sk *mahārāja* > *maharaya*- K 13¹
 Sk *pūjā* > *puya*- K 2, K 13¹
 1st cent A.D. cf. *puya*- K 150G² etc, K 17, K 20⁵,
maharaya- K 20¹, K 26¹,
yuvārāya- K 15E¹
 2nd cent A.D. cf. *puya*- K 37 6, K 80⁴ etc
 3rd cent A.D. cf. *puya*- K 46¹, K 88

(b) -j- is lost only in .

- 1st cent A.D. . Sk. *dharmarāṇi* > *dharmarai*- K 35 1.

(c) Change -jh- > -j- :

- 3rd cent A.D. Sk *upādhyāya* > **upajhaya* > *upajaya*- K 88

§ 510 Cerebrals (a) The change of -t- > -d- is doubtful⁷. Then again its change into a sonant fricative is found only in a solitary instance. Equally rare is the change -d- > -d(ṛ)-

(i) Change -t- > -d- or -d(ṛ)-

- 2nd cent A.D. Sk *batu*- > [baḍu-] K 37 1⁴
 Sk *ghatika* > gaḍ(i)ṛ(ṛ)u K 86¹.

(ii) Change -d- > -d(ṛ)- .

- 2nd cent A.D. Sk *śadūyatana* > śad(ṛ)ṇadana- K 80²

(b) Loss of aspiration is found in -dh-

(i) Change -ḍh- > -d-

- 1st cent A.D. Sk *aśādha* > *asada*- K 27¹
 2nd cent A.D. . cf. *asada*- K 75¹ and *purvasada*- K 87¹
 4th cent A.D. . cf. *asada*- K 60¹

(c) The cerebrals are all well preserved. The change of a cerebral to a dental occurs with the nasal

(i) Change -ṇ- > -n-

- 1st cent B.C. The cerebral *ṇ* is rigorously preserved.
 1st cent A.D. The change is rare
 Sk. *kāśāṇa* > *kahapaṇa*- K 10¹
 2nd cent A.D. . Sk *kṣana* > *ksuna*- K 79, K 80¹ etc
 Sk *nirvāṇa* > *nirvana*- K 82²
 3rd cent A.D. Sk *ḍakṣiṇa* > *-ḍakṣiṇa*- K 88
 Sk *śramaṇa* > *śamana*- K 55 A, K 88 etc
 also cf. *ksuna*- K 88
 4th cent A.D. . cf. *Śamanamitra*- K 36 3

§ 511. Dentals. (a) Change of a surd to sonant is found only with -t-.

(i) Change -t- > -d-⁸ .

- 1st cent B.C. : Sk *dadāti* *dedi* K 11¹.

6 This change is regular in the *Dhammapada*

7. This change also is regular in the *Dhammapada*.

8. This is regular in the *Dhammapada*.

- 1st cent. A.D. : Sk. *lohita* > *-lōhida* K 35.2.
 Sk. *calurdiśa* > *cadudiśa* K 24
 Sk. *pituh* > *pidu* K 20^a
 Initially : Sk. *te* > *de* K 27^a.
- 2nd cent. A.D. : Sk. *khāta* > *khada* K 83^a.
 Sk. *bhrātṛ* > *bhradara* K 86^a.
 Sk. *lkhila* > *lkhida* K 80^a
 Also cf. *madapīdara* K 86^a, *bhavadi* K 80^a,
khanavīda K 81^a, etc etc
- 3rd cent. A.D. : Sk. *ñāṭhka* > *ñadiga* K 55 B.
 also cf. *cadudiśa* K 55 A, B, *pidā* K 45^a.
- 4th cent. A.D. : Sk. *caluśāta* > *caduśati* K 60^a.
 Sk. *√bhr̥* > *bharadu* K 60^a

(b) Change of a dental into fricative

(i) Change *-t* > *-t(ṛ)* :

- 1st cent. A.D. : Sk. *Śivarakṣita* > *Śivarakṣit(ṛ)a* K 17^a
 Sk. *pīlāmahi* > *pīl(ṛ)amahi* K 15 A⁷
 Sk. *pratiśṭhāpita* > *prat(ṛ)īṣṭhavī(ṛ)a* K 15 A¹¹.

(ii) Change *-t* > *-d(ṛ)* :

- 1st cent. B.C. cf. *pratiṣṭhavīd(ṛ)a* K 1

(c) Change of a sonant into a surd or a surd fricative occurs with *d* The change is very rare

(i) Change *-d* > *-t* :

- 1st cent. A.D. : Sk. *Prauṣṭhapada* > *Proṭhavata* K 12
 2nd cent. A.D. : Sk. *samutpāda* > *-sammupata* K 80^a
 Sk. *sarvāstivādīn* > *sarvastivatī* K 72^a

(ii) Change *-d* > *-t(ṛ)* :

- 1st cent. A.D. : Sk. *udaka* > *ut(ṛ)aa* K 15 KL¹
 Sk. *pradeśa* > *prat(ṛ)eś(ṛ)a* K 15 A¹⁰⁻¹¹, K 15 M²⁻³.
 also cf. *sarvastivat(ṛ)a* K 15A¹⁵.

(d) Change of a sonant into sonant aspirate occurs due to contamination.

(i) Change *-d* > *-dh* :

- 1st cent. A.D. : Sk. *duhitṛ* > *dhut(ṛ)a* K 15 A⁵.

(e) Loss of occlusion is doubtfully instanced in the change *-th* > *-h* :

- 1st cent. B.C. : Sk. *śaṣṭhaka* > [śaṣṭhaa] K 9^a

(f) Intervocally *-t-* is lost in a rare illustration :

- 3rd cent. A.D. : Sk. *niryātita* > *niryāda* K 88.

§ 512 Labials (a) Change of *-p* > *-v* is rather frequent.

- 1st cent. B.C. : Sk. *Prauṣṭhapada* > *Proṭhavata* K 12
 Sk. *pratiśṭhāpayati* > *pratīṣṭhaveti* K 13^a.
- 1st cent. A.D. : Sk. *stūpa* > *thuva* K 32,
 also cf. *pratīṣṭhavita* K 32, *karavita* K 24^a; etc. etc.
- 2nd cent. A.D. : Sk. *kūpa* > *kuva* K 83^a
 Sk. *rūpa* > *-ruva* K 80^a,
 also cf. *karavīda* K 68, *khanavīda* K 81^a.

9. This change is regular in the *Dhammapada*.

Doubtfully this *v* is aspirated¹⁰ in Sk. *kārāpaka* > *kara[vha]a*- K 76^r.

3rd cent A.D. : Sk. *kāśyapīya*- > *kaśavīya*- K 56 ;

also cf. *Proṭhavada*- K 40, K 53

4th cent A.D. cf *kaśava*- K 369, 10, 11

(b) Sometimes *-p-* > *-b-* :

1st cent B.C. : Sk *stūpa*- > *thuba*- K 2

2nd cent. A.D. . cf *thuba*- K 80¹, K 82¹, etc

3rd cent A.D. cf *thubaga*- K 41²

(c) Initially *bh-* > *h-* only in .

1st cent. A.D. Sk *bhavatu* > *hotu* K 27³

(d) Few labials are turned into fricatives .

(i) Change *-bh-* > *-v(r)-* .

2nd cent A.D. : Sk *Abhisāraprastha*- > *Av(r)isarapatha*- K 38.

(ii) Change *-m-* > *-m(r)-* . All instances come from loc sg. term

2nd cent A.D. cf *viḥaram(r)* : K 86¹, *thubam(r)* : K 86¹,

kṣunamm(r) : K 79

(e) In a few cases *-p-* is lost .

1st cent B.C. Sk *kūpa*- > *kua* K 14²

1st cent A.D. Sk *antahpura*- > *aleura*- K 15A³

also cf. *kua*- K 19², etc

2nd cent A.D. cf *kua*- K 75²

§ 513 Semi-vowels . The semi-vowels as a general rule are well preserved. Only the semi-vowel *y* undergoes a few changes The change *-r-* > *-l-* is quite exceptional

(a) Changes in the semi-vowel *y* .

(i) Change *-y-* > *-g(r)a-* this is rather peculiar.

2nd cent A.D. Sk *pratyaya*- > *pracag(r)a-* K 80^r

Sk *upāyāsa-* ? > *uvag(r)asa-* K 80².

(ii) Change *-y-* > *-i-*

3rd cent A.D. Sk. *aśvayuj-* > *Aspai[u]*- K 45¹;

(iii) *-y-* is lost in some cases.

1st cent A.D. . Sk. *ācārya*- > **acariya*- > *ayaria-* K 15 N¹ etc.

Sk *Kāśyapīya*- > *Kaśavīa*- K 33

2nd cent A.D. . Sk. *kṣaya*- > *-khaa-* K 82²

Sk *samudaya*- > *sammudaa-* K 80³

Sk *traya*- > *taa-* K 76²

3rd cent A.D. . Sk *Buddhapriya*- > *Budhapria-* K 88

Sk *bhāryā*- > **bharīya*- > *-bharia-* K 46¹.

Sk *dharmayukta*- > *dhamaula-* K 45².

4th cent. A.D. Sk. *vamayika*- > *venae(i)a-* K 38.7.

Sk. *arthaya* > *arthae* K 60².

(b) Changes in the semi-vowel *-r-* :

(i) Change *-r-* > *-r(r)-* :

1st cent. A.D. : cf. *Khar(r)aosta*- K 15 A⁴, K 15 E¹.

10. Thus *-vh-* is sometimes found for labial aspirates in the *Dhammapada*.

- (ii) Change
- $-r > -l$
- :

1st cent. A.D. : Sk. *paricchinna* ⁶ $>$ *palichina*- K 15 J¹.

- (c) Changes in the semi-vowel
- $-v$
- :

- (i) Change
- $-v > -b$
- :

1st cent. A.D. . Sk. *samvatsara* $>$ *sambatsara*- K 20²

- (ii) Change
- $-v > -vh$
- or
- $-vh(r)$
- :

2nd cent. A.D. Sk. *Divākara* $>$ *Dvihakara*- K 71Sk. *bhagavat* $>$ $[bha|gavh(r)a|ta]$ - K 62¹

§ 514 Sibilants . (a) The distinction between the three sibilants is well preserved . In some cases the sibilants are turned into fricatives . Following are a few illustrations of the preservation of \acute{s} and s

- (i)
- \acute{s}
- is preserved in such cases as

1st cent. B.C. Sk. *śarīra* $>$ *śarira*- K 1, K 13³Sk. *deśa* $>$ *deśa*- K 13²⁻⁷2nd cent. A.D. Sk. *vaśākha* $>$ *veśakha*- K 39¹also cf. *śarira*- K 793rd cent. A.D. Sk. *caturdśa* $>$ *caturdiśa*- K 924th cent. A.D. Sk. *śarma* $>$ *śarma*- K 60²Sk. *daśama* $>$ *daśama*- K 60²

- (ii)
- \acute{s}
- is preserved in such cases as

1st cent. B.C. : Sk. *śastri* $>$ *śastri*- K 9¹2nd cent. A.D. Sk. *śaś* $>$ *śa*- K 86¹3rd cent. A.D. . Sk. *Buddhaghosa* $>$ *Budhaghosa*- K 40¹4th cent. A.D. Sk. *āsādha* $>$ *asada*- K 60¹

- (b) Only in a single case
- $\acute{s} > \acute{c}$
- or rather we may say that the original
- \acute{s}
- is preserved

1st cent. B.C. Sk. *sodasa* $>$ *sodaśa*- K 12

- (c)
- \acute{s}
- is modified to
- $\acute{c}(r)$
- ¹¹
- in

1st cent. A.D. Sk. *pradeśa* $>$ *prat(r)eś(r)a*- K 15 A¹⁰⁻¹¹Sk. *caturdśa* $>$ *cat(r)udīś(r)a*- K 15 A¹¹⁻¹⁵

- (d)
- \acute{s}
- is modified to
- \acute{s}
- (the dash above may be, according to KONOW, a sign of aspiration) or to
- $s(r)$

- (i) Change
- $-ś > -ṣ́$

2nd cent. A.D. . Sk. *tṛśā* $>$ *taśa*- K 80¹

- (ii) Change
- $-ś > -ś(r)$

1st cent. A.D. . Sk. *agra-mahīśi* $>$ *agra-mahes(r)i*- K 15 A²

- (e)
- s
- is also modified to
- $s(y)$
- or
- $s(r)$
- .

- (i) Change
- $s > s(y)$

2nd cent. A.D. Sk. *māse* $>$ *mas(y)e* K 79, K 86¹.Sk. *putrasya* $>$ *putras(y)a* K 37 1 and 2, 53rd cent. A.D. Sk. *sarva* $>$ *s(y)va*- K 92,also cf. *dharmaśatis(y)a* K 92

11. For the change of $\acute{s} > \acute{c}$ and of $s > \acute{c}$ cf. BURROW, § 21, § 22.

(ii) Change *s* > *s(r)*

2nd cent A.D. . Sk *sah* > *s(r)a* K 86¹, it also occurs in gen. sg. term
mūthyagas(r)a K 86², *Hoveṣkas(r)a* K RF²

3rd cent A.D. : Sk *samyak* > *s(r)ama* K 92.

also cf *viharasvamis(r)a*, (or *-svamis(y)a*) K 92.

§ 515 Palatalisation The law of palatalisation has only a limited application in these inscriptions The sounds which are palatalised belong only to the dental class

(a) Palatalisation of *t*(i) Change *-ty-* > *-c-*

1st cent B.C. . Sk *samuchitya* > [*samuchica*] K 11²

1st cent A.D. Sk *pratyeka* > *pracega* K 27¹

Sk *amātya* > *-amaca* K 27^{1 5}

Sk *parityāga* > *paricaga* K 27¹

2nd cent. A.D. Sk *pratyaya* > *pracag(r)a* K 80²

Sk *upakṛtya* > *upakaca* K 75³

Sk *pratitya* > *pratīca* K 80¹

(ii) Change *-tv-* > *-c-*

2nd cent A.D. Sk *śhāpayitvā* > *thapaicam* K 74¹ Or perhaps the usual absolutive ending *-tya* > *ca*

(b) Palatalisation of *d*(i) Change *-dy-* > *-j-*

2nd cent A.D. Sk *avidyā* > *aviya* K 80²

(c) Palatalisation of *dh*(i) Change *-dhy-* > *-jh-* or *-j-*¹²

2nd cent A.D. Sk *Mahādhyāna* > *Mahajhana* K 379

3rd cent A.D. Sk *upādhyāya* > **upajhaya* > *upajaya* K 88.

(d) Assimilation of the clusters *ñ* and *ny* > *ñ*¹³(i) Change *ñ* > *ñ*

1st cent B.C. Sk *ñātī* > [*ñatī*] K 13¹

Sk *ājñā* > *-añā* K 11¹, K 13¹

1st cent A.D. cf *ñatī* K 352

Sk **yuvatājñā* > *yuvatañā* K 15A⁴.

2nd cent. A.D. Sk. *viññāna* > *viññana* K 80²

3rd cent A.D. cf. *ñadiga* K 55 C

(ii) Change *-ny-* > *-ñ-* or *-mñ-*

1st cent A.D. Sk. *punya* > *puñā* K 26¹, also cf *Puñā-mata* K 4.

2nd cent A.D. Sk *aranya* > *raññā* K 80¹, K 82¹.

3rd cent A.D. cf *-rañā* K 45²

(e) Palatalisation of *s* > *ś* in the conjunct *ts*

1st cent B.C. . Sk. *samvatsara* > *samvaśsara* K 13¹

12. For similar change in *dhyāna* > *jāna* etc in the Niya documents cf BURROW §41.

13. For similar palatalisation of *ny* and *ñ* cf BURROW, §41, §44.

1st cent. A.D. : cf. *saṃvaśāra*-, K 19², K 23¹

2nd cent. A.D. : cf. *saṃvaśāra*- K 74¹.

§ 516. Cerebralisation : Dentals are sometimes changed into cerebrals under the influence of *r* or a sibilant. The nasal *n*, though very often preserved, is also many times changed to *ṇ* even when Sk. usage does not require such a change.

(a) Cerebralisation of the dental *t* .

(i) Change *-r-t-* > *-ṭ-* *-ṭ(r)-* . This change is rather unusual

2nd cent. A.D. : Sk. *pratyamśa* > *paṭiaśa*- K 76¹¹,
or *paṭ(r)iyamśa*- K 86²

(ii) Change *st-* > *ṭh-*

1st cent. A.D. : Sk. *stūpa*- > *-[ṭhu]va*- K 19²⁻³

(b) Cerebralisation of the dental *th*

(i) Change *-r-th-* > *-ṭh-* or *-dh-* or *-ḍh(r)-*

1st cent. A.D. Sk. *prathama*- > *prathama*- K 20², *praḍhama*- K 26¹,
Sk. *pr̥thivī*- > *padh(r)avi*- K 15A¹⁰⁻¹¹, 15M²⁻⁸,
3rd cent. A.D. cf. *padhamma*- K 45

(ii) Change *sth* > *ṭh*

1st cent. A.D. Sk. *dhanaśṭhita*- > *[dhanaṭhi]ta*- K 10³

2nd cent. A.D. Sk. *sthāpayitvā* > *ṭhapaicam* K 74³

(c) Cerebralisation of *d*

(i) Change *-dr-* > *-ḍr-*

2nd cent. A.D. Sk. *Dromāpadra*- > *Dromvadra*- K 83³

(d) Cerebralisation of *dh* .

(i) Change *-rdh-* > *-ḍh-*

1st cent. B.C. . Sk. *Mitravardhana*- > *Mitravaḍhana*- K 9²,
Sk. *Balavardha*- > *Valavaḍha*- K 9¹.

(c) *n* is cerebralised both initially and medially. As already noted above *n* is also preserved in many cases.¹⁴

(i) Change *-n-* > *-ṇ-* .

1st cent. A.D. . Sk. *nagara*- > *nagara*- K 27²,

Sk. *ṇuvāṇa*- > *ṇuvana*- K 27⁶

2nd cent. A.D. Sk. *nānā* > *nana* K 76¹

Sk. *naraka*- > *naraḡ(r)a*- K 86¹

also cf. *nag(r)ara*- K 72¹, *-naara*- K 38

(ii) Change *-n-* > *-ṇ-*

1st cent. B.C. Sk. *bahujana*- > *bahujana*- K 1.

Sk. *Śākyamuni*- > *Śakamuni*- K 1, K 5, K 13³

Sk. *padām* > *padani* K 5

14 "The impression left by this state of affairs is that intervocalic *n* and *ṇ* had the same sound, at least over the greater part of the territory, and that the sound was probably a cerebral. The signification of the two letters was consequently lost sight of, the traditional writing acting as a check on the development of a consistent orthography." KONOW, pp. ciu-iv.

- 1st cent. A.D. : Sk. *dāṇḍmukha-* > *daṇamuha-* K 17², K 19, etc.
 Sk. *tena-* > *tena* K 27²
 Sk. *satvānām* > *-satvaṇa* K 23².
- 2nd cent. A.D. : Sk. *pājana-* > *pujaṇa-* K 75².
 Sk. *kaṇṣka-* > *kaṇṣka-* K 75², K 76¹⁻².
 Sk. *etena* > *eteṇa* K 76².
 Sk. *Vāsudevena* > *Vasudeveṇa* K 81².
- 3rd cent. A.D. : cf. *daṇamukha-* K 46¹, K 47, K 58¹ etc ;
samanuṣayana K 88.
- 4th cent. A.D. : Sk. *tanaya-* > *taṇaya-* K 60¹.
 Sk. *ekona-* > *ekuṇa-* K 60¹.
 also cf *danamukha-* K 36.7, 8, 10 etc
- (b) Cluster *ñ-* > *ṇ-* only in Wardak¹⁵.
 2nd cent. A.D. : Sk. *ñāṭi-* > *naṭi-* K 86-

III. CONSONANT CLUSTERS

§ 517. Though most of the clusters are as usual assimilated, still there are some which are preserved. This preservation of consonant clusters is found in a large majority of cases with such clusters as are formed with *r* and also to a certain extent with *y* or *v* and also with a sibilant. There are not many instances of anaptyxis. As usual the assimilated cluster is represented by a single consonant. Palatalisation and cerebralisation in consonant clusters have been already dealt with. In the following treatment only important clusters are illustrated, the usual instances of assimilation being mostly dropped

§ 518 Clusters with Gutturals

(a) Clusters with sibilant + gutturals

- (i) Change *-ṣk-* > *-k-*
 1st cent B.C. : Sk. *puṣkarinī-* > *pukarīna-* K 94, K 96²
 1st cent A.D. : cf *pukarāṇu-* K 24¹⁻²
- (ii) Cluster *-ṣk-* is preserved in
 2nd cent A.D. : *Kaṇṣka-* K 74¹, *Vajheṣka-* K 85².
- (iii) Change *sk* > *k* or *k* (the dash may suggest aspiration).
 1st cent A.D. : Sk. *skandhāvāra-* > *kadhavara-* K 15 I¹, 2⁻³.
 2nd cent A.D. : Sk. *skandha-* > *-kaṇḍha-* K 80¹
 Sk. *samskāra-* > *samkara-* K 65, K 80²

(b) Clusters with *r* + gutturals :

- (i) Cluster *rg* is preserved
 3rd cent A.D. : Sk. *Mārgasīras-* > *Ma[r]ga[sī]ras(r)a-* K 88
 4th cent. A.D. : Sk. *svarga-* > *s[va]r[ga]-* K 60².
- (ii) Cluster *rgḥ* is earlier assimilated but preserved later on
 1st cent B.C. : Sk. *argha-* > *agha-* K 2.
 3rd cent A.D. : Sk. *dirghāyus-* > *dirghayu[la*]* K 92.

15 KONOW (p. cv) opines that this and some other indications show that "the Wardak inscription does not represent the local vernacular, but a more eastern language brought to the country by foreign settlers."

§ 519. Clusters with cerebrals :

(a) Clusters with sibilant + cerebrals .

(i) Change *-ṣt-* > *-ṭh-* :1st cent. B.C. : Sk *aṣṭa* > *aṭha* K 11⁴, K 13¹Sk. *ṣaṣṭi-* > *ṣaṭhi-* K 11¹2nd cent. A.D. : Sk. *yaṣṭi-* > *yaṭhi-* K 74^{2,3}.Sk *aṣṭama-* > *aṭhama-* K 39².(ii) Change *-ṣt-* > **-ṭh-* > *-ḍh-* :1st cent B.C. . Sk *aṣṭa* > *aḍha*- K 11¹(iii) *-ṣt-* is perhaps preserved in [*ṣaṣṭi-*] K 9¹ in the 1st cent. B.C.(iv) Change *-ṣth-* > *-ṭh-* or *-th-* .1st cent B.C. . Sk. *apratisthāpita-* > *apratithavita* K 13⁴.But also cf. *pratithaveti* K 13³1st cent A.D. : Sk *kamīṣṭha-* > *kamīṭha-* K 15 E⁵.Sk *jyeṣṭha-* > *jeṭha-* K 28¹But cf *pratithavita-* K 322nd cent. A.D. . cf *jeṭha-* K 85¹, *pratithavedi* K 62¹ etc.3rd cent. A.D. Sk *Vāsiṣṭha-* > *Vaseṭha-* K 46¹Sk *Prauṣṭhapada-* > *Proṭhavada-* K 40¹.(v) Change *ṣth-* > *-st-*1st cent B.C. Sk *pratissthāpita-* > *pratisstavita-* K 21st cent A.D. Sk *pratissthāpita-* > *pradistavita-* K 27^{1,2}.2nd cent. A.D. cf *pratisstavita-* K 82¹ etc

§ 520. Clusters with dentals

(a) Clusters with sibilants + dentals

(i) Change *st-* > *th-* (or *t-*)1st cent B.C. Sk *stūpa-* > *thupa-* K 21st cent A.D. . cf *thupa-* K 15A¹¹, K 322nd cent A.D. . cf *thupa-* K 80¹ etc, but also cf [*tu*]ba- K 61².3rd cent A.D. . cf again [*tu*]baga- K 41²(ii) Intervocally *-st-* is preserved everywhere1st cent A.D. . Sk. *vāstavya-* > *vastava-* K 27²Sk. *sarvāstivādīn* > *sarvastivat[ṛ]a-* K 15 A¹⁵.2nd cent A.D. : Sk *daurmanastā-* > *dormanasta-* K 80³,also cf *sarvastivadi-* K 80¹ etc., *-vastava-* K 81⁴.3rd cent. A.D. : cf. *s(y)arvastivadi-* K 92(iii) Change *sth* > *th* .1st cent A.D. : Sk *śivasthala-* > *śivathala-* K 26².3rd cent. A.D. : Sk. *sthūpā-* > *thupā-* K 48².(iv) *sth* is also preserved as *st* in .1st cent. B.C. Sk *sthiti-* > *stīhi-* K 1.1st cent. A.D. : Sk. *Sakasthāna-* > *Sak(ṛ)astana-* K 15 P^{1,2}.

(b) Clusters with *r* + dentals :

(i) Cluster *-rth-* is preserved.

2nd cent. A.D. : Sk. *artha-* > *-artha-* K 72^s, K 85^s

4th cent. A.D. : Sk. *√arth-* > *√artha-* K 60^s

(ii) Change *-rd-* > *-d-* :

1st cent. A.D. : Sk. *cāturdiśa-* > *caludiśa-* K 22, K 33 etc.

3rd cent. A.D. : cf. *catudiśa-* K 55 A, B.

(iii) But *-rd-* is also preserved in .

1st cent. A.D. : It is noticed in *Khadda-* K 15 Q¹.

3rd cent. A.D. : cf. *caturdiśa-* K 92

(iv) *-rdh-* is preserved

1st cent. B.C. : Sk. *sārdham* > *sardha* K 9¹

2nd cent. A.D. : Sk. *sarivardhaka-* > *-samvardhaka-* K 76^s.

(v) *-rdh-* is probably changed to *-d-* in :

3rd cent. A.D. : Sk. *sārdhavicārīn-* ? > *sadavīyārī-* K 40^s

§ 521. Clusters with labials¹⁶ :

(a) Clusters with sibilants + labials .

(i) *-śp-* is preserved in :

1st cent. A.D. : It is found in *Pīśpas(ṛ)ṛ-* K 15 A¹.

2nd cent. A.D. : It is found in *Veśpaśi-* K 76¹

(ii) *-sp-* > *-ṣ-* (?) :

2nd cent. A.D. : Sk. *Pauṣpapurīya-* > *Ṡoṣapurīya-* K 85^s.

(iii) *sp-* > *ph-* .

2nd cent. A.D. : Sk. *sparśa-* > *phaṣa-* K 80^s

§ 522 Clusters with *y* Though most of the clusters are assimilated, some of them are preserved

(i) *-ky-* > *-k-* :

1st cent. B.C. : Sk. *Sākyamuni-* > *Sakamuni* K 1 etc.

1st cent. A.D. : cf. *Sakamuni-* K 15 A¹²

4th cent. A.D. : cf. *Sakamuni-* K 36 12

(ii) *-ky-* is preserved in :

2nd cent. A.D. : cf. *Sakyamuni-* K 80¹, K 86¹

(iii) *-gy-* > *-g-*

1st cent. A.D. : Sk. *ārogya-* > *aroga-* K 27^{s-5}, K 35.2.

2nd cent. A.D. : cf. *aroga-* K 86^s.

3rd cent. A.D. : cf. *aroga-* K 58^s, etc.

(iv) *-cy-* > *-c-* :

1st cent. B.C. : Sk. *prācyah* > *pracu* K 13^s.

1st cent. A.D. : cf. *pracq-* K 26^s.

16. The clusters *-lp-* and *-lm-* are preserved in the Niya Prakrit, cf. Burnouf, §40.

- (v) *iy* > *j* both initially and medially •

1st cent. A.D. : Sk. *jyeṣṭha* > *jeṭha*- K 28¹.

Sk. *rājya* > *raja*- K 26¹, K 34

2nd cent. A.D. : cf *jeṭha*- K 85³ and *raja*- K 75².

- (vi) *-dhy-* > *-dh-*

1st cent. A.D. Sk. *ādhyā* > *aḍha*- K 10³

- (vii) *-ty-* > *-tṣy-* or it is preserved (For palatalisation of this and the following few clusters see above)

3rd cent. A.D. Sk. *catya* > *celiya*- K 48¹

Sk. *pratyamśa* > *pratiyaṁśa*- K 92.

It is preserved in :

3rd cent. A.D. Sk. *parityāga* > *-parityaga*- K 92.

- (viii) *-thy-* is preserved in :

2nd cent. A.D. Sk. *mūthyā* > *mūthya*- K 86³

- (ix) *-dy-* > *y-* (?) The case is very doubtful

1st cent. A.D. Sk. *ādya* > *aya*- K 27¹

- (x) *-py-* is preserved in .

2nd cent. A.D. Sk. *arūpyatā* > *arupyata*- K 86³

- (xi) *-bhy-* > *-bh-* :

1st cent. A.D. : Sk. denominative from *abhyutsava* > *abhusava*- K 15 A¹³

- (xii) *ry* > *y* :

1st cent. B.C. Sk. *bhāryā* > *-bhaya*- K 2

- (xiii) *ry* > **ry* > *ria* :

1st cent. A.D. Sk. *ācārya* > *ayaria*- K 15 K L¹, K 15 N¹

3rd cent. A.D. Sk. *bhāryā* > *bharia*- K 46¹

- (xiv) *ry* is preserved¹⁷ in .

1st cent. A.D. cf *acarya*- K 45, *bharya*- K 35.3

2nd cent. A.D. : cf *acarya*- K 74² etc., *-bharya*- K 85⁴.

3rd cent. A.D. cf *acarya*- K 92, *nryāida*- K 88

- (xv) *-ly-* occurs¹⁷ in :

2nd cent. A.D. . cf. *Kamagulya*- K 86¹.

- (xvi) *-vy-* > *-v-* :

1st cent. A.D. . Sk. *vāstavya* > *vastava*- K 27²

2nd cent. A.D. . cf *-vastava*- K 81⁴

- (xvii) *-śy-* > *-ś-* or *-ṣy-* :

1st cent. A.D. *Kāśyapiya* > *Kaśaviya*- K 33, but *Kaśyaviya*- K 34.

3rd cent. A.D. : cf *Kaśaviya*- K 56, but *Kaś[y]aviya*- K 55 B

4th cent. A.D. cf *Kaśava*- K 36 11

17. The clusters *ry* and *ly* are probably regularly preserved in the Nīya Prakrit, cf. Burrow, § 42.

(xviii) -sy- is preserved¹⁸ in :

2nd cent. A D cf -śiśya- K 74².

(xix) sy- > *siy- > sia-

1st cent A D . Sk *syāt* > *siat* K 31².

-sy- is preserved¹⁹ only in K 74.

2nd cent A D : cf *kaṇṣkasya* K 74¹, *devaputrasya* K 74¹

(xx) -ky- > -hiy- .

2nd cent. A D Sk *mahyam* = *mahiya* K 86.

§ 523 Clusters with r As noted above these clusters are mostly preserved²⁰.

(i) kr is preserved

1st cent B C : Sk. *saṅkrama-* > *saṅkrami-* K 8 A¹

2nd cent A D. Sk *anukrama-* > *anukrama-* K 83²³

(ii) gr is preserved .

1st cent A D cf *parigraha-* K 15 A¹⁵

2nd cent A D cf *agra-* K 82², K 86², *anugraha-* K 75²

3rd cent A.D. cf *agra-* K 92, *parigraha-* K 45².

It is assimilated to -g- in .

3rd cent. A D cf. *parigaha-* K 55 A.

(iii) -jr- > *-jir- > -yir- .

1st cent A D Sk *Vajrastūpa-* > *Vayrathuva-* K 19²⁴

(iv) tr- > t- :

1st cent A D. Sk *tri-* > [ti]- K 20²

2nd cent A D . Sk *traya-* > *taa-* K 76²

-tr is preserved

1st cent B C *atra* K 13², Sk *pautra-* > *potra-* K 9²

1st cent A D *tatra* K 26², *putra* K 15 B²

2nd cent A D cf *kṣatrapa-* K 30, K 38 etc

Yasaputra- K 37 8, K 80¹

3rd cent A D cf *Budhamitra-* K 42¹, *Saṅghamitra-* K 58¹

4th cent A D : cf *Budhamitra-* K 36.1, *Saṅghamitra* K 36.2.

(v) -dr- is preserved

2nd cent A D . *Indradeva-* > *Idradeva-* K 81¹.

also cf. *bha[dra]* K 39²

(vi) Both pr- and -pr are preserved (or changed to p)

1st cent B C Sk *pratiṣṭhāpita-* > *pratiṣṭhaviḍ(ṛ)a-* K 1, etc.

1st cent A D Sk *prathama-* > *praḍhama-* K 26¹.

2nd cent A D cf *pratiṣṭraha-* K 72⁴, *Jhaṇapriya-* K 37.9.

It is changed to -p- in :

Sk *abhisāraprastha-* > *Av(ṛ)isārapatha-* K 38.

18 It is however assimilated to ś in the Niyā Prakrit. cf. BURROW, § 41.

19 The cluster sy becomes s in the gen, sg term of the Niyā Prakrit, cf. BURROW, § 41.

20 As a rule such clusters are not assimilated in the Niyā documents also. cf. BURROW, § 36.

3rd cent. A.D. : Sk. *prapā-* > *prapa-* K 92, also cf. *Budhapria-* etc K 88.
But it is changed to *p-* in *paḍhamma-* K 45¹.

(vii) *br* is preserved

2nd cent. A.D. : Sk. *brāhmana-* > [*bra*]*m*[*h*]*ana-* K 81³.
also cf. *Bramadata-* K 37.14.

3rd cent. A.D. : *brahma-* (fragmentary)¹ K 91.

(viii) *bhr* is preserved (or changed to *bh*)

1st cent. B.C. : Sk. *bhrātṛ-* > *bhratara* K 13⁴

1st cent. A.D. : cf. *bhratra* K 15 A⁷⁻⁸.

2nd cent. A.D. : cf. *bhralara* K 76¹¹

But perhaps changed to *bh* in :

Sk. *bhāmīta-* > [*bha*]*mīta-* K 66¹

(ix) *śr* is either preserved or changed to *ṣ* from 2nd cent. A.D. onwards.

1st cent. B.C. : cf. *śramana-* K 8B² and *śu[śruva]* K 11³

1st cent. A.D. : Sk. *śrāvana-* > *śravana-* K 23¹ etc

Change *śr* > *ṣ*²¹ :

1st cent. A.D. : Sk. *śradhā-* > [*ṣa*]*dha-* K 20⁴

Sk. *śruta-* > [*ṣu*]*ta-* K 10².

2nd cent. A.D. : Sk. *śramana-* > *-ṣamana-* K 79

Sk. *śrāvaka-* > *-ṣavaa-* K 76⁹

3rd cent. A.D. : cf. *ṣavaa-* K 45¹, K 55 C, *ṣamana-* K 88, K 55 A, B, etc

Sk. *Bahuśrutīyaka-* > *Bahuśrutīaka-* K 55 B

4th cent. A.D. : cf. *Ṣaṇamitra-* K 36 3

(x) *-sr-* is preserved.

1st cent. A.D. : Sk. *sahasra-* > *-sa*[*ha*]*s*[*ra*]- K 10⁴

§ 524. Clusters with *v* :

(a) Cluster *tv* is changed to *t* or *p*²² or is preserved.

(i) Change *-tv-* > *-t-* :

1st cent. A.D. : In the absolute ending

Sk. *kṛtvā* > *karita* K 15 J², E⁴

(ii) Change *-tv-* > *-p-* :

1st cent. A.D. : Sk. *satva-* > *-sapa-* K 24².

2nd cent. A.D. : Sk. *ekacatvāriṃśa-* > *ekacaparīśa-* K 85²⁻³.

also cf. *-[sapa]-* K 85⁵

3rd cent. A.D. : cf. *-sa*[*pa*]⁴- K 45².

(iii) *-tv-* is preserved in—

1st cent. A.D. : cf. *satva-* K 23²

2nd cent. A.D. : cf. *satva-* K 72², K 74³, etc.

3rd cent. A.D. : cf. *satva-* K 46¹

(b) Cluster *rv* is either preserved or changed to *v*

21. For similar change regularly in the Nīya Prakrit, cf. BURROW, § 38.

22. For similar changes in the Nīya Prakrit, cf. BURROW, § 43.

(i) *rv* is preserved in .

- 1st cent. B.C. *sarva-* K 13¹, ³, ⁴
 1st cent. A.D. *sarva-* K 23², K 27⁴, etc.
 2nd cent. A.D. *sarva-* K 72², *purva-* K 76¹
 3rd cent. A.D. *sarva-* K 45², etc.

(ii) Change *-rv-* > *-v-* (or *-mv-*):

- 1st cent. A.D. Sk. *nirvāna-* > *mvana-* K 27⁵
 2nd cent. A.D. : Sk. *sarvatratā-* > *savatratā-* K 37.6.
 Sk. *sarva-* > *samva-* K 76².

(c) Cluster *śv* > *śp* or is preserved²³.

(i) Change *śv* > *śp* :

- 1st cent. B.C. : Sk. *viśva-* > *viśpa-* K 8 B¹, K 11².
 1st cent. A.D. : Sk. *īśvaraka-* > *īśparaka-* K 33
 Sk. *sa + aśva-* > *saśpa-* K 15 A¹⁰.
 2nd cent. A.D. : Sk. *Viśvāmitra-* > *Viśpamitra-* K 37.18.
 3rd cent. A.D. : Sk. *Aśvayuj-* > *Aśpau-* K 45¹.

(ii) It is preserved in .

- 2nd cent. A.D. : cf. *Śved(r)avarma-* K 80¹.

(d) Cluster *sv* is preserved²⁴ or is changed to *s*.

(i) *sv-* is preserved

- 2nd cent. A.D. Sk. *svāmī* > *-svamī-* K 61¹, *-svamini-* K 74².
 3rd cent. A.D. cf. *-svamī-* K 92.
 4th cent. A.D. s[*var*]ga- K 60²

(ii) *sv* > *s*

- 1st cent. A.D. cf. *B[alasa]mī-* K 20².
 3rd cent. A.D. cf. *sāmīa-* K 46¹.

§ 525 Clusters with *l* : *-hl-* > *-hal-* .

- 1st cent. A.D. Sk. *Bāhlika-* > *Bahaka-* K 27².

§ 526 Clusters with sibilants

(a) *-rś-* > *-ś-* :

- 2nd cent. A.D. : Sk. *sparśa-* > *phaśa-* K 80².

(b) Clusters with *ṣ* .

(i) *kṣ* > *kh* both initially and medially.

- 1st cent. B.C. : Sk. *Takṣaśilā-* > *Takhaśila-* K 13².
 1st cent. A.D. : Sk. *bhikṣu-* > *bhikhu-* K 15 F²
 Sk. *dakṣiṇā-* > *-dakhina-* K 27⁴.
 2nd cent. A.D. : Sk. *kṣaṇa-* > *khana-* K 39².
 also cf. *Takhaśila-* K 37.20.
 3rd cent. A.D. Sk. *Akṣayika-* (?) > *A[kha]a-* K 43.

23. For similar treatment in the Niya Prakrit, cf. Burnow, § 49.

24. The cluster *sv* is preserved as *śv* or *śp* in the Niya Prakrit, cf. Burnow, § 49.

(ii). *kṣ* is also very often preserved²⁵.

1st cent. B.C. . cf *kṣatrapa*- K^a 13¹, *kṣaharata*- K 13¹, *-dakṣ(ṣ)ṇa*- K 2.

1st cent. A.D. : cf. *kṣtrava*- K 15 C³, *Śivarakṣita*- K 10²,

Takṣaśila- K 33

2nd cent. A.D. . Sk. *kṣana* > *kṣana*- K 75¹, etc
also cf *bhikṣu*- K 74², *-dakṣina*- K 86³

3rd cent. A.D. . cf. *kṣma*- K 88, *-dakṣina*- K 58², K 88,
Budharakṣida- K 42¹ :

4th cent. A.D. . cf *Budharakṣida*- K 36 4, *bhikṣu*- K 36.7.

(iii) *-ṣ-* > *-ṣ-* or *-h-* .

1st cent. B.C. . Sk *varṣa* > *vaṣa*- K 14¹

1st cent. A.D. . cf *vaṣa*- K 20¹, K 24¹

But Sk *kārsāpāna* > *kahapana*- K 10⁴

4th cent. A.D. . cf *vaṣa*- K 60¹

(iv) For *ts* > *tś* cf above palatalisation. The cluster *-l-* however is assimilated to *s*

1st cent. A.D. . Sk *utsava* > *usava*- K 15 A¹¹

§ 527 Cluster *-ṛh-* > *-ṛah-*

1st cent. A.D. . Sk *arhat* > *arahata*- K 27¹

§ 528 Clusters with nasals. The usual treatments of such nasals as *ngh* > *mgh* (or *gh*) and others are not exemplified below. The following paragraphs take into account only some important clusters with nasals

(a) Clusters with the nasal *ñ* .

(1) For the treatment of *ñ* > *ṇ* and to *n* see above palatalisation and cerebration

(ii) Cluster *-ñc-* > *-mc-* .

1st cent. B.C. : Sk *pañcama* > *pancama*- K 13¹

1st cent. A.D. . cf *pañcadaśa*- K 28¹

3rd cent. A.D. . cf *pañcama*- K 53

(iii) Cluster *-ñj-* > *-mj-*

1st cent. A.D. . cf *Mu[m]javamda*- K 17

(b) Clusters with the nasal *ṇ*

(1) Cluster *ṣṇ* > *ś* (the dot above may indicate aspiration)

1st cent. B.C. . Sk *Kṛṣṇayaśas* > *Kṛṣayaśa*- K 95¹

(ii) Cluster *nd* > *mḍ* or *ḍ*. This *d* is sometimes turned into fricative *ḍ(ṛ)*.

2nd cent. A.D. . Sk *aṇḍaja* > *a[m]ḍaja*- K 86³

Sk *danḍanāyaka* > *danayaga*- K 76¹

Sk. *apāṣandika* > *avaṣaḍ(ṛ)iga*- K 86³

3rd cent. A.D. . Sk *Khandavana* > *Khaṇḍavana*- K 41²

(c) Clusters with *n* .

(1) The cluster *nt* > *mt* or *t*, *nd* > *md* or *d*, and *ndh* > *mdh* or *dh*. These treatments are quite normal and there is nothing particular about them

It is preserved in the form *ch* in the Niya Prakrit, cf. BURROW, § 48.

- (ii) Cluster -nv- > -nuv- .

2nd cent. A D . Sk. **tanvaka*- > *tanuvaka*-²⁶ K 80¹

- (d) Clusters with
- m*
- . Some of the clusters with
- m*
- present interesting phenomena .

- (1) Cluster
- tm*
- is represented in more than one way
- ²⁷
- .

- (i) Change
- tm*
- >
- tv*

1st cent. A D Sk *ātman*- > *atvana*- K 27¹, K 35 2.

- (ii) Change
- tm*
- >
- t*

2nd cent. A D Sk *ātma*- > *ala*- K 37 16¹

- (iii) Change -
- tm*
- > -
- p*
- .

2nd cent. A D Sk *ātman*- > *apanaga*- K 76¹

- (iv) -
- tm*
- is preserved

2nd cent. A D cf *atmana*- K 85¹

- (2) Cluster -
- rm*
- > -
- m*
- or is preserved or changed to -
- rum*
-

- (1) Change -
- rm*
- > -
- m*
-

1st cent. B.C. : Sk *navakarmika*- > *navakamika*- K 13¹1st cent. A D Sk *Dharma*- > *Dhama*- K 15 C¹
also cf *dhamaḍana*- K 15 H¹.3rd cent. A D cf *Dhama*- K 55C, *dhamaula*- K 45²

- (ii)
- rm*
- is preserved mostly from 2nd cent. A D

1st cent. B.C. cf *dharmarava*- (?) K 11¹2nd cent. A D cf *dharmā*- K 82², *navakarmuga*- K 75^{1,2} etc3rd cent. A D cf *Dharmapriya*- K 88, *deyadharmā*- K 88, K 924th cent. A D cf *śarma*- K 60², *Dharmanadi*- K 36 1

- (iii) Change -
- rm*
- > -
- rum*
- in proper names

3rd cent. A D Sk *Buddhavarman*- > *Budhavaruma*- K 48¹ or
Budhoruma- K 41¹, K 58¹, also cf K 40² and K 49.

- (3) Cluster -
- hm*
- > -
- mh*
- or -
- m*
- .

2nd cent. A D Sk *brāhmaṇa*- > *brahmāna*- K 81¹
but cf *Bramadata*- K 37 14

- (4) Cluster -
- mb*
- > -
- b*
- or -
- mb*
-

1st cent. A D Sk *kuṭumbinī*- > *kuṭibum*- K 35 42nd cent. A D cf *kuṭimbum*- K 74¹3rd cent. A D Sk *ambā*- > *amba*- K 46¹.

- (5) Cluster -
- my*
- > -
- m*
-

1st cent. A D Sk *samyak*- > *sama*- K 27¹.

- (6) Cluster -
- mv*
- > -
- mv*
- or -
- mb*
- .

1st cent. B.C. Sk *saṃvaśsara*- > *saṃvaśsara*- K 13¹.1st cent. A.D. cf *saṃvaśsara*- K 19², K 23¹.2nd cent. A D cf *saṃvaśsara*- K 74¹.But also cf *sambatsāra*- K 82¹, K 85².26 For the form *tanuvaga* in the Niyā Prakrit, cf BURROW, § 2927. For the changes -*tm*- > -*tv*- and then to -*p*- in the Niyā Prakrit, cf BURROW, § 44.

(7) Cluster *-mś-* > *-mś-* or *-ś-*

2nd cent A.D. : Sk. *pratyamśa-* > *pracamśa-* K 82², K 86².
 Sk. *vmśa-* > *viśa-* K 83²,
 also cf. *aḥaviśa-* K 74¹, *-paḍaśa-* K 76¹¹

3rd cent A.D. cf. *pratyamśa-* K 92

(8) Cluster *-ms-* > *-mś-*

2nd cent A.D. . Sk. *samsāra-* > *saṃśara-* K 61

(9) Cluster *-mh-* > *-h-*

3rd cent A.D. Sk. *Simhamūtra-* > *Sihamūtra-* K 44^{xx}

MORPHOLOGY

A Declension It may be noted at the outset that in the writing of the inscriptions sometimes it is found that some titles and names are strung together as if to form a compound so that only the last word appears in its declined form

§ 529 Bases in *-a* and *-ā*(a) Masculine and Neuter nouns in *-a*

Nom sg mas

Nom pl mas *-a*

(i) *-o*. This is more frequent¹.

1st cent B.C. *śarūa* K 1

thubo K 2

(used as masculine).

deśo K 13⁻, etc

1st cent A.D. *taruka* K 26¹

1st cent. A.D. : *kuo* K 18, etc

thuvo K 32, etc

2nd cent¹ A.D. : *danamukho* K 39² ¹

kuvo K 83¹

3rd cent A.D. . *deyadharmo* K 92

pratyamśo K 92

4th cent A.D. *kaśavo* K 36¹¹

danamukho K 36⁷ etc

(ii) *-e* This is also more or less frequent

1st cent. B.C. . *kuc* K 14¹

1st cent. A.D. . *danamukha* K 17² etc

kuc K 23², K 26¹

2nd cent. A.D. . *danamukhe* K 66¹

pratigrahe K 72⁴; etc

3rd cent. A.D. . *dhamaute* K 45².

nryaide K 88

28. Considered region-wise, KONOW observes (p cxii), "It will be seen that the *o-* and *e-* forms are distributed according to locality. The *o-* area in the north extends to the Indus, including the Mahābān range beyond the river, and in the south it comprises Mohenjo Daro and Tor Dherai. In Panjatar, Yākubi, and probably in Mārguz we have *o* in the masculine and *e* in the neuter. The districts to the west of the Indus have, with the above exceptions, *e* throughout. Only Wardak has *o*, another indication of an eastern origin."

(iii) -a This is not as frequent. It may also be due to the probable use of words without case terminations²⁹

- 1st cent. B C . *kṣatrapa* and *Liaka* K 13 reverse.
 1st cent A D *pativara* K 20¹
ihuva K 15 A¹⁴.
 2nd cent. A D *danamukha* K 75², *Śivasena* K 38, etc
 Acc sg mas. (1) -am Acc pl. -a (?)
 1st cent B C *samgharamam* K 13¹ 2nd cent A D . *nana* K 76¹
 2nd cent A D *parivaram* K 74
 (ii) -a
 1st cent. A D. *kumara* K E²
kanīṣha K 15 E¹.
 4th cent A D *daśama* K 60²
 Nom Acc sg neut (1) -am Nom Acc pl neut (1) -m
 1st cent B C *śarīram* K 13¹ 1st cent B C. *padam* K 5
 2nd cent A D *śarīram* K 62¹ (ii) -a (?)
pratiṣṭhanam K 74¹. 1st cent. A D *śvathala* K 26¹
 (ii) -a
 1st cent B C *apratīṣṭhaviṭa* K 13²
 1st cent A D *śarīra* K 15 A¹¹
dana K 34, etc
 2nd cent A D *kala* K 75
śarīra K 82¹, K 86¹
 3rd cent A D *danamukha* K 47
 (iii) -e This is perhaps because the neuter noun is used as masculine.
 1st cent A D *śvathale* K 26²
 (cf the use of *danamukhe* above in nom sg mas)
 Instr sg (1) -na This is more frequent Instr pl -hi
 1st cent A D . *daśahi* K 10⁴
 1st cent B C *sabharyakena* K 2 2nd cent A D *Budhehi* K 76²
utarena K 13², etc 3rd cent A D. *sahaehi* K 45¹
 1st cent A D *vastavena* K 27²
Sihilena K 32
 2nd cent A D *Burilena* K 76²
Vasudevarena K 81¹
 (ii) -na This is less frequent
 1st cent B C *meridhakhena* K 1
 1st cent A D *ui(ṛ)aena* K 15 KL¹
ateurena K 15 A⁸
 2nd cent A D *Budhilena* K 76¹²
Samghamutrena K 82¹
 3rd cent A D . *śamanena* K 88
śavaena K 45¹
 (iii) -e This is rather peculiar

²⁹ BURROW explains this ending in the Nīya Prakrit as due to confusion with acc. sg. -a (< -am), cf § 53.

Loc pl. -şu	
2nd cent A D	-bhamiteşu K 66 ¹ .
4th cent A D	lanayesu K 60 ²

(ii) -e(m) :

2nd cent. A.D. : *divase(m)* K 74¹.(iii) -m_i or -m_im_i :1st cent. A.D. : *viharam_i* K 28², *daṇam_i* K 26¹2nd cent. A.D. : *kṣunam_i* K 75¹, *viharam_im_i* K 80¹.3rd cent. A.D. : *-lubagam_i* K 41², *dīvasamm_i* K 53.(iv) -m(ṛ)_i or -m_im(ṛ)_i :2nd cent. A.D. : *viharam(ṛ)_i* K 86¹, *kṣunamm(ṛ)_i* K 79.

(v) -i

2nd cent. A.D. : *aḥam_i* K 87¹ ; *ekacaparīṣa_i* K 85² ?3rd cent. A.D. : *maṣ_i* K 88, *paṁcam_i* K 53(vi) -s_i1st cent. A.D. : *hasiṣa* occurs for *hasaṣ_i* K 31².

(b) Feminine nouns in -ā

Nom sg -a

1st cent. B.C. : *|karavita** || K 96².1st cent. A.D. : *puyā* K 15 O^o2nd cent. A.D. : *upasika* K 14³.3rd cent. A.D. : *prapā* K 92

Acc sg -a

1st cent. A.D. : *pramā* K 15 N³⁻⁴

Ins sg -e

1st cent. B.C. : *añae* K 13¹1st cent. A.D. : *Abuhola[e]* K 15 A⁶.

Dat. sg -e

1st cent. B.C. : *puyae* K 2, K 13³1st cent. A.D. : *puyae* K 17, K 20⁵, etc2nd cent. A.D. : *puyae* K 37 6, K 86², etc.3rd cent. A.D. : *dakṣinae* K 68

Gen sg -e

1st cent. A.D. : *Śīrae* K 31¹, *bhayaē* K 35 33rd cent. A.D. : *ambae* K 46¹, *Saphae* K 47

Loc sg. (1) -ye :

1st cent. B.C. : *purvaye* K 13¹*Takhaśīlaye* K 13²

Loc pl -su

1st cent. B.C. : *viśpasu* K 11⁶.

(ii) -e

1st cent. A.D. : *Takhaśīlae* K 32, K 332nd cent. A.D. : *purvae* K 76¹.*Takhaśīlae* K 37 20

§ 530. Bases ending in -i and -ī

(a) Masculine nouns in -i :

Nom sg : -i :

1st cent. B.C. : *mahadanapati* K 13¹.4th cent. A.D. : *Śakamu[ni]* K 36 12.

Inst. sg. : -*na*

1st cent. B.C. : *Kṛīśakavāna* K 96¹

Gen. sg. (i) -*sa* .

1st cent. B.C. . *Sakamunisa* K 1.

1st cent. A.D. : *Sakamunisa* K 15 A¹²

2nd cent. A.D. . *Svarabudhisa* K 76¹¹

Sakyamunisa K 80¹

4th cent. A.D. : *Dharma*[*bhūtisa**] K 36 6

• (ii) -*s(y)a* .

3rd cent. A.D. . *dharmapatis(y)a* K 92

(iii) -*e* .

2nd cent. A.D. *Sakyamune* K 86¹

(b) Feminine nouns in -ī

Nom sg : *i*

1st cent. B.C. *pukarini* K 94, K 96², *kṛti* K 93

1st cent. A.D. *dehajāti* K 31 .

2nd cent. A.D. *kuṭumbini* K 74

jadī K 80^a

Acc sg . -*in*

2nd cent. A.D. *yathun* K 74²

Ins sg. (i) -*a* .

1st cent. A.D. *Piśpas(r)ia* K 15A²

Inst pl -*hi*

2nd cent. A.D. *athavimsatīhi* K 82¹.

(ii) -*i* ;

2nd cent. A.D. *abhiśbhutī* K 82

Dat sg. (i), -*ye*

1st cent. B.C. . -*stītiye* K 1

(ii) -*e* .

1st cent. B.C. -*vardhie* K 13¹

(iii) -*se* (?) .

2nd cent. A.D. -*ativadhase* K 75¹

Gen sg. (i) -*ye* :

1st cent. A.D. *preṭhavetiye* K 31¹

(ii) -*a* (?) ,

1st cent. A.D. . [*ku*] [*īb*] [*i*] [*ma**] K 35¹

Loc sg (i) -*a* .

1st cent. B.C. *aḍḥasaṭṭhīa* K 11¹ (?)

Loc. pl -*ṣu* :

2nd cent. A.D. *jaṭiṣu* K 85^a.

(ii) -*e* .

1st cent. A.D. *dharmaraie* K 27²⁻¹, K 35 1

(iii) -*ya* :

2nd cent. A.D. . *Arthamisiya* K 79, K 86¹.

§ 531. Bases ending in *-u* .(a) Masculine names ending in *-u*Nom. sg. *-u* .1st cent. A.D. . *dhatu* K 16, K 31¹Nom. pl. *-o* :1st cent. A.D. *dhatuo* K 27².Gen. sg. (i) *-sa* .1st cent. A.D. *bhikkhusa* K 15 F².2nd cent. A.D. *baḥusa* K 37 184th cent. A.D. *bhikkhusa* K 36 7, etc(ii) *-sya*2nd cent. A.D. *bhikkhusya* K 74²(iii) *-no* (?)1st cent. A.D. [*bhikkun*]*o* K 35 1§ 532 Nouns ending in *-r*(a) Masculine nouns in *-r*Acc. sg. *-am*1st cent. B.C. *matapilaraṃ* K 13³.Inst. sg. *-a* .1st cent. B.C. *-pitra* K 9¹1st cent. A.D. *bhratra* K 15 A.Gen. sg. (i) *-u*1st cent. B.C. *matapitu* K 21st cent. A.D. *pitu* K 31²*matapitu* K 27⁴2nd cent. A.D. *matapitu* K 37⁶.(ii) *-ra*2nd cent. A.D. *bhralara* K 76¹¹, K 86²(iii) *-e*1st cent. A.D. *matapitae* K 23²(b) Feminine nouns in *-r*Nom. sg. *-a* .1st cent. A.D. : *mat(ṛ)a* K 15 A²*dhṛ(ṛ)a* K 15 A³.2nd cent. A.D. *mata* K 74¹Inst. sg. *-ra*1st cent. A.D. *matra* K 15 A².*dhṛtra* K 15 A³Gen. sg. : *-u*³⁰1st cent. A.D. *matu* K 31¹, *madu* K 20⁵2nd cent. A.D. *madu* K 75³.

§ 533. Nouns ending in consonants

(a) Nouns in *-at* :Inst. sg. *-a* :2nd cent. A.D. . *bhag(ṛ)avada* K 80².Nom. pl. (?) *-a* :2nd cent. A.D. . *madapīdara* K 86².Acc. pl. *-a*1st cent. B.C. *bhralara* K 13⁴.Inst. pl. *-hi* .1st cent. A.D. *bhralarehi* K 32.Gen. pl. (i) *-na*2nd cent. A.D. *matarapitaraya* K 85⁴.(ii) *-nam* .3rd cent. A.D. [*ma**]*tapitrnam*
K 92.

Gen. sg. : (i) -o :

1st cent. B.C. *bhag(ṛ)avato* K 1

1st cent. A.D. *bhagavato* K 27¹, ² K 31¹

(ii) -a .

1st cent. B.C. *bhagavata* K 13¹

1st cent. A.D. *bhag(ṛ)aval(ṛ)a* K 17²

2nd cent. A.D. *aropayata* K 74²

(iii) -sa

2nd cent. A.D. *bhag(ṛ)avalasa* K 80¹

(b) Nouns ending in -an .

Nom sg . -a :

2nd cent. A.D. *Śved(ṛ)avarīma* K 80¹

Acc sg. (neut) . -am .

4th cent A.D. *śarmam* K 60².

Gen. sg (1)¹ -no

1st cent B.C. : *rajanō* K 9¹.

(ii) sa :

1st cent B.C. *mahamīsa* K 13¹.

1st cent. A.D . *atvanasa* K 35 2.

2nd cent A.D. . *atmanasa* K 85 5

3rd cent. A.D . *Budhorumasa* K 41¹, K 58¹

(iii) -no : '

1st cent A.D. : *atvano* K 27⁵

(iv) -ñā :

1st cent A.D. *yuvārāñā* K 15 A¹

Loc. sg -e .

1st cent A.D. : *nisīme* K 15 A¹¹

(c) Nouns ending in -as

Nom. sg -e

3rd cent A.D. . [oke] K 45²

Acc sg -a .

1st cent. B.C. . *oja* K 11²

Dat. sg. -se (?) :

2nd cent. A.D. : *vardhase* K 22

Gen sg (i) -sa

1st cent. B.C. . *Kṛīṣayaśasa* K 95¹

(ii) -s(ṛ)a

3rd cent. A.D. . *Margaśtras(ṛ)a* K 88.

(d) . Nouns ending in -in

Gen. sg. (i) -sa

1st cent. B.C. : *Saṁkramisa* K 8A¹

Gen pl. (1) na .

1st cent A.D. *sarvastivat(ṛ)ana*

30. The Niya Prakṛt ending, however, is -e or -ae, cf. BURROW, § 68.

- 1st cent. A.D. *Balasamisa* K 20³. K 15 J³.
sarvastivat(ṛ)asa (ii) *-nari*.
 K 15 F², N². 3rd cent. A.D. *s(y)arvastivadinam*
 K 92.
 3rd cent. A.D. *sadaviyarisa* K 40².
 4th cent. A.D. *Dharmanadisa* K 36 1. (iii) *-na*
 (ii) *-s(ṛ)a* 3rd cent. A.D. *samanuyayana* K 88.
 2nd cent. A.D. *-svamis(ṛ)a* K 61¹
 3rd cent. A.D. *-svamis(y or ṛ)a* K 92
 (iii) *-sya* :
 2nd cent. A.D. *. dharmakathisya* K, 74²
 (e) Other nouns in consonants :
 Gen sg ending in *-j* . *-sa* .
 3rd cent. A.D. *. Aśpaṛ[u]sa* K 45¹

PRONOUNS

§ 534. Demonstrative pronouns

(a) The pronominal base *idam* .

1 Masculine

- | | | | |
|----------------|---|----------------|--------------------------------|
| Nom sg | | Nom pl | |
| 1st cent. A.D. | <i>ayam</i> K 32 | 1st cent. B.C. | <i>ime</i> K 1. |
| | <i>aya</i> K 27 ⁵ | 1st cent. A.D. | <i>ime</i> K 27 ¹ . |
| | <i>imo</i> K 15M ² | | |
| 2nd cent. A.D. | <i>. aya</i> K 61 ² , K 80 ⁴ | | |
| | <i>imo</i> K 85 ⁶ | | |
| 3rd cent. A.D. | <i>ime</i> K 88 | | |
| Acc sg . | | | |
| 2nd cent. A.D. | <i>imam</i> K 74 ³ | | |
| Inst sg | | | |
| 2nd cent. A.D. | <i>. imena</i> K 86 ¹ , ² . | | |
| Gen sg : | | | |
| 2nd cent. A.D. | <i>. asa</i> K 80 ³ | | |
| Loc. sg . | | | |
| 1st cent. B.C. | <i>imamṛ</i> K 13 ¹ | | |
| 1st cent. A.D. | <i>. iśa</i> K 27 ¹ , <i>iś(ṛ)a</i> K 15 A ¹⁰ | | |
| 2nd cent. A.D. | <i>iśa</i> K 86 ¹ , K 87 ¹ | | |
| | <i>iśe</i> K 75 ¹ , K 79 etc | | |
| 3rd cent. A.D. | <i>iśe</i> K 45 ² , K 88 | | |

2 Feminine.

- | | | | |
|----------------|---------------------------------------|----------------|--------------------|
| Nom sg . | | Loc. pl : | |
| 3rd cent. A.D. | <i>. yam</i> (for <i>iyam</i>) K 92. | 1st cent. B.C. | <i>imasu</i> K 11. |

(b) The pronominal base *etad*

1 Masculine

- Nom. sg :
 1st cent. A.D. *[eśa]* K 35¹
 2nd cent. A.D. : *eśa* K 86⁴.

Inst. sg. :

2nd cent. A.D. : *elena* K 76^a, *edena* K 82².

2. Feminine.

Loc. sg. :

1st cent. B.C. . *elaye* K 13¹

3. Neuter

Acc (or Nom ?) sg .

1st cent. B.C . *eśa* K 11²

§ 535. Relative Pronoun *yad*

1 Masculine

Nom sg .

1st cent B.C *ya* K 13⁵.

1st cent A.D *yo* K 10⁵

2nd cent A.D. . *yo* K RF²,³

2. Neuter

Nom sg

1st cent B.C *ya* K 11⁶,⁷

§ 536 Personal Pronouns

(a) First personal pronoun

Inst. sg :

1st cent B.C. : *me* K 11⁷

Dat. sg. :

2nd cent. A.D. *me* K 85⁶

Gen sg :

1st cent. A.D. *me* K 26²

2nd cent. A.D. *me* K 86², *mahya* K 86²,³

(b) Second Personal Pronoun

Gen sg :

1st cent. A.D. *de* K 27⁶

(c) Third Personal Pronoun

1. Masculine.

Nom sg :

2nd cent A.D *sa* K 76⁴, K 86³

s(r)a K 86¹.

Inst sg :

1st cent A.D. : *tena* K 27²

Gen sg .

1st cent. B.C. . *tasa* K 13²

1st cent. A.D. *tasa* K 31²

2nd cent. A.D. . *tasa* K 76⁴

2. Feminine

Inst sg. :

1st cent. A.D. . [*taye*] K 15A¹⁰.

Gen pl .

2nd cent A.D. *yeśa* K 82².

Gen pl. :

2nd cent A.D . *teśa* K 82².

§ 537. Base *sarva*.

Inst. sg. :

2nd cent. A.D. . *sa(m)vena* K 76^a.

Acc pl

1st cent B.C. . *sarva* K 13^a.

Gen pl

2nd cent. A.D. *sarvina* K 86^a

NUMERALS

§ 538 CARDINALS

(i) one

3rd cent A D *eka* (n sg f) K 48^a

(ii) eight :

1st cent B C . *aṭhana* (g pl) K 11^a.

(iii) ten

1st cent A D *daśahi* (In pl) K 10^a.2nd cent A D *daśahi* (In pl) K 82^a

(iv) twenty-eight .

2nd cent A D . *aṭhaviṃśatihi* (Inst pl) K 82^a.

§ 539 ORDINALS

(i) first .

1st cent A D *pradhama-* K 26^a3rd cent A D *paḍhamma-* K 45^a

(ii) fifth

1st cent. B C *pañcama-* K 13^a.3rd cent A D *pañcama-* K 53

(iii) eighth

2nd cent A D *aṭhama-* K 87^a.

(iv) tenth

4th cent A D *daśama-* K 60^a

(v) eleventh

2nd cent A D *ekadaśa-* K 74^a

(vi) fifteenth

1st cent A D *pañcadaśa-* K 23^a, K 28^a.

(vii) sixteenth .

1st cent B C *ṣoḍaśa-* K 12

(viii) twentieth

2nd cent A D. *viśama-* K 83^a.

(ix) twenty-eighth .

2nd cent. A D *aṭhaviśa-* K 74^a.

(x) forty-first .

2nd cent. A.D. . *ekacaṇṇariśa-* K 85^{a-3}.

- (xi) sixty-eighth .
1st cent. B C . *aḡhaṣaṭhi*- K 11¹
- (xii) Seventy-eighth .
1st cent. B.C : *aḡhasatātīmaa*- K 13¹
- (xiii) eighty-first
1st cent B.C : *ekaśatīmaya*- K 14¹
- (xiv) one hundred and eleventh
1st cent A D . *ekadaśa- śatīmaya*- K 23¹
- (xv) three hundred and ninety-ninth
4th cent A D . *ekunacatuśatīmaa*- K 60¹

CONJUGATION

§ 540 INDICATIVE MOOD

Present 3rd sg (i) -*tī* .1st cent B C *pratīḡhavelī* K 13³2nd cent A D . *parīḡhavelī* K 86¹*pratīstavayātī* K 76³(ii) -*dī*1st cent B C *dedī* K 11³2nd cent A D *bhavadī* K 80³*pradīḡhavedī* K 80³Present 1st sg middle -*e*4th cent A D *artha[e]* K 60³Present 3rd pl middle -*rim*2nd cent A D. *dadarim* K 74³.

§ 541. IMPERATIVE MOOD

Third sg (i) -*tu*1st cent A D *hotu* K 27⁵2nd cent A D *bhavatu* K 76¹⁰, K 82³(ii) -*du* :4th cent A D . *bharadu* K 60³

§ 542 OPTATIVE MOOD

Third sg. -*tī* .1st cent B C *śatī* K 11⁷, ⁹1st cent A D . *śatī* K 31²

§ 543 AORIST :

Third sg -*u* :1st cent. A.D. *abhu* K 10⁵

§ 544. PRESENT PARTICIPLES

(i) -*aṡta* :1st cent B.C. : *puyayamta*- K 13³(ii) -*at* :2nd cent. A D . *aropayata* (g. sg) K 74²(iii) Fern. -*ati* .1st cent. A.D. . *preḡhav[e]tī*- K 31¹.

§ 545. PAST PASSIVE PARTICIPLES,

(i) *-la* :1st cent. B.C. : *pratistavita*- K 2.1st cent. A.D. *pratithavita*- K 32*karita*- K 23², *karavita*- K 24²2nd cent. A.D. *kata* K 75², *uta*- K 80²(ii) *-da* .1st cent. A.D. *nyadida*- K 17, *karavida*- K 26².2nd cent. A.D. *khada*- K 75², *likhida*- K 80²*karavida*- K 68, *khanavida*- K 81².3rd cent. A.D. . *niryada*- K 88*pratthavida*- K 45²(iii) *-d(r)a*1st cent. B.C. : *pratithavid(r)a*- K 1

§ 546. INFINITIVE

(i) *-tave*1st cent. A.D. : *ñavit(r)ava* (< √ñā-) K 15 N⁴.

§ 547. ABSOLUTIVE

(i) *-ta*1st cent. A.D. *karita* K 15 J² (also cf *abhusavita* and *ayimila* from the same inscription)(ii) *-ya*2nd cent. A.D. *likhiya* K 85²(iii) *-cam* .2nd cent. A.D. : *ṭhapaicam* K 85²

APPENDIX

The study of the following seven inscriptions has been inadvertently missed in the body of the present work. The omission was noticed by me at a stage when it was too late for me to incorporate these inscriptions at their proper places in the work. I found it, therefore, desirable to note at least the linguistic peculiarities found in them here at the end. The new inscriptions at Kordāne (No 5) and Śailārwaḍi (No 6) have not been published so far¹.

No 1 A Brahmi Inscription at Barli. This inscription is not included in LUDERS List. It has been edited by R. R. HALDER in *IA* 58.229, 1929 and by K. P. JAYASWAL in *JBORS* 16.678, 1930. It is a fragmentary inscription engraved on a white stone which was found in the temple of Bhilot Mātā, about a mile from Barli village in Ajmere District. It is now preserved in the Rājpūtānā Museum at Ajmere. The characters of this record are pre-Aśokan Brāhmī and the language is Prakrit. It is dated in the year 84 of an unspecified era. Halder refers the year to a period to be reckoned from Mahāvīra's Nirvāṇa which took place in 528-27 B.C. The date of the record, then, would be 528-271 = 444-443 B.C. According to JAYASWAL, however, the date refers to the era of Nanda to be counted from 458 B.C. The date of our record in that case would be 458-84 = 374-373 B.C.

VOWELS

a > *i* in the presence of *y* cf. Sk. *Mādhyamika* > *Mājhimsika* line 4

The vowel *ā* is probably preserved before the gen. sg. term of some feminine noun

cf. *ñāye* line 3

CONSONANTS

The cluster *-dhy-* is palatalised to *-jh-*

cf. *Mājhimsika* line 4.

CONSONANT CLUSTERS

The cluster *-ṣi-* > *-ṣh-* Sk. *mviṣṭa* > *mviṣṭha* line 4

The cluster *-ñ-* > *-ñ-*? cf. *ñāye* line 3

NUMERAL

eighty-four *caturāsati* line 2

DECLENSION

Dat. sg. mas. ending in *-a*.

-ya · *vi* (or *vī*) *ṛāya* line 1

¹ They have been included by Dr. Moreswar G. DIKSHIT in his Thesis "Buddhist Settlement of Western India" submitted for the Ph.D. degree of the University of Bombay in 1942. I am extremely thankful to Dr. DIKSHIT for having made available to me these inscriptions together with their readings.

Loc. sg. mas. ending in -a :

-e : *va[se]* line 2 ; *Māhimske* line 4.

Dat sg fem ending in -ā :

-ye ? : . *ñāye* line 3.

Nom sg fem. ending in -ī .

-i ? *Sālmālini* line 3

Dat sg. mas ending in -at :

-e *bhagava[te]* line 1.

No 2 A votive inscription from Ghantasāla The inscription has been edited by D C SIRCAR in *Ind Cul* 6346, 1940 It was brought to his notice when he visited the exhibition hall of the tenth All-India Oriental Conference held at Tirupati The find spot of the record, Ghantasāla Stūpa, is situated in the Kistna District Though inscription is not dated, palaeographically it is assigned to the 1st cent B C

VOWELS

ī > a before the term. of gen sg

Sk *antevāsinī* > *atevāsinī-yā* The change of the vowel, however, indicates that the Pk form has directly come from the declined form in Sanskrit Thus Sk *antevāsinīyāh* > *atevāsinīyā* > *atevāsinīyā*

The vowel -ā is preserved before the terminations

cf *Yagāyā-ya* and *Mahadevā-ya*

CONSONANTS

The cluster -dy- is palatalised to -j-

Sk *padyā* > *paje* 'a flight of steps'

CONSONANT CLUSTERS

The cluster -jñ- > -ñ- ?

cf *Satayañayaga-* (> Sk *Śatayañīyāga-* ?)

DECLENSION

Geng sg fem ending in -ā *Yagāyāya* and *Mahadevā-ya*

Gen sg fem ending in -ī . -yā . *atevāsinīyā*

No 3 Deotek Inscriptions. Deotek is a small vilage some fifty miles south-east of Nagpur The inscriptions are included in LUDERS' List under No 1201 Their transcripts without translation were given by Sir CUNNINGHAM in *CII* Vol I (old edition), p 102, No. 13. Even in late R B. HIRALAL'S *List of Inscriptions in C P and Berar* (2nd edn) where they have been included, their contents are not specified The first attempt at their interpretation is made by V V MIRASHI in a paper submitted to the eighth All-India Oriental Conference held at Mysore in 1935. They are published in the *Proc and Trans of the Eighth All-India Oriental Conference*, pp 613-22.

The inscriptions are two in number and are inscribed on a large slab The characters of the earlier of the two inscriptions are Brāhmī and they resemble in many cases the characters of Girnar edicts of Aśoka. It is mutilated to a large extent so

that only a half of the original has remained. It appears that "its object was to record the command of some lord (*sāmi*) (who is called King in line 4) prohibiting the capture and slaughter evidently of some animals in certain seasons as in Aśoka's fifth pillar edict, or, may be, throughout the year) and declaring some punishment for such as dared disobey it." From the nature of these contents Prof. Mirashi is inclined to refer this record to the age of Aśoka, notwithstanding the somewhat adverse evidence of Palaeography. The record is dated in the year 14 (probably of king Aśoka) in which the record was incised. The language of this inscription is evidently Prakrit².

VOWELS

a > *ā* by metathesis : Sk. *amātya* > *āmaca*- line 3.

ā > *a* before a cluster : cf *āmaca*- line 3 But the long vowel is preserved in *rāñā* (< Sk. *rājñā*) line 4.

SIMPLE CONSONANTS

-kh- > *-g-* (< *-gh-*?) : Sk. *lekha-* > **legha-* > *lega-* line 4.

The derivation is highly doubtful.

The cluster *-ty-* is palatalised to *-c-*, cf *āmaca*- line 3.

CONSONANT CLUSTERS

The cluster *sv-* is preserved in *svāmī* line 1.

The cluster *-ñi-* > *-ñ-* :

Sk. *ā/ñāp-* > *ā/ñāpa-* line 1.

Sk. *rājñā* > *rāñā* line 4

The cluster *mb* is preserved in a place-name *Cikamba*[*ṛi*] line 1.

DECLENSION

Nom. sg. mas. ending in *-a* *-o* : *hananto* and *bamdhanto* line 2.

Nom. pl. mas. ending in *-a* *-ā* : *āmacā* line 3

Inst sg. mas. ending in *-an* : *-ā* *rāñā* line 4

Nom. sg. mas. ending in *-in* *-i* : *svāmī* line 1

VERB FORMS

Present third sg. *-ti* : *āñāpayati* line 1.

Present Participles *-anta* : *hananta-* and *bamdhanta-* line 2.

No. 4. A Fragmentary Inscription from Kosam : It is edited for the first time by Amalananda GHOSH in *Ind Cul* 1694-5, 1935. This inscribed slab of stone was recovered from Kosam by B. M. VYAS and is now deposited in Allahabad Municipal Museum. The inscription is fragmentary as only two lines from its upper portion are available. Palaeographically this record, which is in Prakrit language, is ascribed to the 1st cent. B.C. It contains the name of a new king Varuṇamitra who must have belonged, according to GHOSH, to the dynasty of Mitra Kings.

2 The second inscription is engraved in the box-headed variety of the southern alphabet of about the 4th cent. A.D. The language of this record is Sanskrit. It is ascribed to the Vākāṭaka king Rudrasena I.

VOWELS

* *ā* is preserved before a consonant cluster, cf *rājñō* line 1.

ī > *i* at the end of the first member of a compound

Sk *Gauṭiputra* > *Goliputa* line 1

CONSONANTS

-*n*- is preserved in *Varunamita* line 1

In term -*n*- > -*n*- after *r*

Sk *-putrena* > *-putena* line 2

CONSONANT CLUSTERS

The cluster -*ñ*- is preserved in *rājñō* line 1

DECLENSION

Inst sg mas in -*a* -*na* -*putena* line 2

Gen sg mas in -*an* -*o* -*rājñō* line 1

No 5 An Early unpublished Inscription from Kondāne. A Prakrit Inscription from Kondāne cave which is included by LUDERS (No 1071) has been already referred to above in the text of the present work. This new inscription, a reference to which was made by G. YAZDANI, Director of Archaeology, H. E. H. the Nizam's Dominions, in his Presidential address to the 11th All-India Oriental Conference,⁴ is carved on the façade of the Vihāra adjoining the ancient Caitya at Kondāne. It consists of two lines and is partly defaced. The characters are Brāhmī and the language is Prakrit. The inscription is not published so far but is included by Dr. Dikshit in his Thesis as noted above. According to Dr. Dikshit the date of the present record, on palaeographical grounds, would fall in the 1st cent. B.C. As Dr. DIKSHIT himself points out the readings which he has made out are only tentative for the facsimile at his disposal was far from satisfactory. The material which it affords for linguistic study is extremely scanty.

1 (Symbol) *S|ṛ|dha(m) || *parā(?)kāsa hamma (ya?)*

2 *Kuakaputasa hamma*

VOWELS

a > *ā* in a metrically long syllable cf *Parākāsa* (< Sk *Pārākasya*?) line 1.

CONSONANT CLUSTERS

The cluster -*rm*- > -*mm*- cf Sk *harmya* > *hamma* lines 1 and 2

DECLENSION

Gen sg mas ending in -*a* (*ā*)*sa* cf *Parākāsa* line 1, but cf *-putasa* in line 2

No 6 A New Inscription from Śailārwādī. A Prakrit inscription from the Buddhist cave at Śailārwādī (L 1121) has been already referred to above⁵. This

3 Cf p 46, § 158(5) above

4 Presidential Address, 11th All-India Oriental Conference, Hyderabad (Dn.) (separate pamphlet) pp 22-3

5 Cf p. 49, § 158(20) above.

new inscription was found by M. G. DIKSHIT and though he has included it in his Thesis, it remains unpublished so far. It is carved over the recess above the door of a cell near the Caitya cave II. It consists of five lines of writing in the Brāhmī alphabet of the 2nd cent. A.D. The language of the record is Prakrit.

VOWELS

a > *ā* in a metrically long syllable :

Sk *pravrajitkū* > *pāvāṇitkū* line 2

Sk *samarpita* > *samāpita* lines 4-5

ā > *a* before a consonant cluster

Sk *ācārya* > [*ā*]*carīya* line 4

ī > *i* before the gen. sg. fem. term

Sk *antevāsmī* > *ateasmi-ya* line 1,

but cf. the preservation of long *ī* in *Ghopakī-ya* in line 2

SIMPLE CONSONANTS

-*d* > -*y* Sk *bhadanta* > *bhayata* line 1

-*j* is lost Sk *pravrajitkū* > *pāvāṇitkū* line 2

-*y* is lost in the terminations cf. *bālikā-a* (< *bālikā-ya*), *Budhā-a* (< *Budhā-ya*)

-*v* is lost Sk *antevāsmī* > *ateasmi* line 1

CONSONANT CLUSTERS

-*ry* > -*ny* Sk *ācārya* > [*ā*]*carīya* line 4

-*ks* > -*kh* Sk *bhikṣu* > *bhikhu* line 4

DECLENSION

Inst. pl. mas. in -*a* -*hi* -*kulehi* line 4

Gen. pl. mas. in -*a* -*na* -*therāna* line 1 *Sihāna* line 1

Gen. sg. fem. in -*ā*

(i) -*ya* *pāvāṇitkāya* line 2

(ii) -*a* -*bālikā* line 2, *Budhā* line 2-3

Gen. sg. fem. in -*ī* -*ya* *ateasmiya* line 1

PRONOUN

Inst. pl. of *sava-* -*hi* *savehi* line 3-4

No. 7. A Prakrit Inscription from Vēlpūr. The inscription is only tentatively read by P. Seshadri SASTRI in the latest issue of the *Journal of Andhra History and Culture*, Vol. I, No. 2, p. 65 (July 1943). The village Vēlpūr is situated in the Sattanapalla taluk of the Guntur district. The inscription is engraved on a marble pillar in the temple of a village deity. The record is in Prakrit language and apparently refers to the reign of Mahārāja Hārītiputa. Though the personal name of this king is lost it is tentatively read as *Muda sada*.

As the inscription is not yet properly read it may not be advisable to make a full linguistic study at this stage. The following few forms may be, however, noted.

(i) -*ī* is preserved at the end of the first member in a compound.

cf. *Hāroṭī(puta)sa* l. 3

(ii) Loc. sg. stem in -*a*, -*e* cf. *hite* l. 6

(iii) Gen. sg. stem in -*at*, -*o* cf. *bhagavato* l. 1

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- 138 JAYASAWAI, K P "The Arthasastra Explains", *IA* 47 50-56, 1918 No. 3 (p 51) nivī of the inscriptions It means a 'document' or 'despatch' and akhaya-nivī means a 'permanent document'
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CORRIGENDA

Page	Line	Incorrect	Correct.
2	26	<i>musāvāda</i>	<i>musāvāda-bh</i>
2	33	is appears	it appears
3	24	(<i>vadha</i>)	(<i>vudha</i>)
3	39	<i>niṣṭṣṭa</i>	<i>niṣṭṣṭa</i>
3	40	<i>niṣṭṣṭha</i>	<i>niṣṭṣṭha</i>
4	36	<i>rādi</i>	<i>rādi</i>
4	37	* <i>rānti</i>	< * <i>rānti</i>
5	29	delete the words "dropped or is"	
6	f n 14	<i>sāva</i>	<i>śāvā</i>
10	8	(S, M)	K, (S, M)
11	10	<i>adhātīya</i>	<i>adhātīya</i>
13	2 from below	S	<i>diadha</i> - S
14	20	l	l
14	Under MRE after	<i>cira</i> read Sk. <i>udāra</i> > <i>uḍāra</i> -	Kpb.
14	f n 34	<i>laca</i> -, <i>raca</i> -	<i>loca</i> -, <i>roca</i> -
15	9	<i>duvādaśa</i>	<i>duvādaśa</i>
15	15	§27(b) 3	§28(b)6
16	9	-s-	-ṣ-
19	24	- <i>lasa</i> -	- <i>ḷasa</i> -
19	35	<i>asuḍha</i>	<i>osudha</i>
20	f n. 45	p 1	p. 6
21	7	> G, K, D	> <i>dharṇmam</i> G, K, D
22	18	-st-	-ṣt-
23	11	√ <i>rābh</i> -	√ <i>rabh</i> -
23	37	-sy-	-ṣy-
24	23	<i>brāhmana</i> - S, M	<i>brāhmana</i> - G, <i>bramaṇa</i> - S, M
25	1	> Sk <i>catvāri</i>	< Sk <i>catvāri</i>
27	17	-a	-o
28	6	<i>lipigarena</i>	<i>lipikarena</i>
28	22	<i>kōle</i>	<i>kāle</i>
28	39	-n- > at	-n- > -n- at
29	3 from below	<i>nālīnam</i>	<i>nālīnam</i>
30	26	-ye	-ya
30	30	<i>puṭhaviyam</i>	<i>puṭhaviyam</i>
31	8	<i>bhikkhnam</i>	<i>bhikkhunam</i>
		<i>gcruna</i>	<i>guruna</i>
31	10	<i>bahūsc</i>	<i>bahūsu</i>
		<i>gelusc</i>	<i>gulusu</i>
		<i>garcsu</i>	<i>gatusu</i>
31	24	<i>matāle</i>	<i>natāle</i>
33	26	<i>pari</i> [ṣ*]	<i>pari</i> [ṣa*]
34	2	<i>maā</i>	<i>mayā</i>
34	3	<i>mahayā</i>	<i>mamayā</i>
34	24	pr	yr
34	24	<i>pre</i>	<i>phe</i>
35	4	<i>taā</i>	<i>taṣā</i>
35	14	- <i>ṣam</i>	<i>naṁ</i>
36	3	- <i>mhi</i> , <i>etamhi</i>	- <i>mhi</i> , <i>etamhi</i>
36	7	RE	PE
36	10	- <i>ami</i>	- <i>am</i>

Page.	Line.	Incorrect.	Correct.
36	14	S	s
39	21	P7	PE
39	34	<i>badaya(śa)s</i>	<i>badaya(śa) S</i>
41	21	K, K,	M, K,
41	24	<i>va,</i>	<i>-a,</i>
41	34	<i>eyā</i>	<i>eyā</i>
42	31	<i>nukromi</i>	<i>nukrami</i>
42	f n 88	<i>chu-</i>	<i>ahu-</i>
43	36	<i>hamñyasu</i>	<i>hamñeyasu</i>
43	41	For <i>susumsera</i> G etc read <i>ālabhīyisamī K, D, J, anuvīdhīyisamī S M</i>	
44	6	<i>suśruṣyū</i>	<i>suśruṣeyū</i>
44	37	<i>dekhutaviya</i>	<i>dakṣutaviya</i>
45	9	<i>jāpotave</i>	<i>pāpotave</i>
46	f n 1	Addenda	Appendix
47	29	our dealing	our not dealing
51	13	<i>sadṭṣa</i>	<i>sadṭṣa</i>
51	f n 9	<i>putu-</i>	<i>ṭitu-</i>
57	24	<i>kanīṣṭhā-</i>	<i>kanīṣṭha-</i>
57	24	<i>haneṣṭha-</i>	<i>kaneṣṭha-</i>
59	1	<i>Rohm-</i>	<i>Rohm-</i>
64	6 and 8	'Also cf in termination' etc. should be read in place of 'Sk éramaṇa- > samana- L1124'	
64	last line	L 1195 etc	L 1095 etc.
68	26	<i>nirviśesa-</i>	<i>nirviśeṣa</i>
70	14	<i>nataka-</i>	<i>naṭaka-</i>
73	11	<i>bhrātṛnām</i>	<i>bhrātṛnām</i>
75	6	* <i>laṣṭi</i>	* <i>laṣṭi</i>
75	3 from below	>	<
78	15	L 1045	L 1048
79	24	L 1199 ¹	L 1099 ¹
81	34	EI 124	EI 24
85	1	<i>-nn-</i>	<i>-ny-</i>
85	last line	Add L 1133 ² after <i>smasmm</i>	
88	4 from below	<i>Dhamagutena</i>	<i>Dhamagutena</i>
89	26	L 1694 ¹	L 1094 ¹
91	15	<i>vālarakesa</i>	<i>Vālarakesa</i>
91	41	(or <i>-thāu-</i>) <i>puta</i>	(or <i>-ṭhā</i>) <i>ṭitā</i>
92	1	<i>dakṣhīnāyo</i>	<i>dakṣhīnāyo</i>
93	9	<i>bhayava</i>	<i>bhayāva</i>
93	9	<i>Volīdalāva</i>	<i>Velīdalāva</i>
98	5 from below	<i>mahārāṭhi</i>	<i>mahārāṭhi</i>
101	22	L 1135 ⁵	L 1133 ⁵
101	23	After 'also' read Kaphēn L 988 ⁵	
101	24	delete ' <i>-trm</i> L 1133 '	
102	32	<i>bhojakāpāt</i> L 1024 ¹²	<i>dadāma</i> L 1124
107	29	state	stele
108	29	Add No 11 in the last column	
110	11	35 ³	B5 ³
110	17	L 1337 ⁴	L 1337 ⁷
112	22	20 19 135 ³	20.19 B5 ³
112	last line	<i>-nivāsaka-</i>	<i>-nevāsaka-</i>
114	23	L 1285	L 1295
114	36	(EI 20 22 F8)	(EI 20.22.F ²)
116	f.n. 26	* <i>bhiku-</i>	* <i>bhikku-</i>

Page	Line	Incorrect.	Correct.
117	29	<i>pratiṣṭhāpita-</i>	<i>pratiṣṭhāpita-</i>
118	14	<i>EI 20.10 C3^a</i>	<i>EI 20.16 C3^a</i>
119	16	<i>-ma[ḍ]va-</i>	<i>-ma[ḍa]va-</i>
121	9	<i>Śiva[khada]varman</i>	<i>Śiva[khada]vaṃma-</i>
121	f n 59	<i>Śivvaguta</i>	<i>Śivvaguta</i>
122	11	<i>-kagha-</i>	<i>-hagha-</i>
124	23	<i>EI 5</i>	<i>EI 15</i>
125	9	or <i>s</i>	or <i>ṣ</i>
127	19	<i>-rdh- > -dr-</i>	<i>-rdh- > -dh-</i>
129	4	<i>Saṅghagṛaha-</i>	<i>Saṅghagṛha-</i>
129	36	<i>dvāri</i>	<i>dvāra</i>
130	3 from below	<i>EI 10</i>	<i>EI 20</i>
132	13	<i>*pamḍa</i>	<i>*pamḍa</i>
134	23	<i>-savacchara-</i>	<i>-savvacchara-</i>
136	21	<i>Māugāmasa</i>	<i>Mātugāmasa</i>
139	13	<i>EI 20.16 C^{1a}</i>	<i>EI 20.16 C3^a</i>
144	6	<i>EI 20.19 C⁹</i>	<i>EI 20.19 C2⁹</i>
145	13	<i>oyapāpehi L 1328²⁷</i>	<i>pariharāhi L 1328^{2a}</i>
145	16	<i>cyapāpehi</i>	<i>oyapāpehi</i>
152	3 from below	<i>L 200^{2a}</i>	<i>L 100^{2a}</i>
155	50	decensional	declensional
156	f n 30	<i>*pārṣ-</i>	<i>*pārṣa-</i>
159	21	<i>-lavana-</i>	<i>-lavana-</i>
159	f n 32	<i>L 326</i>	<i>L 336</i>
160	13	<i>-h-</i>	<i>-b-</i>
160	5 from below	delete Sk <i>kubera- > kupa-</i> etc	
162	36	<i>modhakṛya-</i>	<i>madhyakṛya-</i>
164	20	<i>a</i>	<i>ṛ</i>
166	14	<i>bhāyā-</i>	<i>bhayā-</i>
169	after line 5	add (ii) change <i>-sv- > -sav-</i> occurs rarely	
169	8	for (ii) change <i>-sv- > -sav-</i> occurs rarely	
		read (iii) change <i>-śv-</i> or <i>sv- > -sv-</i> or <i>su-</i>	
171	7 from below	for 'Sk <i>smaśāna-</i> etc'	
		read Sk <i>Māhismali- > Māhīṣati-</i> L 375, L 497	
171	6 from below	<i>amaśāna-</i>	<i>smaśāna-</i>
173	8 from below	<i>L 515¹</i>	<i>L 595</i>
173	6 from below	<i>L 200^{2a}</i>	<i>L 100^{2a}</i>
174	3 from below	<i>vadika</i>	<i>vedika</i>
179	12	<i>pāpakāri(n)a</i>	<i>pāpukārīna</i>
181	16	<i><ḍā</i>	<i>< dā</i>
185	33	<i>L 1345²⁴</i>	<i>L 1345^{2, 4}</i>
185	39	<i>bhūṅgāra-</i>	<i>bhūṅgāra-</i>
196	last line	<i>auo[m]banam</i>	<i>ala[m]banam</i>
201	30	<i>-ays-ti</i>	<i>-aya-ti</i>
206	18	2 B.C.	2 A.D.
207	7 from below	(i-)	(i-) both in West
		(i-)	(i-) and South
215	7 from below	<i>chūlāta-</i>	<i>cūlāta-</i>
217	14	read <i>-ch-</i> above (<i>-kh-</i>) in the West	
222	9 from below	<i>-n-, (-n-)</i>	<i>-n-, (-n-)</i>
223	10 from below	<i>-ṣk- > -k-</i> (under Central)	<i>-ṣk- > -kh-</i>
228	8 from below	<i>-tr-</i> (under Central 1 B.C.)	<i>-t-</i>
230	3 from below	<i>s-</i> (under Central)	<i>-s-</i>
234	11	<i>-ṇ-</i> (under East)	<i>-n-</i>
236	5 & 6 from below	transpose 1 or 2 A.D. and 1 B.C.	

Page	Line	Incorrect.	Correct.
239	(vi) Dat. sg. read	under South -ya, (- $\frac{1}{2}$?) in 2 A.D. instead of 3 A.D.	
242	19(3 B.C.)	ya (in N-W)	ye
243	2 from below	nā (Central)	nā
245	3 from below	ns (North)	su
247	4 from below	-ya (North)	-yā
247	3 from below	In Central (2 B.C.) after -yā, (-ye,) add (-to)	
251	7 (1 B.C.)	nam (West)	-nam
251	9 (1 or 2 A.D.)	nam (South)	-nam
251	19	-ya, -ye (1 A.D.) to be read after -u, -(r)a (2 A.D.) in West.	
256	5	read nam after nā (2 B.C.) in West.	
257	6 from below	read se after se, še (3 B.C. Aś.) in North.	
261	22	imasā	imasā (North)
263	3 from below	read āni under North (3 B.C. Aś.)	
266	2 from below	-siti (N-West)	-śa-ti
	3 from below	-sa-ti (South)	-si-ti
	3 from below	-śa-ti (Central)	-si-ti
269	20	ś-	ṛ-
	32	3rd cent. A.D.	2nd cent. A.D.
280	8	§370	§470
280	10 from below	m̄- > -n-	-m̄- > -n-
281	7 and 8	read E → C → W → S	
284	18 and 19	read Thus -nām (-nā):	W N \geq C
294	29	as	was
296	5 from below	kaneṣha-	kaneṣka-
298	11	danamukha-	danamuha-
299	4	K 150	K 15
299	31	kāśāpama-	Kāśāpama-
303	3	K 86 ²	K 86 ²
305	4	pājana-	pūjana-
305	31	k or k	k or k'
305	33	-kamdha-	-k'andha-
305	34	samkata-	samk'ara-
308	28	K 45	K 34
312	33	śn > ś	śn > ś'
312	34	kṛśayaśa-	kṛś'ayaśa
314	7	samśara-	samtśara-
314	18	Add '1st cent. B.C.' before thubō	K 2
316	18	saghaś	saghasa
322	14	K 86 ² , 3	K 86 ² , 3
326	15	528-27	528-84
333	12	JAOS 69	JAOS 59

SUBJECT INDEX

1. Introductory, Aśokan inscriptions §1, Western inscriptions §158, §159, Southern inscriptions §211, §212, Central inscriptions §264, §265, Eastern inscriptions §315, §316, Conclusions §444, Kharoṣṭhi §498.
2. Treatment of *ṛ*, Aśokan §3, §4, Western §160, Southern §213, Central §266, Eastern §317, Synoptic Tables §364, Conclusions §445, Kharoṣṭhi §500.
3. Treatment of *ai*, Aśokan §5, Western §161, Southern §214, Central §267, Eastern §318, Synoptic Tables §365, Kharoṣṭhi §501
4. Treatment of *au*, Aśokan §6, Western §161, Southern §214, Central §267, Eastern §318, Synoptic Tables §366, Kharoṣṭhi §501
5. Treatment of *aya*, (also *ayī* and *avi*), Aśokan §7, Western §162, Southern §215, Central §268, Eastern §319, Synoptic Tables §367, Kharoṣṭhi §502
6. Treatment of *ava*, Aśokan §8, Western (also *apa*) §163, Southern §216, Central §269, Synoptic Tables §368, Kharoṣṭhi §502
7. Treatment of *a*, Aśokan §9, §10, Western §164, Southern §217, Central §270, Eastern §320, Synoptic Tables §369, Conclusions §446, Kharoṣṭhi §503
8. Treatment of *i*, Aśokan §11, §12, Western §166, Southern §219, Central §272, Eastern §322, Synoptic Tables §371, Conclusions §448, Kharoṣṭhi §504
9. Treatment of *u*, Aśokan §15, §14, Western §168, Southern §221, Central §274, Eastern §324, Synoptic Tables §373, Conclusions §450, Kharoṣṭhi §505
10. Treatment of *ā*, Aśokan §15, §16, §17, Western §165, Southern §218, Central §271, Eastern §321, Synoptic Tables §370, Conclusions §447
11. Treatment of *ī* Aśokan, §15, §18, §19, Western §167, Southern §220, Central §273, Eastern §323, Synoptic Tables §372, Conclusions §449
12. Treatment of *ū*, Aśokan §15, §20, §21, Western §169, Southern §222, Central §275, Eastern §325, Synoptic Tables §374, Conclusions §451
13. Treatment of *e*, Aśokan §22, Southern §223, Central §276, Eastern §326, Synoptic Tables §375
14. Treatment of *o*, Aśokan §23, Southern §224, Central §277, Eastern §327, Synoptic Tables §376, Kharoṣṭhi §506.
15. Simple Consonants, Aśokan §24, Western §170, Southern §225, Central §278, Eastern §328, Kharoṣṭhi §507
16. Gutturals, Aśokan §25, Western §171, Southern §226, Central §279, Eastern §329, Synoptic Tables §377-§380, Conclusions §452-455, Kharoṣṭhi §508.
17. Palatals, Aśokan §26, Western §172, Southern §227, Central §280, Synoptic Tables §381, §382, Conclusions §456-457, Kharoṣṭhi §509.
18. Cerebrals, Aśokan §27, Western §173, Southern §228, Central §281, Eastern §330, Synoptic Tables §381-387, Conclusions §458-461, Kharoṣṭhi §510
19. Dentals, Aśokan §28, Western §174, Southern §229, Central §282, Eastern §331, Synoptic Tables §388-§391, Conclusions §462-464, Kharoṣṭhi §511.
20. Labials, Aśokan §29, Western §175, Southern §230, Central §283, Eastern §332, Synoptic Tables §392-395, Conclusions §465, Kharoṣṭhi §512
21. Semivowel *y*, Aśokan §31, Western §176(a), Southern §231(a), Central §284(a), Eastern §333(a), Synoptic Tables §396, Conclusions §466, Kharoṣṭhi §513(a)
22. Semivowel *r*, Aśokan §32, Western §176(b), Southern §231(b), Central §284(b), Eastern §333(b), Synoptic Tables §397, Conclusions §467, Kharoṣṭhi §513(b).
23. Semivowel *l*, Aśokan §33, Eastern §333(c), Synoptic Tables §398
24. Semivowel *v*, Aśokan §34, Western §176(c), Southern §231(c), Central §284(c), Eastern §333(d), Synoptic Tables §399, Conclusions §468, Kharoṣṭhi §513(c).
25. Sibilants, Aśokan §35, Western §177, Southern §232 Central §285, Eastern §334, Synoptic Tables §400, Conclusions §469, Kharoṣṭhi §514.
26. Aspirate *h*, Aśokan §36, Western §178, Synoptic Tables §401.
27. Palatalisation, Aśokan §37, Western §179, Southern §233, Central §286, Eastern §335, Synoptic Tables §402, Conclusions §470, Kharoṣṭhi §515

- 28 Cerebralisation, Aśokan §38, Western §180, Southern §234, Central §287, Eastern §336, Synoptic Tables §403, Conclusions §471, Kharoṣṭhi §516.
- 29 Consonant Clusters, Aśokan §41, Western §181, Southern §235, Central §288, Eastern §337, Kharoṣṭhi §517.
- 30 Clusters with Stops, Aśokan §42, Western §183, Southern §236, Central §289, Eastern §338, Synoptic Tables §404-§408, Conclusions §472-475, Kharoṣṭhi §518-521.
- 31 Clusters with *γ*, Aśokan §43, Western §184, Southern §237, Central §290, Eastern §339, Synoptic Tables §409, Conclusions §476, Kharoṣṭhi §522
- 32 Clusters with *ɾ*, Aśokan §44, Western §185, Southern §238, Central §291, Eastern §340, Synoptic Tables §410, Conclusions §477, Kharoṣṭhi §523
- 33 Clusters with *l*, Western §186, Southern §239, Synoptic Tables §411, Kharoṣṭhi §525
- 34 Clusters with *ν*, Aśokan §45, Western §187, Southern §240, Central §292, Eastern §341, Synoptic Tables §412, Conclusions §478, Kharoṣṭhi §524
- 35 Clusters with Sibilants, Aśokan §46, Western §188, Southern §241, Central §293, Eastern §342, Synoptic Tables §413, Conclusions §479, Kharoṣṭhi §526
- 36 Clusters with *h*, Aśokan §46(5), Western §189, Southern §242, Central §294, Eastern §343, Synoptic Tables §414, Conclusions §480, Kharoṣṭhi §527
- 37 Clusters with *ñ*, Aśokan §48, Western §190(a), Southern §243(a), Central §295(b), Eastern §344(a), Synoptic Tables §415, Conclusions §481, Kharoṣṭhi §528(a).
- 38 Clusters with *n*, Aśokan §49, Western §190(b), Southern §243(b), Central §295(c), Eastern §344(b), Synoptic Tables §416, Conclusions §482, Kharoṣṭhi §528(b)
- 39 Clusters with *ṇ*, Aśokan §50, Western §190(c), Southern §243(c), Central §295(d), Eastern §344(c), Synoptic Tables §417, Conclusions §483, Kharoṣṭhi §528(c)
- 40 Clusters with *m*, Aśokan §51, Western §190(d), Southern §243(d), Central §295(e), Eastern §344(d), Synoptic Tables §418, Conclusions §484, Kharoṣṭhi §528(d)
- 41 Mas and Neut nouns in *-a*, Aśokan §53, Western §191(a), Southern §244(a), Central §296(a), Eastern §345(a), Synoptic Tables §419(a), Conclusions §485, Kharoṣṭhi §529(a)
- 42 Fem nouns in *-ā* Aśokan §54, Western §191(b), Southern §244(b), Central §296(b), Eastern §345(b), Synoptic Tables §419(b), Conclusions §486, Kharoṣṭhi §529(b)
- 43 Mas and Neut nouns in *-i*, Aśokan §55, Western §192(a), Southern §245(a), Central §297(a), Eastern §346(a), Synoptic Tables §420(a), Conclusions §487, Kharoṣṭhi §530(a).
- 44 Fem nouns in *-ī*, Aśokan §56, Western §192(b, c), Southern §245(b, c), Central §297(b, c), Eastern §346(b, c), Synoptic Tables §420(b), (c), Conclusions §488, §489, Kharoṣṭhi §530(b)
- 45 Mas and Neut nouns in *-u*, Aśokan §57, Western §193(a), Southern §246, Central §298(a), Eastern §347, Synoptic Tables §421(a), Conclusions §490, Kharoṣṭhi §531
- 46 Fem nouns in *-ū*, Aśokan §58, Western §193(b), Central §298(b), Synoptic Tables §421(b) Conclusions §491
- 47 Mas nouns in *-ī*, Aśokan §59, Western §194(a), Southern §247(a), Central §299(a), Eastern §348(a) Synoptic Tables §422(a), Conclusions §492, Kharoṣṭhi §532(a)
- 48 Fem nouns in *-ṛ* Aśokan §60, Western §194(b), Southern §247(a), Central §299(b), Synoptic Tables §422(b), Conclusions §493, Kharoṣṭhi §532(b)
- 49 Fem nouns in *-au*, Western §195, Synoptic Tables §423
- 50 Bases in *-at*, Aśokan §62, §63, Western §196(a), Southern §248(a), Central §300(a), Eastern §349(a), Synoptic Tables §424(a), Conclusions §494, Kharoṣṭhi §533(a)
- 51 Bases in *-an* Aśokan §64, §65, Western §196(b, c), Southern §248(b, c), Central §300(b), Eastern §349(b), Synoptic Tables §424(b), (c), Conclusions §495, Kharoṣṭhi §533(b)
- 52 Bases in *-as*, Aśokan §66, §67, Western §196(d), Southern §248(d), Central §300(c, d), Eastern §349(c), Synoptic Tables §424(d), (e), Kharoṣṭhi §533(c)
- 53 Bases in *-m*, Aśokan §68, §69, Western §196(e), Southern §248(e), Central §300(e) Eastern §349(d), Synoptic Tables §424(f), Conclusions §496, Kharoṣṭhi §533(d).
- 54 A few other Consonantal bases, Aśokan §70, §71, Western §196(b), Southern §248(b), Central §300(f), Eastern §349(e), Synoptic Tables §424(g), Kharoṣṭhi §533(e).

- 56 Second Personal Pronoun, Aśokan §74, Southern §252(b), Synoptic Tables §426, Kharoṣṭhi §536(b).
- 57 Third Personal Pronoun, Aśokan §75, §76, §77, Western §199(b), Southern §252(c), Central §303(b), Eastern §352(a), Synoptic Tables §427, Kharoṣṭhi §536(c).
- 58 Pron Base *na-*, Aśokan §78
- 59 Pronoun *etad*, Aśokan §79, §80, §81, Western §197(b), Southern §249(b), Central §301(b), Eastern §350(b), Synoptic Tables §428(a), Kharoṣṭhi §534(b)
- 60 Pronoun *idam*, Aśokan §82, §83, §84, Western §197(a), Southern §249(a), Central §301(a), Eastern §350(a), Synoptic Tables §428(b), Kharoṣṭhi §534(a)
- 61 Pronoun *yad*, Aśokan §85-§87, Western §198, Southern §250, Central §302, Eastern §351, Synoptic Tables §429(a), Kharoṣṭhi §535
- 62 Pronoun *kim*, Aśokan §88, §89, Southern §251, Synoptic Tables §430
- 63 Pronoun *anya*, Aśokan §90, §91, Western §200(b), Southern §253(b), Synoptic Tables §432
- 64 Pronoun *saiva-*, Aśokan §92-§94, Western §200(a), Southern §253(a), Central §304(a), Synoptic Tables §431, Kharoṣṭhi §537
- 65 Pronoun *ekatara* Aśokan §95
- 66 Pronoun *ekatya*, Aśokan §96
- 67 Pronoun *itara*, Aśokan §97
- 68 Pronoun *ubhaya* Aśokan §98
- 69 Numerals, Cardinal, Aśokan §99-§121, Western §201 Southern §254, Central §305, Eastern §353, Kharoṣṭhi §538
- 70 Numerals, Ordinals, Aśokan §122-§125, Western §202, Southern §255, Central §306, Eastern §354, Kharoṣṭhi §539
- 71 Present Indicative, Aśokan §127, §128, Western §203, Southern §256, Central §307, Eastern §355 Synoptic Tables §433, Kharoṣṭhi §540
- 72 Present Subjunctive, Aśokan §129, §130
- 73 Optative, Aśokan §131, §132, Southern §258, Central §309, Synoptic Tables §435, Kharoṣṭhi §542
- 74 Imperative, Aśokan §133, §134, Western §204, Southern §257, Central §308, Synoptic Tables §434, Kharoṣṭhi §541
- 75 Imperfect, Aśokan §135, Western §205, Synoptic Tables §436
- 76 Aorist, Aśokan §136, §137, §138, Central §310, Eastern §356, Synoptic Tables §437, Kharoṣṭhi §543
- 77 Perfect, Aśokan §139
- 78 Future, Aśokan §140, §141, Western §206, Eastern §357, Synoptic Tables §438
- 79 Passive, Aśokan §142-§148
- 80 Desiderative, Aśokan §149-§151
- 81 Present Participle, Aśokan, §152, §153, Western §207, Southern §259, Central §311, Eastern §358, Synoptic Tables §439, Kharoṣṭhi §544
- 82 Past Participles, Aśokan §154, Western §208, Southern §260, Central §312, Eastern §359, Synoptic Tables §440, Kharoṣṭhi §545
- 83 Potential Participle, Aśokan §155, Western §209 Southern §261, Central §313, Eastern §360, Synoptic Tables §441
- 84 Infinitive, Aśokan §156, Southern §262, Eastern §361, Synoptic Tables §443, Kharoṣṭhi §546
- 85 Absolute, Aśokan §157, Western §210, Southern §263, Central §314, Eastern §362, Synoptic Tables §442, Kharoṣṭhi §547

